WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 468

6 January 1989

Godfather of CIA's Murder, Inc.

The Bush File

In 1986 the country was rocked by revelations that the Reagan/Bush administration, in their drive to "roll back Communism" in Central America, was secretly delivering U.S. arms to Khomeini and running a drugs-for-guns operation to finance the cutthroat Nicaraguan contras. It looked like Reagan was down for the count, and Bush's hope of taking the White House likewise. Now, two years later, George Herbert Walker Bush is about to be inaugurated President of the United States.

How did this come to pass? In order to protect the imperial presidency, the Republicans stonewalled and the Democrats covered up. Liberal Democrat Mario Cuomo said he was "praying that we never learn that he [Reagan] knew all about this." Walter Mondale "warned that the worst thing for the country and the party would be an all-out attack on the President" (*New York Times*, 27 November 1986). And in the recent election campaign you couldn't read the word "Contragate" on the lips of either candidate.

The Congressional "investigation" became a forum for contra terror starring

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Der Spiegel

George Bush, former CIA director, at the center of murder and mayhem.

Homeless U.S.A.

Bush's "Kinder, Gentler" America

As Ronald Reagan flew off to the West Coast for his Christmas holiday, he gave a "farewell interview" to David Brinkley, blithely claiming the homeless on the streets "make it their own choice for staying out there." But as frigid temperatures hit California last week six people died of the cold, and one homeless man was found dead in an avocado grove near Reagan's ranch in the Santa Ynez Mountains northwest of Los Angeles. Meanwhile, back in Washington a judge refused to open two of the city's shelters for the holidays, claiming he didn't have "enough evidence" that D.C.'s estimated 10,000 homeless needed the space!

In New York City, Edward Rutter was found dead on a bench in Tompkins Square Park, the scene last summer of a bloody cop riot against protesters. Many were objecting to the "gentrification" of the neighborhood that drove poor people out of affordable housing. One of his companions, Eliot Lopez, said the night before he had covered Rutter with blankets and brought him close to a fire he had built in a metal garbage can. During the night police came and kicked out the fire. The next morning Lopez woke up and found Rutter dead, one hand stretched toward the garbage can where the fire had been burning.

Six people have frozen to death so far this winter in NYC, and the worst weather hasn't even arrived yet. On the morning of December 18, the same day 20,000 demonstrators led by Jesse Jackson marched in the bitter cold to protest homelessness, police found the frozen body of a middle-aged black man, huddled against a wall on the Lower East Side.

As the bodies were being pulled off NYC's filthy, mean streets, the Centers for Disease Control announced that the number of people who have frozen to death per year has more than doubled in the past decade. In 1985, the last year for which the CDC had complete figures, 1,010 died from the cold, up from 427 in 1976. The reason? The vast explosion in homelessness under Reagan, the direct result of the savage austerity inflicted on workers and the poor, the willful abandonment of the inner cities, the collapse of whole sections of American industry.

Couple in Chicago huddle in doorway against freezing cold.

Patricia Minter/Impact Visuals

America's rulers and their capitalist economy have created an entire surplus population, overwhelmingly black and minority, and dumped them literally to die in the streets. George Bush says he wants a "kinder, gentler" nation—but cruelty, brutality and savage indifference toward the poor and homeless have been the hallmark of the Reagan-Bush years. In the last eight years the budget for federally-supported housing was slashed from $30 billion to just $7 billion. Now Bush has appointed right-wing economic nut Jack Kemp to be the nation's housing director. Perhaps he has plans to condo the sidewalks.

The Reagan gang, abetted by Democratic big city administrations, led the charge to cut welfare benefits. Over the past decade they purged the Social Security disability rolls of over half a million people, including a substantial number of mentally ill with no means to care for themselves. And Democrats enthusiastically joined the Republicans in passing a grotesquely named "Family Security Act" this fall which will drive mainly black women with children into the streets. As we have written, "*Genocide is what this new 'workfare' is all about!*"

An estimated *three million* Americans are homeless today. They are

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free All Victims of Apartheid Repression!

South Africa's white-supremacist rulers continue to tighten the screws on all internal dissent. After cynically suggesting that African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela would be released after 25 years in prison, the hated apartheid regime instead moved him to a secluded prison farm. In November the government shut down the liberal newspaper *The Weekly Mail*. On December 14 ten members of the African National Congress were sentenced to terms of 2 to 15 years. Charles Bester, an 18-year-old white pacifist who refused to enter the armed forces, was sent to prison for six years, and the End Conscription Campaign has been effectively banned.

On December 12, after two and a half years in detention, Moses Mayekiso was released on bail. Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and four of his comrades face life imprisonment on charges of treason, subversion and sedition for their roles as leaders of the Alexandra Action Committee—which organized the February 1986 revolt in the Alexandra township.

An effective trade-union organizer, Mayekiso has been a prime target of the vicious apartheid police state at whose hands he has suffered imprisonment and torture. Before their release Mayekiso and his comrades spent nine months in solitary. The Partisan Defense Committee and the sections of the international Spartacist tendency have joined demonstrations around the world calling for his freedom. This international defense campaign won Mayekiso's release—for now. Mass labor actions around the world must be continued and stepped up to keep him out of the dreaded apartheid dungeons.

In response to an international protest campaign, South Africa's president P.W. Botha granted a last-minute reprieve from execution to the Sharpeville Six on November 23. The Sharpeville Six—Mojalefa Sefatsa, Reid Mokoena, Oupa Diniso, Duma Khumalo, Francis Mokgesi and Therese Ramashamola—were convicted in 1985 by the state's use of a Nazi-like theory of "collective guilt" for "sharing a common purpose" with an enraged crowd of rent strikers who stoned and burned to death a hated collaborator of the white-supremacist regime in September 1984.

AFP Photos

The Sharpeville Six: Therese Ramashamola, Oupa Diniso, Reid Mokoena, Duma Khumalo, Mojalefa Sefatsa and Francis Mokgesi.

The same day they were spared the noose, the Sharpeville Six's application for a new trial was rejected by the Court of Appeals. That court rejected the recantation of key prosecution witnesses who testified they were beaten by the cops and forced to perjure themselves at trial. Initially sentenced to die for their opposition to apartheid, the Sharpeville Six remain in the hands of the state's bloody jailers with sentences ranging from 18 to 25 years.

While world attention focused on the Sharpeville Six reprieve, the apartheid hangman went about business as usual. Just one day later five more black and "coloured" (mixed-race) victims went to the gallows. As the *New York Times* (1 December 1988) reported, "Hangings Now Routine at Pretoria Prison." Together with the U.S., South Africa is among the few industrial powers which retain the death penalty. In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental rights, reducing man to a beast of burden. In 1987, some 164 people were put to death in South Africa and in 1988 another 115 were executed as of November 25. At present, 270 people remain on death row, most of them black. "Justice" Minister Kobie H. Coetsee declared that 83 death row inmates face execution for "politically motivated crimes."

Many anti-apartheid activists never make it to court. In October recent cases of cop terror directed against black activists exploded in the South African press: one man "disappeared" in custody, another suffered a brain hemorrhage hours after arrest, and a third man was choked by a cop's boot applied to his neck.

* * *

On December 8 the three-year trial of 19 anti-apartheid activists came to a close. Eleven leaders and supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF) were convicted on charges of treason and terrorism, five of them sentenced to prison for terms ranging from 5 to 12 years. Six others received suspended sentences on condition that they not take part in any further political activities or talk to the press!

Behind the Delmas trial, named for the town where it began, is the government's determination to behead the UDF and the leadership of the township revolts which swept South Africa from 1984 to 1986. As the largest anti-apartheid organization still "legal," the UDF is already severely restricted under South Africa's emergency decrees. The trial was a crippling blow. General secretary Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Patrick Lekota, already held without bail for three years pending trial, were sentenced to 12 years. The court declared the UDF to be the internal wing of the outlawed African National Congress, a sure signal of its

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TROTSKY

Long Live the Memory of Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

LENIN

Seventy years ago, on 15 January 1919, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by counterrevolutionary troops sent to suppress the Spartacus uprising of January 1919 in Berlin. In commemorating these heroic revolutionary leaders of the German proletariat with this statement by the International Labor Defense, founded by the Communist Party in the 1920s, we rededicate ourselves to the cause for which they fought and died—the international socialist revolution.

The name and tradition of *Spartacus* is dear to the heart of every working class rebel in the world, and particularly to those of Germany. Spartacus is for them the standard of revolutionary courage against the perfidy, cowardice and betrayal of the bureaucratic leaders during the imperialist war, the banner borne by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and their comrades. Spartacus is for them the flag of struggle which led them in the January uprising in 1919 to a heroic attempt at the final victory of the oppressed. Spartacus is for them the ineradicable memory of those two peerless leaders who were foully murdered on January 15, 1919 by the drunken agents of reaction who worked with the connivance of the Social-democratic Scheidemanns and Noskes.

The portentous signs of new struggles and new victories of the working class, and the gathering of the clouds of another world imperialist war sharpen for all of us the immortal memories of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They bring to mind a scene of Berlin's Spartacus days:

"All found with arms are shot dead. With hands raised the revolutionaries, beaten and spat upon by the soldiers, march to the barracks. Here they are placed against a wall and threatened for hours with death. A sixteen year old young corporal is ordered to shout, 'Long live Scheidemann.' With pale face he turns to his tormentors and calls, 'Long live Liebknecht!' A rifle shot, and he falls dead to the ground."

But above the crack of the rifle shots that wound and kill the fighters in the army of liberation rises the deathless cry: *Spartacus still lives!*

—"Spartacus," *Labor Defender* (February 1928)

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Richard S. Fraser

30 June 1913–27 November 1988

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Sunday, January 8
2:00-6:00 p.m.

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LOS ANGELES

Labor Notes Loves Company Cops

For years the venal AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been welcoming police "unions" into its ranks, both to pump up its sagging dues base and to underline its renunciation of class struggle. Yet many workers, especially blacks and other minorities, know by experience that the cops are not their union "brothers" and "sisters," but rather the armed agents of the bosses who should be expelled from the unions. Phony "leftists," tagging along after the bureaucrats, have generally avoided the subject, except perhaps for the political handits of the Workers League, whose *Bulletin* years ago hailed an NYC police "strike" and claimed cops are part of the workers movement (a position they have never repudiated).

Now *Labor Notes*, issued by the remnant trade-union supporters of the defunct International Socialists, has gone one step further into the bosses' swamp, if that's possible: their November issue has an article, "Guards Protest Job Loss, Wage Cuts at Chrysler," sympathetically reporting on a September demonstration in Michigan by hundreds of company "security" guards employed by Chrysler, Ford and GM, members of something called the "United Plant Guard Workers of America."

These are the thugs and spies who sign up with a particular boss to commit strikebreaking and other nefarious acts—the Pinkertons and their ilk, the lowest sort of cop. Back in 1937 at Ford they were known as Harry Bennett's "service" men, and when United Automobile Workers (UAW) organizers Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen showed up at the giant River Rouge plant to peacefully hand out leaflets to workers, they were viciously assaulted by these company goons in what came to be known as the Battle of the Overpass. Reuther was beaten to the ground while Frankensteen, according to an eyewitness, was spread-eagled by four or five men as others "proceeded to kick him in the crotch and groin, and left kidney and around the head and also to gore him with their heels in the abdomen" (Irving Bernstein, *Turbulent Years* [1971]).

If the company goons aren't beating up UAW officials right now, it's not because the guards have changed their objective role but because the union tops have come to play the political role of company cops, giving up all pretense of fighting the company. Symbolic of this "cooperation" was then-UAW chief Doug Fraser's taking a seat on the Chrysler board of directors in the early '80s in exchange for accepting massive layoffs.

So now Chrysler is imposing a little austerity on its police force, and the would-be bureaucrats of *Labor Notes*, following in the footsteps of their social-democratic political mentors at Solidarity House, are singing the praises of the supposedly downtrodden "security force" which in the words of *Labor Notes* "has protected the company's facilities from theft, fire, vandalism and even espionage during World War II, for well over a half of a century... it has built a record of dedication and loyalty to duty"! What's next—a Harry Bennett Scholarship Fund? American social democracy became a stinking corpse decades ago, but it seems the putrefaction continues. ■

Letter

Skinheads and Fascism

11/6/88

To the Editors,

In your Nov. 4 issue, you have an article entitled, "Skinheads: Psycho Killers on the Loose" (reprinted from the October 1988 "Workers Hammer," your British sister publication).

Towards the end of the article there's a damning indictment of a large segment of the West German Left, the Autonomen. "In West Germany today there is a large lumpenized milieu of the 'no future' generation—from squatters and Autonomen anarchists to the various skinhead gangs—*in which the lines between left and right are totally blurred.*"

But you also have another piece in the same issue, "West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis" (taken from the Nov.-Dec. 1988 paper of your German comrades). It has a dramatically different view of the Autonomen. It states:

"But when the NPD/FAP/skinhead scum announced their October 15 provocation, they encountered mounting outrage and protest. Anti-fascist youth organizations, *spearheaded by the anarchist Autonomen*, mobilized across the country for a protest on the 15th at Friedberger Platz. Their clear intent was to stop the fascist rally which was to meet only 1,000 meters away at Merianplatz. They called in a leaflet for joining forces with a second anti-fascist protest called by the powerful West German trade-union federation, the DGB."

Obviously your British and German comrades don't exactly see eye-to-eye on who's a borderline stormtrooper and who isn't! So, which is it? Are the Autonomen a bunch of crazy, drug saturated, looters, purse-snatchers, etc., devoid of any genuine leftist principles, who could easily make the transition into becoming latter-day S.S. by the time the 1990's roll around?

Or are they (as I would maintain) a movement of hard anti-racist, anti-capitalist street fighters whose sincerity and commitment is just as great as any Communist (however flawed their ideology and tactics may be)? They damn sure can't be both. Where does W.V. stand on the question?

Tony Costello,
San Francisco

WV replies: In one sense Tony Costello's letter is based on a simple confusion. We did not equate *Autonom* anarchists with skinhead fascists. Rather we stated that the *Autonomen* and skinheads inhabit the *same* broad lumpen milieu, which is politically highly fluid with groupings and individuals easily shifting from the extreme left to the extreme right.

Tony Costello insists that the *Autonomen* must be either devils or angels (he maintains the latter), either budding Nazi stormtroopers or sterling anti-fascist fighters. The reality is far more contradictory. They are one of the degeneration products of the German New Left, which hung on a lot longer than in the U.S. Today they can bring out several thousands against the fascists, police terror or Ronald Reagan. Within the loose, heterogeneous *Autonomen* movement are to be found hatred for the bourgeois order and also a strong impulse toward violence and resurgent German nationalism. Thus the *Autonomen* shade into the Redskins, self-styled "left-wing" skinhead gangs.

Spartakist

Guardian [London]

So-called "Redskins" in Berlin, August 1988 (left). Hitlerite skinheads in Paris, May 1988 (right).

A recent article in the *New Yorker* (28 November 1988) describes the *interpenetration* of *Autonomen* and Redskins in the Kreuzberg district of West Berlin. Brigitte Bitomsky recounts how a group of Redskins trashed the restaurant run by her and her husband Hartmut, a well-known left-wing filmmaker and critic. Suddenly 20 people broke in, "dressed like the British skinheads, in jeans and bomber jackets and fighting boots," and threw tables, chairs, lamps, glasses. When the attackers returned later for a "people's trial" of the Bitomskys, they asked for protection money.

Here you can see a continuum between petty criminality, Redskins and *Autonomen*. *Autonomen* insist to the point of violence that the Redskins are their comrades-in-arms. In West Berlin, the "front-line city" of the Cold War, the main activity of the ex-Maoist Redskins is pushing anti-Communist propaganda denouncing the pro-Moscow Stalinists for serving the "paymasters" and "bosses of Moscow and East Berlin." And in two recent demonstrations these "Redskins" have physically attacked our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.

What are the skinheads? This loathsome phenomenon originated in Britain, the one Western country where a large fraction of white, lower-class youth is permanently lumpenized. The skinheads were distinguished from other currents of youth pop culture as a *cult of violence*. Punks may have grooved on rock music. But the skins were into busting heads. Long before they took up the Nazi salute and swastika, the skinheads were identified with promiscuous attacks on the public at large.

In the U.S., there have been some isolated groups of punks and "ska skins" who claim to be against the racist terror of the Nazi skinheads, but as a recent article in *Rolling Stone* (1 December 1988) reports, "in most places, ska skins are a diminished, barely visible contingent." At best they are some very mixed-up kids, and no matter what is going on inside their heads, by donning the characteristic skinhead uniform they naturally are taken for these *fascist killers*; and equally naturally, blacks and many others will respond with fear and loathing.

From California to West Berlin, the shaved head and "Doc Marten" boots have become symbols of a new generation of would-be Nazi stormtroopers. Nonetheless, out of extreme disorientation or outright cynicism, a number of left groups have sought to embrace a section of the skinheads. This has reached the point that in Britain the skinhead Nicky Crane, a notoriously violent Nazi goon, has been employed as a steward in disarmament, anti-apartheid and gay demonstrations! Among the Redskin "comrades" of the *Autonomen* are the West German counterparts of Nicky Crane.

What links the anarchists and skinheads? In *The ABC of Communism*, Bukharin and Preobrazhensky defined anarchism as "lumpenproletarian socialism." And in *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels succinctly described the position of the *Lumpenproletariat*:

> "The 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."

In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx refers to this layer as "scum, offal, refuse of all classes."

In some cases, from Chicago to Paris suburbs, there have been fights between fascist skinheads and "anti-racist" skinheads. Yet far from there being a sharp blood line between skinheads and supposed "hard anti-racist, anti-capitalist street fighters," their taste for gang clashes is a common political thread. Divorced from the organized labor movement and from productive work, the lumpen milieu is prone toward social nihilism. Fascist ideology, too, appeals to violent nihilism.

There is another link between the *Autonomen*, "Redskins" and fascist skinheads besides a shared lumpen lifestyle. That is resurgent nationalism directed against both the U.S. and Russia. A key slogan of European skinheads, *both* the out-and-out fascists and the "Redskins," is "Neither Washington Nor Moscow." German nationalism could well serve as a bridge between today's *Autonom* anarchist or Green pacifist and tomorrow's neo-Nazi. ■

Militant University Workers Strike Sold Out

Mexico: Break with Cárdenas Popular Front!

MEXICO CITY—On December 1, the new president of Mexico's crisis-ridden regime took office as more than 100 opposition deputies walked out of Congress in protest. Carlos Salinas de Gortari was hand-picked by his predecessor and imposed by the ruling PRI ("Institutional Revolutionary Party") in an election marked by some of the highest levels of fraud ever. For months, the country was racked by marches of hundreds of thousands proclaiming the victor to be Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the former PRI leader backed by a coalition of leftist and nationalist parties.

As Salinas donned the green, white and red presidential sash, the red and black banners that mean "strike" were flying at the country's premier educational institution, UNAM, the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Salinas is widely hated as the "Harvard Boy" technocrat known as "Charlie Cutback" for his role in slashing budgets to the bone and cutting real wages by more than 50 percent during the last six years. Real wages are now at the lowest level since 1940! And now the PRI government is demanding that unions accept a 10 percent limit on wage increases, less than *one-tenth* the inflation rate over the last year.

Millions of Mexican workers are fed up, looking for a way to fight back, and throughout the month of November their attention focused on the strike by the 25,000 members of STUNAM, the UNAM workers union. In the U.S. during campus strikes, all too often unions scab on each other, students cross picket lines and business goes on more or less as usual. At UNAM, with its 300,000 students, buildings were sealed shut or occupied by the strikers, the administration had to pack up and leave campus, and classes were shut down, although a few scab teachers tried to hold classes off campus.

Demanding a 50 percent wage hike, STUNAM went directly up against the government's wage controls. Strikers said: "*10 por ciento—¡ni madre! ¡Abajo el tope salarial!*" ("Ten percent—no way! Down with the wage limit!") A statement of support by electrical workers, auto workers, seamstresses and other unions declared that the STUNAM strike is "the most just protest action which the workers of this country have carried out in recent years." On three different occasions, tens of thousands of strikers and their supporters marched to Mexico City's Zócalo square opposite the presidential palace.

The highly visible STUNAM strike could have been the spark detonating a *general working-class offensive* against starvation wages and government repression. Strikers and student supporters who raised funds in the streets and subways encountered widespread sympathy among workers, the poor and sections of the middle class. But apart from the token 24-hour shutdown of universities around the country, the STUNAM strike remained isolated and thereby condemned to defeat. Even the most complete campus shutdown does not hit the bourgeoisie's profits. To win, the strike had to be *extended*—not only to all the country's campuses, but above all to *strategic* sections of the combative Mexican working class.

Transport workers can bring Mexico City, the world's largest metropolis, to a grinding halt. The powerful electrical workers union, which can pull the switch on the entire country, was negotiating its contract at the same time. Sugar workers and telegraph workers struck briefly against the wage limits. Copper miners and airline workers are facing wholesale liquidation of their jobs as Salinas follows Wall Street's dictate to sell off state-owned industry. It was necessary to fight to bring these and other workers out in *joint strike action* for the common cause of labor. This poses the need for *elected strike committees* to take the struggle out of the hands of sellout union bureaucrats.

But this means *political struggle* to defeat the bourgeois government, which is hardlining its wage freeze in the interests of the capitalist class and the bloodsucking bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund. It means taking on the corporatist structure of arbitration and conciliation boards that shackle the unions, institutionalized class collaboration unchallenged by the trade-union bureaucracy, both pro-government and "independent." But from the beginning, the STUNAM leadership insisted, "Our strike is not political.... We aren't suffering from *strikitis*." Virtually from the first day of the strike, the bureaucrats sabotaged the action, trying and finally succeeding in calling it off.

And above all, it means breaking with the Cardenista popular front which has subordinated the left and the workers movement, including STUNAM and other "independent" unions. After a series of powerful strikes against austerity in 1987, a bourgeois populist opposition was launched by ex-PRI politico Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to divert the workers' struggles into the dead end of electoralism. When Aeroméxico workers were forced to strike during the presidential campaign, they were left hanging in the wind by the rest of the "independent" unions which threw their energies into the Cárdenas campaign. And while he was featured speaker at a STUNAM strike rally at the Zócalo in mid-November, three days later Cárdenas called for "reconciliation" (*concertación*) with the government to solve Mexico's problems.

The role of the popular front is precisely to *prevent* the massive outbreak of class struggle. This "people's unity" of exploiters and exploited has led to some truly obscene spectacles. October 2, 1988 was the 20th anniversary of the infamous Tlatelolco Massacre of protesting students by the PRI regime of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz. After the massacre, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo—then PRI party chief, now Cárdenas' right-hand man—made a name for himself denouncing the students for "adventurist voluntarism" while praising the butcher Díaz Ordaz and his defense of "order."

As the crowd alternated chants of "October 2 will never be forgotten" with chants of "Cuauh-té-moc, Cuauh-té-moc," the 20th anniversary rally was made into a mockery with Muñoz Ledo sharing the platform with survivors of the massacre, as well as Rosario Ibarra, ex-presidential candidate of the fake-Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party) and spokesmen for the Morenoite Partido de los Trabajadores Zapatistas (PTZ—Zapatista Workers Party) and other leftists—*none* of whom denounced this revolting "unity" of *victims and executioners*.

Break with the Cardenista Popular Front!

To win strikes, to defend its most basic interests in the face of the savage starvation-wage offensive of the ruling class, the working class must *break with the bourgeoisie*; it must break from the Cardenista popular front. But the Mexican fake-left seeks only to "deepen" its subordination to Cárdenas. The Partido Mexicano Socialista (Mexican Socialist Party)—formed last year by the ex-Communist Party with sundry other nationalists and reformists—is preparing to dissolve into Cárdenas' new Party of the Democratic Revolution. During the strike it faithfully echoed the STUNAM leaders' rantings against "splitters" within the union who sought to oppose the union tops' escalating efforts to liquidate the strike.

Despite the McCarthyite redbaiting by UNAM rector Jorge Carpizo, who ranted that the strike was the result of a PRT plot, the Mexican section of E. Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" is far from a group of flaming reds. Reeling from a financial crisis brought on by the loss of its parliamentary fraction and thus its government subsidy, the PRT seeks to "win democracy" through "deepening its alliance with the Cárdenas popular front." This includes seeking *joint candidates* with the Cardenistas, i.e., openly and formally integrating into the popular front. During the STUNAM strike, a PRT leaflet pushed "student power" illusions pushed by Cárdenas' pet student leaders (who include prominent ex-members of the PRT).

Meanwhile, the PTZ, trained in capitulation to bourgeois populism by their deceased mentor, Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, prostrated itself before Cárdenas. In a 16 November 1988 leaflet it begged "the Cardenistas, who have been carrying out important mobilizations since July 6," the date of the presidential elections, to turn these mobilizations to support STUNAM and place them "at the service of all the struggles against the government, the bosses and their partners in the IMF" as well as to push for an increase in university budgets!

While the PTZ claims to be Trotskyist, it tells the workers to ask the *bourgeois* popular front to win strikes and "serve" the working people! This is the opposite of the policy Trotsky fought for during the 1930s, in Spain and France, when he pounded home the need to break the workers from the

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La Unidad

Mexico's National University workers take on IMF-ordered austerity.

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U.S. Squeezes Israeli Ally

Playing the Palestinian Card?

Less than a month after the Reagan administration literally slammed the door on Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat, refusing to allow him into the U.S. to address the United Nations, Washington agreed to hold direct talks with the PLO. While Arafat and various Arab regimes crowed over their "historic victory" in getting a nod from the world's foremost imperialist war criminals, Israel responded with undisguised (and unsurprising) bitterness. Even as an American envoy and PLO representatives were holding their first meeting in Carthage, Tunisia, on December 16, Israeli troops in the West Bank village of Nablus were aiming high-velocity bullets at the heads of Palestinians attending the funeral of a youth killed by the army. By the end of the day, eight more lay dead or dying. That was Israel's comment on the U.S.-PLO "dialogue."

Reagan, Shultz and Bush claim that the U.S. finally agreed to meet with the PLO simply because Arafat met Washington's longstanding conditions that the PLO renounce "terrorism," recognize Zionist Israel and accept UN resolutions 242 and 338, guaranteeing Israel "secure borders" in exchange for withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. But there is nothing substantively new in the PLO's stance. For years, more or less since 1974 when it adopted the call for a mini-state in the Occupied Territories, the PLO has effectively accepted the existence of Zionist Israel.

At the November Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers, Arafat dotted the i's and crossed the t's, capping a yearlong diplomatic offensive aimed at capitalizing on international sympathy for the *intifada*—the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories—as a means of pressuring the U.S. to put the squeeze on its Israeli ally. Even then, the Americans forced Arafat to crawl before acquiescing. Shultz's first response to the Algiers declaration was to refuse Arafat a visa to enter the U.S. Then a meeting was organized in Stockholm between Arafat and a delegation of American Jews—notably including a spokesman for the International Network of Children of Holocaust Survivors—where Arafat reiterated his acceptance of the American conditions, again to no avail.

Finally, a day after his speech to the special UN session in Geneva, following feverish negotiations between the State Department and the PLO with the Swedes acting as intermediaries, Arafat read a statement literally dictated by the U.S.—in English—word for word, comma for comma. Harassed by imperialist press sharks to not only renounce violence but acquiesce to a demilitarized "state" while nothing is ever demanded of the berserk Zionist state terrorists, even the pliant Arafat finally got fed up: "Why do you demand something of me and not the Israelis? The Israelis are allowed to be afraid of us, but I am not allowed to be afraid of them?"

Sica/Gamma-Liaison

Yasir Arafat meets with representatives of American Jewish groups in Stockholm in December.

Likud prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, echoed by "Labor" leader Shimon Peres, denounced the American decision and insisted: "We are not ready and will never be ready to talk to the P.L.O." After nearly two months of internecine bickering over the formation of a new government, Shamir argued that another coalition with Labor had become necessary "to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state." The new Labor-Likud coalition is committed to expanding the number of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and hardlining against American pressure to begin negotiating. The basis of the coalition, Peres emphasized, is "no negotiations with the P.L.O." Even the staunchly pro-Zionist *New York Times* (21 December 1988) could not hide its exasperation: "The world has turned, but not Israel's leadership."

Has U.S. imperialism decided to play the Palestinian card and jilt its Israeli junior partners? Certainly not at this point. Fortress Israel is still central to American designs to forge an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East, and any American administration intent on breaking with Israel would have to contend with the sizable and potent Zionist lobby in the U.S. But the yearlong Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories has brought to a head American frustration with Israel's intransigence, as well as polarizing Israeli society and, even more so, American Jews. The American rulers are concerned that the Near East could blow up in their faces.

The Israelis have dismissed every admonition by their senior partners in Washington to scale down the gratuitous level of their brutality in the Occupied Territories and cease being an obstacle to an accommodation with America's anti-Soviet client states among the Arab regimes, arrogantly assuming that the U.S. has no alternative but to continue supporting the Zionist madmen in Jerusalem. When the Israelis chose the first anniversary of the uprising on December 9 as the occasion for a massive ground incursion deep inside Lebanon, Secretary of State George Shultz snapped, "I would have thought that, by this time, the Israelis would have learned their lesson about putting troops well inside of Lebanon."

Cambio 16

UPI

Israeli "Labor" Party's Shimon Peres (left) and Likud's Yitzhak Shamir lead coalition regime of Zionist terror against Palestinians.

An article titled "Reality Time in Mideast" in the *New York Times* (19 December 1988) warned that if the Israelis refuse to "face up to the idea that some type of Palestinian homeland has to be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip," they "run the risk of alienating the United States and a significant section of American Jewry." But, it noted soberly, the Israelis "may find the hard choices set before them so overwhelming that they will dig in their heels and man the barricades."

Days later, Pan Am Flight 103 exploded in the skies above Scotland, killing all 259 people aboard, apparently the target of a powerful, sophisticated bomb. The London to New York flight was packed with American passengers, reportedly including the CIA's Lebanon station chief, as well as a Swedish UN official. It was subsequently revealed that the U.S. embassy in Helsinki had received an anonymous tip days earlier warning of a bomb attack by the shadowy "Abu Nidal" against a Pan Am flight originating, as 103 did, in Frankfurt. The FBI dismissed the Helsinki tip as a "hoax" and likewise dismissed a handful of calls claiming responsibility. Yet Bush and Reagan are vowing to wreak vengeance, and a second carrier group centered on the USS *Teddy Roosevelt* (The Big Stick) has been dispatched to join the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

American "terrorism expert" George Carver of the Center for Strategic and International Studies observed that the perpetrators may choose anonymity in order "to point the finger of suspicion and blame toward someone else" (CBS-TV News, 29 December 1988). *Cui bono*—who benefits? The PLO has made repeated warnings recently that the Mossad (Israeli intelligence) might try a provocation aimed at disrupting any possibility of a rapprochement with the U.S. Needless to say, the Mossad is now pointing the finger of suspicion and blame at various Palestinian groups, including Ahmad Jibril's PFLP-General Command, based in Syria, which the Israelis have long targeted for another war. The London *Guardian* (23 December 1988) conspicuously concluded a piece on possible suspects by observing, "The remaining candidate for the atrocity from the Middle East could, the PLO fear, be Mossad...."

To be sure, the Israelis have a good chance of facing down the current American diplomatic opening toward the PLO through a combination of American Zionist pressure and terrorist provocations aimed at discrediting the PLO. But, as we noted in our article, "Palestinian Uprising—A Year of Defiance" (*WV* No. 466, 2 December 1988): "It is certainly not out of the question that U.S. imperialism could do a turnaround in the Near East if it saw that as a road to achieving a more stable anti-Soviet consensus with the bourgeois Arab regimes." It was only after the 1967 Arab-Israel war that the U.S. took on the role of chief imperialist quartermaster for the Zionist regime—before that it was France.

Impressionistic leftists to the contrary, Israel is not simply a puppet of the U.S. The Israeli bourgeoisie has its own, expansionist, national agenda and it has the military wherewithal to pursue it, or failing that, to take the region and possibly the world down with it in a nuclear holocaust. Even if a more flexible government came to power in Jerusalem, any attempt to pull out of the Occupied Territories would likely ignite a civil war within Israel. On the other hand, the game of musical chairs played out in

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WV Photos

Christmas in NYC: homeless sleep in Grand Central Station (left). Spartacists at December 18 rally for the homeless which brought out 20,000.

Homeless...

(continued from page 1)

everywhere: sleeping on steam vents next to Washington, D.C.'s huge imperial bureaucratic warrens; hiding in steam tunnels and underground catacombs in New York's Grand Central and Penn stations; camping out in cars in shopping centers and wooded areas in the suburbs. The U.S. Conference of Mayors recently estimated that as many as 22 percent of the homeless nationwide had jobs, while in some cities, like San Antonio, more than half the homeless work. In America today thousands of young families are living in rusting cars, bathing their children in public park fountains, or fighting off mice and rats from their babies' cots in the big cities' inhuman shelters.

NYC: You Can't Live Here Anymore

This acute crisis has reached its height in New York City, where the contradictions of this rotting capitalist system and its housing crisis are most extreme. America's rulers, from Reagan to NYC's despicable Ed Koch, claim the homeless are simply crazies or alcoholics who are on the streets because they want to be. The bourgeoisie's only "policy" is to try to get them out of the sight of tourists and executives. The *New York Times* headlined a Christmas day editorial "At Least Help the Homeless Off the Street," complaining that "As the homeless proliferate in public, they threaten quality of life for everyone. Citizens are entitled to minimal decency on the streets." For the haughty *Times*, which yearns for the days when you had to own property to vote, the homeless aren't citizens.

The reason for homelessness is stark and simple: people can't afford a place to live. Between 1970 and 1982, New York City lost 87 percent of its low-rent SRO (single room occupancy) hotel rooms. Whole neighborhoods of low-income housing were razed or burnt to clear the way for "gentrification." Today, there is *no* affordable housing in NYC; studio apartments start at $700 a month, and even yuppies are reduced to living on friends' couches. Episcopalian Bishop Paul Moore Jr. called NYC the "Calcutta of the West."

It all comes together in the subways, where several thousand sleep at night and plead daily for money. Many are frighteningly thin and weak. Many subway riders respond sympathetically. But NYC's sadistic mayor Koch launched a campaign against "panhandling" last June, telling businessmen to "just say no" and "if you feel guilty, see a priest." Meanwhile, dozens of homeless have camped out in the park surrounding Koch's office in City Hall for months. His response has been periodic police sweeps to dump their possessions on the sidewalk.

When the mayor (who has promised a "kinder, gentler" Koch in '89) found out that some of the families in NYC's dirty, dangerous shelters actually had managed to find jobs, he incredibly proposed charging them *rent*, as much as $215 per month! It would build character, the arrogant racist mayor said, piously whining, "there is nothing free in this world" (*New York Times*, 7 December 1988). Except for the real estate barons who run New York, that is—the NYC government gave "condo king" Donald Trump a hefty gift of over $6 million in tax abatements to build his pleasure palace Trump Tower.

In a November 25 demonstration at Trump Tower, ACT-UP militants chanted, "Housing for people with AIDS! Not towers with maids!" and pointed out that $6 million could have rehabilitated some 1,200 city-owned apartments. Meanwhile, landlords are "warehousing" thousands of apartments, keeping them empty for condo conversion; the welfare hotels that have milked the city for decades now too are moving welfare families out of the remaining SRO rooms. And when demonstrators protested this cruel "warehousing," the cops dragged off 43 of them. We say: Expropriate the real estate barons! Homeless should seize Trump City!

From Protest to Power

For many of the "working poor" today, the slide into homelessness is only one paycheck, one accident, one apartment fire, one farm mortgage foreclosure away. But for the American black population, segregated at the bottom of the economy, the situation is even more desperate. Most black youth have never held a job, and have no chance of finding one. And now, an ominous report issued by the National Center for Health Statistics reports that for the first time in this century, black life expectancy has fallen, two years in a row.

For the black population, it's gone beyond a fight for basic rights—it's a battle for *survival*. To succeed, this struggle must confront—and destroy—the capitalist system which is at the root of their hideous oppression. The open and shameful spectacle of countless thousands of Americans reduced to begging on the streets has generated a growing number of protests. Vigils and symbolic civil disobedience, led by veteran liberal protesters like Dr. Benjamin Spock, are proliferating. Yet pious appeals to the capitalists and their loyal petty despots in office will not remove the shameful scandal of homelessness.

In Miami, where the homeless are to be swept off the streets to make the Orange Bowl parade look good on TV, homeless activist Brother Paul Johnson related an incident that cuts to the heart of capitalist greed. "I was at a very fancy cocktail party—wealthy, wealthy people—and they thought I was just wonderful.... One woman asked me, What would I do if I could change any law or could take just one big step to help the homeless? I said I would raise the minimum wage to $5. She wouldn't talk to me; she said at $5 she couldn't afford her maid" (*New York Times*, 19 December 1988).

Of course, it's going to take a lot more than even a modestly decent step like raising the minimum wage to resolve the homeless crisis, and to overcome the deadly drive toward genocide for blacks. Food, shelter, clothing are rather more than human rights—they're necessities for life! But to get even that today, what's posed is a fight for power, to wrest control of this economy and this society from the hands of the capitalists who are driving us into the ground. The working people who built this nation have the power to seize the productive wealth we created and that has been expropriated from us. As we wrote after the stock market crash (*WV* No. 439, 30 October 1987):

> "You can solve a lot of problems with 'domestic cash transfers'—make life livable for blacks, Hispanics, jobless, homeless, welfare mothers, drug users, etc. And we communists intend to do so. But you have to first smash the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn't 'respect' the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, *so take it*."■

Defend Black Bus Driver Beaten by Cops!

Muni Workers Turn Out for Greg Wiggins

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—About 30 people, including 19 Muni bus drivers, came out to support Greg Wiggins (center, with cane) at his December 21 court hearing at the SF Hall of Justice, and held an impromptu rally afterwards. Wiggins, a black bus driver, was brutally beaten while on duty last October by SF cops shouting racist epithets, and was badly injured in the back, hip, neck and throat. The lying cops then charged *him* with battery on an officer, resisting arrest and more. Muni drivers are outraged by this racist thug attack and frame-up and are mobilizing to pack the courtroom with union members at Greg's upcoming hearings, January 5 and 12, and at the trial scheduled for January 27. All out to defend Greg Wiggins! Drop the charges now!

Bush File...

(continued from page 1)

anti-communist psychopath Oliver North. And a year later, all the Democrats could say about Bush's role was "Where was George?" Later they whined that the election was "dirty"—but they didn't go after the dirt. They took a few pokes over drugs and the Noriega connection (a popular bumper sticker in California read, "Bush and Noriega—A Crack Team"). But they steered well clear of the secret armies, the contras' mass murder—the kind of stuff that made Bush's day, every day.

While North has subpoenaed Bush and Reagan to testify, the cover-up held through the elections. They managed to sell the hands-on vice president, former Director of Central Intelligence, member of the National Security Council, as a figurehead who was "out of the loop" while Reagan was out to lunch. But if the Tower Commission and Congressional Democrats looked all around the loop and couldn't find him, it was because *George Bush was at the center of it all.* Bush ran the Iran/Contra operation with an "old boys network" of CIA murderers, thieves and big-time drug-runners.

Former Chilean ambassador Orlando Leteller (Inset), assassinated in car-bombing in Washington, D.C., 1976 (right). Bush, then CIA director, has Letelier's blood on his hands.

Wheeler/Washington Post

Lawrence McIntosh

Bush's Baby

In 1984 when the Boland Amendment cut off Congressional money for military supplies to the contras, a whole private operation went into action *run out of Bush's office.* Former CIA Director Bush hired as his security adviser veteran CIA officer Donald Gregg, who had worked on "Operation Phoenix" in Vietnam, the now infamous assassination program which murdered 60,000 people labeled "Viet Cong." Gregg brought in an old CIA friend, Felix Rodriguez, a gusano veteran of the Bay of Pigs fiasco who was part of the hunter-killer squad that got Che Guevara in Bolivia and who still wears Guevara's watch. Jonathan Kwitny outlines the setup:

> "Rodriguez ran the arms depot [in El Salvador], at times talking almost daily with Gregg and meeting at least three times with Bush.... When the Administration decided to expand its already illegal war against Nicaragua by secretly opening a southern front in Costa Rica, it used [Dan] Quayle's office. Quayle's staff aide, Rob Owen, put North in touch with another Hoosier, John Hull, who owned vast lands in northern Costa Rica. Hull's property, with six airstrips, became the secret Contra arms depot and staging base...."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 4 November 1988

Washington Post

Carlos Durán

Tight-lipped gusano assassin and contra supplymaster Felix Rodriguez (left). When mercenary Hasenfus was shot down over Nicaragua in 1986, blowing drugs-for-guns operation, Rodriguez called Bush's office.

To locate Bush in this loop, just look what happened when it blew up. In 1986 veteran CIA pilot Eugene Hasenfus was shot down over Nicaragua by Sandinista soldiers. If these contra aid missions failed, everybody was supposed to end up dead. But Hasenfus had rigged himself a parachute, and when he was captured he started spilling the beans. From San Salvador, Felix Rodriguez called Washington with the news. Who did he call? Colonel Samuel Watson, Donald Gregg's assistant in the vice president's office. Bush was the first to know, *because it was Bush's baby.*

Leslie Cockburn, in her well-researched book *Out of Control* (1987) which details a lot of the Contragate scandal that the media and politicians buried, showed just where the buck stopped:

> "Bush's active involvement with the covert operation in Central America is more easily understood in the light of the Byzantine White House covert organization chart. North, for example, served on the Inter-Departmental Group on Terrorism and on the Terrorist Incident Working Group, both of which reported to the Crisis Pre-Planning Group and the Special Situations Group, both of which in turn shared the same chairman: Vice President George Bush."

"Out of the loop"? After the election it was reported that "As Vice President, Mr. Bush was briefed by the C.I.A. each morning" (*New York Times*, 13 November 1988). Lt. Col. North, Adm. Poindexter & Co. claimed they didn't bother to report "details" of their elaborate Iran/Contra operation to Reagan, but you better believe that they reported to "Poppy" Bush!

Letelier's Blood on Bush's Hands

It was from his stint as CIA director in 1976 that Bush had the connections to preside over all this. His 350-day term is generally portrayed as lackluster, his time occupied with smoothing down ruffled feathers on Capitol Hill following the 1975 Church Committee report on CIA skullduggery. He "restored Agency morale" by keeping Congress from snooping into illegal CIA domestic operations under the cover of the Drug Enforcement Agency, shielding assets who had lied about ITT's conniving with the CIA to prevent Salvador Allende from taking office in Chile, covering up for the MKULTRA program in which the CIA tested out LSD on unknowing subjects, etc. But this is small change. For notwithstanding the "ban" on assassinations, The Company was still deep into the business of murder and mayhem.

On 21 September 1976 Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the U.S. and the key figure holding together the opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship, was assassinated by a car bomb on Embassy Row in Washington. The bombing was carried out by fascist American bomb expert Michael Townley working with Cuban gusano terrorists in the pay of Chilean butcher Pinochet's secret police organization, DINA. The CIA vultures were up to their gizzards in this bloody murder on the streets of the U.S. capital. As CIA director, Bush was informed that a DINA hit squad was on its way, and again when they entered the U.S. (see "George Bush and the Letelier Assassination," *WV* No. 261, 25 July 1980). After the "hit," Bush stonewalled Congress while the CIA tried to cover the assassins' tracks with the story that Letelier was killed by leftists looking for a martyr.

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Racist "Justice" Shafts James Brown

In a glaring example of racist American "justice," popular black singer James Brown was sentenced to a *six-year stretch* in a South Carolina prison for a traffic violation—refusing to stop his car for some cracker cops in rural Georgia! Brown's real "crime" in the eyes of his jailers is that he is black and famous. Brown is a reactionary promoter of the "American dream," but his case shows it's still the same old American nightmare for blacks, no matter how rich and well connected, in this deeply racist society.

On September 24, Brown was driving on a rural Georgia road when the cops ordered him over. Scared for his life, Brown hit the accelerator and sped away. There ensued a chase involving between 10 and 14 squad cars ending when cops shot out his tires outside North Augusta, South Carolina.

Brown told the court of his love for the flag and the racist guardians of capitalist law and order: "I respect police. Without them we have nothing." This was no idle plea for leniency. Brown is a notorious promoter of "black capitalism" and of some of the most reactionary forces in American society. Widely despised by black militants after 1968 when he went on TV to side with the cops against ghetto rebellions following the assassination of M.L. King, Brown went on to support reactionary politicians from Nixon to Reagan. He was also the godfather who funded admitted FBI fink Al Sharpton's National Youth Movement.

But even as he promotes the "American dream," the "godfather of soul" knows that in racist America it's not safe for a black man stopped on a rural road in the heart of the Old Confederacy. Brown apologized to the court and told them, "I was scared to death. I went to Vietnam and I wasn't that frightened." And he was right. Remember Loyal Garner, who was picked up by cops one year ago for allegedly driving while intoxicated and beaten to death in an East Texas jail.

Brown has had more than his share of run-ins with his beloved cops—seven arrests in the past year and a half, including charges of assaulting his wife. And he certainly deserves the enmity of many of us. But it is an outrage for the capitalist state to throw him into a Southern prison hell for six years for having the good sense to run for his life. Were it Johnny Cash who'd been stopped that night he'd be singing at The Grand Ole Opry next weekend. For James Brown, who 20 years ago sang, "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag," and for the millions of black Americans, it's the same old bag of racist American "justice."

Bush File...

(continued from page 7)

The Letelier killing was no isolated case. Bush was confirmed as Director of Central Intelligence on 27 January 1976, and gusano terrorists soon began an orgy of terrorism that ran through the duration of Bush's term as DCI. In April, the Cuban embassy in Lisbon was bombed. In June, the Cuban mission to the UN in New York was bombed. In August, two Cuban officials were kidnapped in Buenos Aires. That same month a Cuban airliner was bombed on the ground in Lisbon. And on October 6, three weeks after the Letelier assassination, a bomb blew up a Cuban jetliner in the air after it left Barbados, killing 73 innocent people. The gusano bombers were directly linked to the murder of Letelier:

> "After CORU took credit for the October 1976 bombing of a Cubana Airlines jet, which killed all 73 passengers aboard, Venezuelan authorities arrested Posada and Bosch for plotting the deed. In Posada's papers were found a map of Washington, D.C. with the work route of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier, murdered in September 1976 by Cuban exiles working for the Chilean secret police, DINA."
>
> —Jonathan Marshall, Peter Scott, Jane Hunter, *The Iran Contra Connection* (1987)

"Posada" is the same Luis Posada Carriles who emerges ten years later as a deputy to Bush's man Felix Rodriguez in the Nicaraguan contra supply operation. Posada was an old pal of Rodriguez from a 1959-60 CIA anti-Castro assassination operation. In fact, Rodriguez thought so highly of Posada's services that he managed to spring him from a Venezuelan jail where he was serving time for the '76 airplane bombing.

Old Boys Network Goes Private

Bush's "watch" at the CIA came just after U.S. imperialism had been whipped on the battlefield in Indochina and the "Vietnam syndrome" was most intense. Evidence of widespread CIA covert action atrocities, domestic spying and "dirty tricks" like Watergate was cascading. After the Church Committee hearings led to a ban on official assassination, The Company was desperate to find a way to keep covert actions going. The solution was to go private.

> "It was in this period that the network began to set up its own proprietaries, as private companies owned by the CIA are called. Some of these were to become famous when the Iran-contra scandal finally burst on America. They included the Stanford Technology Corp. and Energy Resources. Others, such as CSF Investments Ltd, were specifically Central American in their orientation."
>
> —Cockburn, *Out of Control*

Stanford Technology was run by Richard Secord and Albert Hakim; CSF was a money-laundering operation in the Cayman Islands set up by Theodore Shackley, Thomas Clines, Secord, Hakim and Edmund Wilson. A Contragate rogues' gallery.

In 1976, Bush's associate DDO (Deputy Director of Operations), No. 2 in covert ops, was Theodore Shackley; Thomas Clines was his sidekick. Back in 1962-65, Shackley was head of CIA operations in Miami where he ran raids into Cuba. In 1966-68, Shackley was CIA chief of station in Laos; in 1969-72 he moved to Saigon, also as station chief. Among his aides were Felix Rodriguez and Donald Gregg. Running cross-border operations into North Vietnam at this time was ex-CIA officer General John Singlaub; his director of air support in Laos was Harry Aderholt, whose successor was Richard Secord; a gung ho Marine officer leading one of his "special operations" teams was Oliver North; and way down at the bottom of the totem pole, working as a cargo handler for the CIA's Air America drugs-and-guns operation, was one Eugene Hasenfus. In 1972-73, Shackley ran the "destabilization" of Chile out of CIA headquarters in Langley.

So the gang that brought you Contragate was the same bunch of wild and crazy guys who "lost" Vietnam, bungled the Bay of Pigs and ravaged Chile. And George Herbert Walker Bush was and is their benefactor, first as CIA director, then as vice president, and now as commander in chief of U.S. imperialism. The Democrats didn't nail Reagan and Bush on the Iran/Contra affair because these covert operations are the stock in trade of the declining American empire in its desperate worldwide crusade for counterrevolution. The network Bush brought into play are the hit men for imperialism in its death agony, and it will take world socialist revolution to put this Company out of business for good. ■

Israel...

(continued from page 5)

forming the latest cabinet reflects widespread turmoil at the base of Israeli Jewish society. Moreover, in his first act as finance minister, Peres is pushing massive "austerity" measures, which will produce thousands of layoffs and slash food subsidies.

The *Jerusalem Post* international edition (31 December 1988) reports that "tens of thousands" turned out for a Peace Now rally in Tel Aviv on December 24 to demand talks with the PLO, a position supported by over half the Israeli population, according to a new survey. This protest, blacked out by the American press, is the largest since Israel's disastrous Lebanon invasion in 1982. At the same time, half the population is in favor of forcible expulsion of the Palestinians from the Occupied Territories. Israeli Jews are desperately grasping at *anything* that looks like a way out of the permanent state of war.

As for the Palestinian people, any illusion that the American imperialist gendarme, the butcher of Indochina, can act as their savior is suicidal. Palestinian nationalists would do well to recall that when the U.S. went into Lebanon in 1982, it did so to supervise the disarming and departure of PLO fighters on the eve of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Whatever may come out of the latest U.S.-PLO gambit, it will not and cannot lead to national justice for the Palestinian people. At best, were a Palestinian mini-state to emerge in the Occupied Territories, it would be nothing more than a bantustan under Israeli and/or Jordanian suzerainty.

What lies behind the decades of conflict and horror is that two peoples lay claim to one land—and it is not simply the West Bank, but all of what is currently Israel and Jordan. A just solution is impossible under capitalism, which pits one nation against another; it requires the overthrow of the cutthroat gangs who today rule in Jerusalem and Amman, in Cairo and Baghdad. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! U.S. out of the Near East! For the right of self-determination of the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab nations in a socialist federation of the Near East! *The only way to end Zionist terror and provide a just solution to the seething cauldron of nationalist conflicts in the Near East is through proletarian revolution throughout the region.* ■

Haolam Hazeh

Tens of thousands of Israelis demonstrate in Tel Aviv, December 24, demanding negotiations with the PLO.

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

being formally outlawed itself in the near future.

As in the case of the Sharpeville Six, the Delmas trial represents the state's stepped-up proscriptions and prosecutions for thought crimes. To send Molefe, Lekota and four others to jail, the court ruled that under South African law "terrorism" includes a wide range of nonviolent activities, and that "one can commit high treason without violence." Judge van Dijkhorst cited one UDF statement calling for scrapping apartheid as "an unequivocal declaration of war on the state."

The fight to free the Delmas frame-up victims and all anti-apartheid activists must be taken up in mass international workers protests. On January 2 the PDC sent a protest to the South African embassy calling for:

> "...the immediate release of these five UDF leaders. Free Nelson Mandela, the Sharpeville Six and all imprisoned victims of apartheid repression. Drop the charges against Moses Mayekiso!"

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee would like to thank all of you who made this year's Holiday Appeal for the class-war prisoners a big success. With fund-raising parties in New York, Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area we raised over $5,000 for holiday gifts for the prisoners and our program of monthly stipends for the year to come.

One special feature of each benefit was the first screenings of the Spartacist video on the November 5 Mobilization documenting the successful PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization which drove the KKK out of Philly. The video contains historical footage of the Greensboro Massacre, the bombing of Philly MOVE, and the labor/black mobilizations in Detroit, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. which kept the fascists off the streets. At the benefits, participants presented eyewitness accounts of the demonstration and political and legal battles which preceded it.

PDC sustainers and members of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League were instrumental in building this year's holiday appeal. Two hundred people came to the New York party at the Hudson Guild in Manhattan. Wadiya Abu-Jamal, wife of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, came up from Philadelphia and briefly told the crowd of her husband's fight to live. The Bay Area party in the Firehouse at Fort Mason Center overlooking Alcatraz drew 100 people.

In Chicago 100 people turned out. Cassandra Seay's mother Callie Bryant gave an update on their lawsuit against the Chicago cops who invaded Seay's home, beat her and then tried to frame her up on assault charges in July 1987. With the support of her transit union local and brothers and sisters who packed the courtroom, Seay beat back the racist frame-up. Many of those who came to the benefits sent personal cards with holiday greetings to the class-war prisoners.

We look forward to the continued support of *WV* readers in the coming year. We want your help to build a class-struggle defense organization the workers movement sees as its own—one that can mobilize masses of workers around the globe in defense of all victims of capitalist repression. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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Letter From Puerto Rico

Electrical Workers Play Hardball

As the bourgeois colonial parties of Puerto Rico were fighting over election year spoils last fall, San Juan got a taste of working-class power with a one-day strike and 10,000-strong mass march in the island's capital called by the militant electrical workers union, UTIER. Approved at a mass meeting of the union's membership in August and its date kept secret, the September 28 walkout caught the government bosses off guard. Teachers and health workers joined the march, and UTIER threatened a general strike by all government employees. While denying that the numerous blackouts that covered the southern and western areas and parts of metropolitan San Juan had anything to do with the strike, one week later the Electrical Authority (AEE) caved in and granted the union's demands.

The conflict originated with the firing of 502 electrical workers by former governor Carlos Romero Barceló, of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party (PNP), in 1982. The union had already won their reinstatement in 1984-85. Now they wanted *full* back pay and ironclad guarantees against layoffs. After an all-night bargaining session, on October 7 the government-owned utility agreed to pay $15-18 million in lost pay, including for surviving spouses and descendants, while recognizing that under the contract "no employee, union or non-union, can be laid off," and that this clause "will not be subject to any change or negotiation." *El Mundo* (8 October 1988) screamed, "AEE Surrenders to UTIER." And when the company threatened to pass the cost on to consumers through higher rates, the union nixed it.

Coming in the context of massive giveback contracts and layoffs throughout the U.S., the victory by the electrical workers in the Caribbean island colony carries a significant message to American workers. Labor played hardball, and won. The electrical workers have a history of combative union struggle going back to their 118-day strike of 1977-78. UTIER rightly considers itself the "trunk of the most worthy tree, the working class." It recognizes the need for action against racist attacks, and endorsed the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. In Puerto Rico as on the mainland, what's needed to defend the interests of labor is an all-sided *political* program of class struggle and a fight for a revolutionary workers party.

Fernández/El Nuevo Día

Thousands of striking UTIER electrical workers show their muscle in September 28 march past the colonial capitol.

In the recent elections, bourgeois-nationalist candidate Rubén Berrios of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) appealed to UTIER and other unions for support. The PIP was also supported by a Patriotic Socialist Front including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), *Pensamiento Crítico* magazine, the Taller de Formación Política (Political Education Workshop) and others. This is a small-scale "popular front" to tie workers and ostensible socialists to the coattails of the *independentista* petty bourgeoisie which aspires to rule Puerto Rico on behalf of Yankee imperialism. Despite the "patriotic" pretensions of this front, the PIP launched a New Strategy of playing down the independence question (stating the island's "status is not at issue"), and its coattails were exceedingly short (5 percent of the vote).

For Puerto Rico, enslaved to Yankee imperialism for the last 90 years, a low-wage haven and ecological dumping ground for American industry, used as a springboard for military domination of the Caribbean, even the most militant "bread and butter" trade unionism cannot win the day without revolutionary leadership. It will take a class-struggle workers party to lead the fight for an independent socialist Puerto Rico in the context of revolutionary struggle throughout the Caribbean and in the heart of the U.S., where more than a million and a half Puerto Ricans can play a vital role.

We reprint below translated excerpts of a letter to *Workers Vanguard* from a correspondent who attended the September 28 UTIER march, giving a flavor of the militancy and determination of the Puerto Rican electrical workers.

When we formed up to march, we stretched out over three to four long blocks—easily 10,000 people. The speaker said that it was the biggest march in the history of the UTIER.

At the capitol, UTIERistas shouted demands for justice and insults to the politicians. It was very emotional to see the police formed up to defend the steps where a few politicians were standing around while that great torrent of workers blew their whistles—a deafening noise. The whistles come from a campaign which the government launched urging citizens to blow whistles when someone throws garbage into the street, not in the garbage cans. I was very pleased to see this human torrent blowing their whistles in front of the capitol, in front of the bourgeois garbage, the garbage politicians.

Then we continued down the avenue and passed by the headquarters of the PPD [Popular Democratic Party, aligned with the U.S. Democrats]—currently in office. There were whistles once again and even more gross insults by the workers against the politicians. We entered Old San Juan. You could see workers and secretaries leaning out of the windows of government offices, watching and visibly supporting the march. They were supporting the most combative union in Puerto Rico, the one they would like to have to defend themselves from their government employers.

We entered the narrow streets of the Old City—slogans, whistles, thousands of workers from all corners of Puerto Rico, going to speak with the tsar in his fortress, to demand employment security under the threat of a strike. The government wasn't there to witness this, not even the mayor showed up.

When we went past the plaza in front of City Hall, once again whistles and insults against the other colonial party [PNP, historically allied with the U.S. Republicans]. They brought out the shock forces, the cossacks, in their little white van. The same cops who seemed so menacing at the [August 28] nationalist demonstration now seemed afraid before the torrent of workers coming from all over the island on battle footing. You could see in their eyes their fear of so many defiant workers. They seemed like cockroaches in a chicken dance.

The march was forced to stop only 50 meters from the Fortaleza because the governor's guard had closed the doors of the fortress. They set up a speakers platform and read messages of solidarity from other unions. They chanted, they threatened. The workers demanded another strike of 48 hours—the union's got to get some respect.

[UTIER president José] Valentin spoke against Romero and Cuchin [PPD governor Hernández Colón] and in favor of Rubén Berrios, the leftist demagogue, the populist caudillo of the Second International, the reformist, the fraud, the self-proclaimed leader of the nationalist masses. The same guy who a few days earlier had proclaimed in the press that there were too many public employees—what is that supposed to mean? The same Rubén whose partner-in-fraud, Noriega [PIP senatorial candidate], has been promoted by Baltazar Corrada del Rio, San Juan's mayor and candidate for governor of the bourgeois colonial party, the PNP (annexationist)—for the job of Secretary of Justice if the PNP wins the election. The PNP/PIP alliance, the "left" and the right against the center. ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 4)

"People's Front" tying them to their class enemy. Rather than seeking to build a Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard party on the program of *political independence* of the proletariat, to lead the struggle for socialist revolution, the Morenoites act as a pressure group on the popular front in the name of a bogus "democratic revolution." No wonder the PTZ leadership seeks to seal its membership off from the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency.

On December 2, after 32 days on strike, the STUNAM tops held a "referendum" to ram through a "settlement" accepting the university's original 10 percent raise (that is, a real wage cut). In a stormy meeting—amid threats against oppositionists and charges of vote fraud—the bureaucrats announced they had a majority for their sellout deal. This strike was not smashed by the bosses; it was betrayed from within by the popular-frontist union bureaucracy. This was a betrayal not only of the university workers, but of the millions who face continued hunger and poverty if the working class does not smash the bourgeoisie's starvation offensive. While STUNAM oppositionists voted to continue the strike, there was no genuine alternative revolutionary leadership to lead the struggle to victory.

This crisis of leadership, which cripples the entire Mexican proletariat—economically powerful but politically disarmed—can be resolved only through building an authentically Trotskyist vanguard party. The key is breaking with the bourgeois politics of popular-frontism which spell defeat for the working class. The fate of the Mexican and North American workers is inextricably intertwined. The need for an *internationalist* leadership of labor has never been more urgent. For a Trotskyist party in Mexico, section of a reforged Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

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Iran Executions...

(continued from page 12)

Independent reported on 6 December 1988 that "The British-based Committee for the Defence of the Iranian People's Rights said at the weekend that there were indications that more than 1,000 people had been executed since Iran signed a cease-fire with Iraq in August." This report follows a "claim by the opposition Mujahedin organisation that the death toll may be as high as 5,000."

An Amnesty International news release on December 13 stated that it "has now received more than 300 names of prisoners executed in recent weeks and months, and fears that the real total could amount to thousands. Many of the victims were members of, or sympathizers with, the PMOI [Mujahedin]; many others were members of secular leftist groups such as the Rahe Kargar, factions of the Organization of People's Fedaiyan, and the Tudeh Party.... A large number of those executed had been imprisoned for several years, and had been tortured, some having suffered similar treatment during the rule of the Shah." Those killed include some who were held for years without trial and others who had been sentenced for distributing leaflets and "disturbing the peace" at political rallies in 1980-81.

Literaturnaya Gazeta

Photo smuggled out of Iran shows murdered Iranian political prisoner, whose shallow grave was dug up by wild animals.

The newspaper of the Communist Party of Britain, the *Morning Star* (1 December 1988), blazoned across its front page "Iran Executes Communist Leadership." The paper reported, "At least 40 members of the Tudeh Party of Iran are known to have been shot in the past three weeks, as have leading members of the Iranian People's Fedaian (Majority)." The article added that "in Evin, the main prison, there are rumours of mass killings, even the dynamiting of those jailed." Among those killed were four Tudeh political bureau members including party deputy leader Farajollah Mitani, Manoucher Behzadi, editor of the party's organ *Nameh Mardom*, Hossein Jodat and Ismail Zolqadr, as well as six central committee members and some 30 leading members of the party's clandestine organization.

Earlier, the *Tudeh News* (26 October and 23 November 1988) reported that political prisoners had been executed, especially Tudeh members as well as Fedayeen and Mujahedin supporters, after "having endured years of barbaric torture." According to their families, the battered bodies of prisoners were buried in mass graves, some "so shallow that stray dogs can reach the bodies and tear them apart." A November 25 "Statement of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran" began, "We are reaching out for your help," and listed names of those executed, including Hassan Jalali, member of the executive board of the Association of Trade and Labor Unions of Tehran and Vicinity, and more than a dozen others.

A November 30 report of the representative in Europe of the Fedayeen Majority states: "The massacre of political prisoners has taken place in the prisons of Tehran, Isfahan, Kerman, Khoram Abad, Gilan, Mazandaran, Hamendan, Gachsaran, Oromieh, Tabriz" and other cities. "Three hundred political prisoners have been buried in two mass graves in Khaavaraan cemetery (in east Tehran).... In addition to daily execution of groups of political prisoners in Evin, a large number of them were murdered in a deliberate explosion and destruction of an auditorium where they had been assembled."

And a 21 September 1988 statement of the Kurdistan Organisation of the Communist Party of Iran (Komala) said of the criminal mass executions of the "Islamic Republic": "These turbaned dictators are looking for victory in the city streets and in prison cells to make up for their defeat in the war fronts of Iran and Iraq. They are trying desperately to extend their onerous life through terror and intimidation by setting up execution squads."

Fake-Lefts Hailed Khomeini

When the mullahs came to power in Iran in February 1979, the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was quick to inform his leftist cheerleaders exactly what they had coming. He branded Marxists as "satanic elements, worse than the shah" and further warned: "I won't tolerate anyone who is anti-Islamic. We will crush them." And the jailings, torture and executions began. The bloody shah's prisons which had been briefly emptied filled up again. From the start, the international Spartacist tendency uniquely warned of the bloodbath awaiting trade unionists, Kurds and other minorities, women who rejected the veil, leftists and all opponents of the feudalist theocracy in Iran.

Where the rest of the left boosted Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," repudiating not only proletarian socialism but even the legacy of the bourgeois revolutions of the 18th century, we fought for a revolutionary perspective: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" Khomeini's program was no secret to anybody: the mullah-led mobilizations against the shah resounded with screams of "Death or the veil!" and "Death to Communists!" Yet the U.S. Communist Party grotesquely hailed Khomeini's views on women as "egalitarian, humane and democratic" (*Daily World*, 6 April 1979). Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP) proclaimed "Victory in Iran" (*Militant*, 23 February 1979). David North's Workers League (WL) raved, "Long Live the Iranian Revolution!" (*Bulletin*, 16 February 1979). And so on, ad nauseam.

On the question of Iran, the feuding wings of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat closed ranks. American SWPer and self-styled feminist Cindy Jaquith came back from the ayatollahs' Teheran to exclaim how the head-to-toe *chador* (veil) had become a "symbol of resistance" to the shah. At the same time, Brian Grogan of the centrist International Marxist Group in Britain was proudly displaying his pocket-sized "Khomeini card" and rhapsodizing how the mullahs' "anti-imperialism" was so spellbinding that he couldn't help but join Islamic fundamentalists in crying out "Allah Akbar!" (god is great!) at a demonstration to greet the returning ayatollah.

In contrast, the Spartacist League organized a speaking tour by Fatima Khalil, a Middle Eastern communist woman of Muslim origin, to sound the alarm over the impending bloodbath. Denouncing the SL for this as "Provocateurs Against Trotskyism and the Iranian Revolution," the *Bulletin* (1 May 1979) declared that Khomeini had "won an honored place in the history of the world revolution." Our call, "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction!" got the whirling dervishes of the WL so worked up that they screeched: "If the antics of the Spartacist [sic] were directly orchestrated by the FBI and the CIA, they could not be more provocative." Funny how these hirelings, who had sold their services (for hard cash!) to various colonels and sheiks in the name of the "Arab Revolution," are quick to cop-hait.

THE MILITANT

Victory in Iran

Iranian masses show the way for workers around the world

Bulletin

LONG LIVE THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Khomeini! For Workers Revolution!

Mullahs Win

February 1979: who told the truth? Pseudo-socialists hailed Khomeini's victory, Spartacists called for workers revolution.

As the warnings of the Spartacist tendency became horrible fact on the front pages of newspapers around the world, most of the opportunists staged some form of retreat, generally arguing that Khomeini had "betrayed" the revolution. Thus the Marxist-Leninist Party claims that the "revolution settled accounts with the hated Shah and shook one of the main props of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.... Unfortunately, however, the revolution was cut short. The Islamic clergy came out on top..." (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 March 1988). But Khomeini was on top from Day One, because the left fell in behind the mullahs even before they seized power, instead of posing the program of workers revolution as the alternative to the bloody shah and to Khomeini's program of Islamic reaction.

Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and its American affiliate, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), swung back and forth not once, but repetitively, defending "the achievements of the Iranian revolution" at the start of Khomeini's war with Iraq (*Socialist Worker*, November 1980); later denouncing the Iranian left's "fatal support for the mullahs at the outbreak of the war" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1987); and then a few months later insisting that there was "no choice but to support the Khomeini regime against the U.S. and its allies" (*Socialist Worker*, February 1988). The Cliffite ISO tried to dress up the reactionary border war into a fight against American imperialism even after the whole world learned in the Iran/Contragate affair that Washington had armed Iran to the teeth!

But no one outdoes the now deceased political adventurer Nahuel Moreno and his followers in twisting and crawling for the ayatollahs. Moreno's Argentine PST proclaimed the mullahs' victory as "among the great revolutions of this century" (*Opción*, April 1979). The Morenoites not only supported clerical reaction in Iran but condemned the Soviets' intervention against CIA-armed, mullah-led cutthroats in Afghanistan as a "criminal action," and looked forward to the "possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR" (*Avanzata Proletaria*, 12 January 1980). Now Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan poses the prospect of a bloodbath by Islamic fundamentalists.

Today, even as Iranian political prisoners are being slaughtered in the thousands by the Khomeini regime, Moreno's successors in the Argentine MAS sent a delegation to the Iranian embassy in Buenos Aires to express solidarity with the mullahs against Iraq's "war of aggression against Iran," gloating that: "The presence of the MAS delegation...was especially acknowledged by the Iranian ambassador" (*Solidaridad Socialista*, 8 November 1988). From their support to the junta in the Falklands/Malvinas war to the Iran-Iraq war, the Morenoites positively groove on being in bed with anti-working-class executioners.

The frenzy of the left illustrated its utter bankruptcy in the face of Khomeini's murderous repression. Even as the slaughter in Iran wipes out a generation of militants, doubtless the most anyone will hear from the leftist Khomeini worshippers will be an embarrassed silence. We stated in our article "Why They Supported Islamic Reaction" (*WV* No. 229, 13 April 1979): "Every unveiled woman who is beaten, every petty malefactor who is flogged, every worker militant who is tortured by an Islamic SAVAK will be right to curse all of those who helped bring to power their new tormentor."

From Moscow, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (21 December 1988) reported on the "Massacre in Iran," interviewing Iranian exile Bizhan Ekrami, who told of "an actual genocide" that was killing "the best sons of Iran." Ekrami had a typed list of 147 names of activists, members of the intelligentsia and cultural figures, only a small fraction of those killed. "Iran is in mourning," he said. There have also been protests in Iran in the midst of this reign of terror. *Die Wahrheit* (30 December 1988), the organ of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, reports that, according to information from the Mujahedin, "a large number of relatives of executed oppositionists held a sitdown strike in front of the Ministry of Justice in Teheran on Tuesday to protest mass executions in Iran."

And in New York, the "Committee in Solidarity with the People of Iran" (CISPI) published gruesome pictures of bodies thrown into the "Graveyard of the Damned" in Teheran. "There are also reports that all political prisoners in the city of Hamadan have been executed by firing squads." "The true dimensions of the crimes that are being committed behind the prison walls of the Islamic Republic are still unknown.... These reports indicate that as many as 10,000 political prisoners have been executed within this past month alone." In mid-December, representatives of the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee joined protests at the United

Peter Jordan

Iran-Iraq war: eight years of carnage, one million dead.

Nations and in Washington against the Iranian slaughter. It is urgent that worldwide protest be mounted now!

War and Revolution

In sheer number of victims, the bloodbath in Iran ranks on a par with the mass murder following the counterrevolutionary 1973 Pinochet coup in Chile. In Iran today we are witnessing a calculated program of extermination to head off a social explosion in the wake of a protracted, reactionary war. According to the London *Independent*, Rahe Kargar has information that "the executions were part of a concerted policy to annihilate the left so that it would not be able in future to exploit the popular dissent.... It said there was a two-stage plan to review the cases of all political prisoners by the 10th anniversary of the revolution next February. In the first phase, 1,000 prisoners who had yet to be sentenced were summarily tried and sentenced to death. In the second phase political prisoners sentenced to jail terms were retried and executed if they failed to recant."

WV Photo

Fatima Khalil speaking during 1979 Spartacist tour of U.S. Meetings were defended by workers defense guards against Islamic fanatics' attacks.

From the beginning of the mullahs' theocratic rule, torture and execution have been standard fare. Soon after Evin prison disgorged thousands of political prisoners from the torture chambers of the shah's secret police, the SAVAK, it began filling again with the victims of the Islamic dictatorship. Kurds and Baluchis fighting for self-determination, followers of the Bahai religion, women who refused to wear the veil, homosexuals, leftists, were stoned to death, hanged, or shot by firing squads. A report on the condition of political prisoners in Iran by CISPI stated: "As the execution of virgin women is not allowed by Islam, young girls are systematically raped in prison before their execution...."

It is doubly tragic that many of those who are today being executed had joined the mullah-led upsurge against the bloody shah in 1978-79. The Tudeh, the historic leadership of Iran's working class, delivered its base into Khomeini's service. It betrayed promising proletarian actions, including strikes by the predominantly Arab (non-Farsi-speaking) oil workers of the south, leading them into the arms of Islamic reaction. At the time the international Spartacist tendency stood alone in proclaiming, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" A year later the bulk of the Iranian left, having hailed Khomeini as an "anti-imperialist" liberator, supported their "own" ruling class in the Iran-Iraq war. Even as the ayatollah's thugs threw leftists back into the same prisons where they had languished under the shah, as the regime persecuted women, homosexuals, ethnic minorities and workers, Tudeh and the Fedayeen Majority (along with the pseudo-Trotskyist HKE and HKS) rallied to the cry of defense of the fatherland.

The squalid slaughter of the reactionary Iran-Iraq war—in which the working masses of neither country had any stake in the victory of their "own" rulers—dragged on for eight years and took over one million lives. It recalled the horrible imperialist carnage of World War I. From the very outset of the war, the international Spartacist tendency took the Leninist position of *revolutionary defeatism* on both sides, demanding, "Down with the colonels! Down with the ayatollahs! Turn the guns the other way!"

> "But war is also the mother of revolution. And the Iraqi-Iranian conflict lays bare their real 'border problem': the oppressed nationalities that are divided by the artificial border separating Iran and Iraq, especially the Kurds and the ethnic Arabs who compose a majority of Khuzistan.... This war and the position of revolutionary defeatism will be an acid test for a revolutionary regroupment."
>
> —"Iran/Iraq Blood Feud," *WV* No. 265, 3 October 1980

We recognized that a defeat for either side would open revolutionary possibilities for the proletariat. War-weariness was growing, and at one point, the American Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (27 June 1987) reported that a group of factory workers in Iran was circulating an appeal "to expose the 'war-mongering and anti-worker nature' of the Khomeini regime, and to struggle against the war by preventing recruitment, financial and material aid to the fronts, and refusing to work in arms factories." Indeed, having vowed a "holy war" for Allah—and having failed to win it—Khomeini has now unleashed a pre-emptive reign of terror against the peoples of Iran.

But in keeping with their subordination to Khomeini at the crucial time when the hated shah's rule was decomposing, none of the major left tendencies in Iran adopted a perspective of struggling to transform the reactionary nationalist war into civil war against the Ba'athist colonels and the Persian Shi'ite ruling caste. At best, as the war dragged on some took a "pro-peace" neutralist posture. Now as the guns fall silent on the Basra-Abadan front, in Teheran they are belching fire against "infidels," creating a "peace" of the graveyards. In postwar Iran, with the questions of Khomeini's successor and the financial reconstruction of the war-ravaged country posed, the executioner's ax is falling on leftists, Kurds and even dissident mullahs.

The imperialist powers for the most part took a low profile in the Iran-Iraq war, playing off both sides against each other. In the interest of anti-Soviet warmongering, Reagan alternately armed the Iranians with U.S. missiles, then (after that blew up in the Iran/Contragate scandal) engaged in repeated bloody confrontations, including the wanton massacre of 290 passengers aboard an Iranian Airbus last July. Certainly, the presence of a trigger-happy U.S. war fleet in the Persian Gulf constituted a threat to interdict Iran's export of oil, without which the war could not have been fought. Iran's rulers have made repeated initiatives to normalize relations with Washington, the former "great Satan." Now these fanatical anti-Communists believe they can murder every leftist in the country and gain favor with the White House. And they're right. The *New York Times* (2 January) reported: "American officials and Western diplomats said the executions would not hinder a move toward better relations."

With the Iranian working masses bled and exhausted by the war, outbreaks of popular protest are a genuine threat to the bloodsoaked rulers. But in the absence of an authentic Leninist party, this opportunity to organize the masses has so far been squandered. A horrible price in human life is instead being exacted against the left in Khomeini's prison hellholes. Only when the toiling masses of Iran and Iraq have communist vanguard parties forged in irreconcilable hostility to their "own" reactionary rulers can the massacres and repression be ended. It will take workers revolution to open the prison doors, to free the victims of Islamic reaction, liberate oppressed nationalities and stop the vicious cycle of bloodletting once and for all.

Sound the alarm! International mass protests are urgently needed now to stop the slaughter of Iranian leftists! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

ALERT! Mass Executions of Leftists

BLOODY HORROR IN KHOMEINI'S IRAN

Reports coming out of Iran point to a mammoth new wave of executions of leftist political prisoners now taking place in Khomeini's jails. Already, an estimated 1,000 to 5,000 have been hanged or lined up before the firing squads of the Islamic dictatorship and dumped in mass graves. In some provincial cities, the entire prison population has reportedly been massacred. Virtually every imprisoned leader of Iran's pro-Moscow Tudeh Party has been executed, and supporters of the People's Mujahedin, the Revolutionary Workers Organization of Iran (Rahe Kargar), Iranian People's Fedayeen (Majority) and the Fedayeen Minority are said to have been killed in the thousands. It is now feared that the wholesale physical annihilation of political prisoners is planned by next month's tenth anniversary of the mullahs' February 1979 seizure of power.

Following the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war last August, the ayatollahs' regime in Teheran has turned the jails into killing fields for all those it sees as political opponents. Meanwhile, the ruling generals in Iraq launched a "scorched earth" drive against Iraqi Kurdistan, razing three-quarters of the Kurdish villages and sending tens of thousands of Kurds fleeing over the border into Turkey, where the army has been waging a brutal war against Kurdish guerrillas. In Iran, Khomeini inaugurated his Islamic "revolution" by killing more than 10,000 Kurds, and in August unleashed a massacre of thousands of Iraq-allied Mujahedin troops inside Iranian Kurdistan. As we wrote in October:

> "The so-called 'cease-fire' negotiated by the United Nations may not have ended the savage and senseless war between Iraq and Iran. But it has given these two self-proclaimed 'revolutionary' regimes the respite to concentrate their forces on what they do best: massacring their own peoples."
>
> —*WV* No. 462, 7 October 1988

Reza/Sipa

Condemned to die: Teheran regime has thousands scheduled for execution.

The international workers movement must raise an urgent cry of outrage against these unspeakable crimes being committed against opponents of the mullahs' dictatorship! The bloodbath in Iran is part and parcel of Teheran's efforts to "mend bridges" with Western imperialists, who are perfectly willing to see Iranian leftists slaughtered. Thousands of militants have already been killed and thousands more are marked for execution. They are already being held incommunicado; all family visits have been cut off. The left, labor movement and all supporters of democratic rights must mobilize internationally to bring worldwide attention to the mass slaughter now going on, demanding an immediate halt to the executions and freedom for the victims of Khomeini's terror in Iran!

Firing Squads Mow Down Leftists

While the killings have reportedly been going on in secret since August, the magnitude and chilling horror of the massacre is now evident from the repeated accounts coming from every left group in Iran. The London

continued on page 10

Stop the Executions in Iran!
Free All Victims of Khomeini's Terror!

January 11 at 5 p.m.
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Abteistrasse 25
HAMBURG

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For more information contact the
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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 469 — 20 January 1989

U.S. Hands Off Libya!

Reagan/Bush: Imperialist Bullies

It was "Qaddafi IV," another Libya shoot-'em-up starring Ronnie Raygun and introducing "Poppy" Bush. Like one of those badly acted B-movies on late-night TV you've seen so many times you can recite the script from memory. The front page of the *New York Times* flashes an ominous report from anonymous "U.S. intelligence sources" about a new "Libyan threat," this time an alleged "chemical weapons plant" being built by Libyan strongman Qaddafi. President Reagan offhandedly tells reporters he "would not rule out" a military strike against Libya. And then, "Blam! Blam!"—two Libyan MIG-23s are shot out of the sky by American F-14s claiming "self-defense." The F-14s were from the carrier *Kennedy*, which just happened to be conducting "training exercises" off the Libyan coast.

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Cambio 16

Downing/Newsweek

U.S. Navy

Latest U.S. military attack on Libya was carried out by fighter planes from aircraft carrier Kennedy.

International Protests Demand:

Workers Hammer

London, January 14—Iranian leftist groups joined with Spartacist League/Britain in united-front demonstration outside Iranian embassy.

Stop Executions in Iran!

JANUARY 16—In half a dozen cities in Europe and North America this past week, chants of "Stop the Executions!" resounded outside offices of representatives of the Iranian mullah regime. In Washington, D.C., Toronto, London, Hamburg, and Paris and Lyon in France, protesters sounded the alarm over the massive wave of killings of leftist political prisoners and other dissidents in Khomeini's jails. They were responding to a call by the international Spartacist tendency and the Partisan Defense Committee for an emergency mobilization to "raise a worldwide cry of outrage against these unspeakable crimes being committed against opponents of the mullahs' dictatorship!"

Sections of the iSt in seven countries issued an appeal, published in English, French, German, Italian and Farsi (the dominant language of Iran). Already, the protests have drawn participation from a range of Iranian left organizations. Further demonstrations will be held this week in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia; Milan, Italy; and outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations in New York on January 19. The urgency of this campaign is underlined by reports that the Islamic dictatorship is intent on executing every imprisoned leftist in the country by February 12, the tenth anniversary of Khomeini's seizure of power.

The wave of executions began last August as the mullahs' regime sought to behead a potential social explosion in the aftermath of the stalemated Iran-Iraq war, which took more than a million lives. A recent article in the London *Guardian* (13 January) headlined, "Political Executions Break All Bounds," underscored the need for even broader and more powerful protest actions. Reporting that thousands had already been executed, the *Guardian* added that:

> "...it is difficult to escape the impression that the Ayatollahs, through these executions and the war of attrition just ended against Iraq, have embarked on the decimation of an entire generation, apparently determined to kill off what could have been—had it survived—the cream of tomorrow's intelligentsia."

The victims include supporters of the Islamic populist Mujahedeen, the pro-Moscow Tudeh party, Fedayeen (Majority), Fedayeen (Minority), Revolutionary Workers Organization (Rahe Kargar), and militants among the oppressed Kurdish minority. As the *Guardian* noted, "Most of those who have died have been leftwing political activists and sympathisers." Women and religious minorities are also being executed, and even "disloyal" mullahs.

In calling for an international campaign against the mass slaughter underway in Iran, the iSt and PDC sought a united protest by diverse groups. In such a united front, each group can present its own political views while making common cause around the central demand of "Stop the Executions in Iran!" And in the event, various exile organizations of the Iranian left, bitterly rent by fratricidal sectarianism,

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Defend Greg Wiggins! Drop the Charges!

Support Builds for Black Muni Worker

SAN FRANCISCO—Support is building in Transport Workers Union Local 250-A for Greg Wiggins, the black Muni bus driver brutally beaten by five SF cops while he was driving his bus last October and then framed on assault and other charges. Union officers and members have turned out for Wiggins' pretrial court appearances, and the TWU local issued a special bulletin urging members to "show support and solidarity" in the courtroom. Now Muni and other SF workers must come out for the trial, which begins on February 3, to show Mayor Agnos and his gangsters in blue that SF workers won't tolerate their racist police terror. Smash the frame-up of Greg Wiggins!

On the witness stand at the January 12 hearing, Muni supervisor Carl Politis' story stank. Politis assisted the band of racist police in boarding Greg's bus so they could beat him to within an inch of his life. Equally twisted was the testimony of the arresting cop, one Eugene Yoshii. Even the judge noted "many discrepancies" between their testimony and their reports filed just after the incident. As Wiggins' lawyer Tito Torres pointed out in his hearing summation, these guys have to lie to justify their obscene actions.

Greg Wiggins is in constant racking pain from injuries to his back, neck, throat and hip as a result of the vicious beating he received from the cops, who shouted racist epithets all the while. All-around sadist cop Eugene Yoshii is already in court on rape charges brought by a female rookie partner in 1987. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 May 1987) reported: "According to affidavits filed by the rookie in San Francisco Superior Court, Yoshii physically assaulted her, choked her unconscious, repeatedly raped and sodomized her and forced her to have oral sex." The article refers to ten misconduct complaints against Yoshii while he was a training officer.

The cops have the green light from Agnos and his police commission friends to do just as they please in yuppie San Francisco, and that spells first and foremost violence and race-terror toward working people, blacks and other minorities. Last September riot police nearly killed 52-year-old United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta at a demonstration, repeatedly hitting her with a baton, breaking her ribs and rupturing her spleen. No charges were brought against her attackers and the only result is new "crowd control" guidelines for the police. Meanwhile, SF cops routinely rampage through the SF projects looking for "drug dealers" and beating up black kids.

TWU Local 250-A president Bobbie Brown, who was present at the January 12 pretrial hearing, told *WV* that he has written to Muni management demanding the charges against Wiggins be dropped. The TWU must also fight for two-man crews in Muni, which would give drivers added protection as well as creating jobs for hundreds. The keenly felt outrage among SF unionists and others must be organized into mass labor *action* to defend Greg Wiggins. Drop the charges! Jail the real criminals, the murderous cops! All out for Greg's trial, February 3, 9 a.m. at the SF Hall of Justice. Be there! ■

WV Photo

Greg Wiggins

TROTSKY

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

In putting forward the class-struggle program for black liberation, the Spartacist League is indebted to the conception of revolutionary integrationism first developed in the early-mid 1950s by Richard Fraser. The forced segregation of black people at the bottom of American capitalist society can be ended only through assimilation into an egalitarian, socialist society. An early statement of Fraser's position was given in two 1953 lectures for the Los Angeles branch of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

LENIN

As an oppressed racial minority having no homeland other than the United States, the Negroes find driving force in their struggle for emancipation in the demand for full equality: the right to complete integration and assimilation into American life.

Revolutionary socialists stand squarely upon this program: *for immediate and unconditional economic, political and social equality*. An important part of this stand is to reject and condemn every proposal for the solution of the Negro question through racial separation, whether it be the vicious segregationism of the bosses' doctrine of "separate but equal" or the more subtle program of the Communist Party for "self-determination" for the Negro people. Both of these can only buttress the basic social system of Jim Crow whose main pillar of support is segregation....

The "Negro Question" in the United States exists because of the failure of the capitalist class to solve the most elementary problems of the democratic revolution in the South: the problems of land tenure and democratic rights. Thereby it has left the social heritage of color slavery intact as a malignant feature of social life.

But capitalism, even in the southern United States, has created the conditions necessary for its own destruction. It has disrupted the old agrarian pattern, undermined the privileged white middle class, thus weakening the whole fabric of social repression. It has created great industries, proletarianizing white, urbanizing black. This process has centralized the Negro community in positions of great strategic advantage in large city communities, whereas before they were dispersed over the country side. Capitalism has likewise created the conditions for the overthrow of race prejudice by working class solidarity.

It falls upon the shoulders of the proletarian revolution, in which the American workers will join together with the Negro people in the abolition of capitalism, to uproot the Jim Crow system. It is our task to build the party to lead that revolution: the Socialist Workers Party.

—Richard S. Fraser, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (November 1953)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 469 **20 January 1989**

Letter

"The Order" and the Manson Gang

8 January 1989

Dear comrades,

The fascist commemoration outside Seattle of the murderous Order's dead führer Robert Mathews underlined how the KKK and skinhead killers are "some of the most debased human garbage on the planet" ("Metzger's Skinheads and The Order," *WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988). Suit-and-tie fascists like Tom Metzger and David Duke may clean up their language a bit when they're running in Democratic Party primaries, but Metzger hails killer Mathews as a "martyr" and Metzger's skinhead gangs groove on beating, mutilating and killing people in the most gruesome ways they can (like driving nails and carving "tattoos" into their victims' bodies).

For a flavor of what makes these "Aryan race purification" freaks tick, take a look at the Charles Manson "Family," which was responsible for the murder of upwards of 30 people, including the notorious Tate-LaBianca killings in Los Angeles, in the late 1960s. Prosecuting attorney Vincent Bugliosi's stark account of the Manson murders, *Helter Skelter* (1974), reveals a striking affinity between the psychopathic, Hitler-loving "Family" and "The Order" hailed by Metzger.

The Order pumped a dozen bullets into Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg; the Family carried out a string of gruesome murders, stabbing some of their victims 40 or 50 times. As Manson "child" Susan Atkins plunged a Buck knife into eight-months-pregnant actress Sharon Tate over and over, she screamed at her victim: "Look, bitch, I don't care about you. I don't care if you're going to have a baby.... You're going to die, and I don't feel anything about it." Atkins later ghoulishly confessed that she had tasted Sharon Tate's blood and that they had also wanted to cut out the baby.

The murders—the more shocking the better—were to be blamed on blacks, thus precipitating "Helter Skelter," a holocaust triggered by the whites' retaliation. Manson convinced his vacant, ex-hippie "children" that he was god on earth, destined to rule over the "biologically inferior" black people after a race war in which the entire white race—save the Family—would be exterminated by blacks. This fits to a tee the racist scenario of the fascist "survivalists" like the "Aryan Nations" types that spawned The Order.

Another Manson victim was killed—decapitated and then carved up—because, among other things, he was a white man married to a black woman and Manson "had a thing" about interracial marriage. Manson idolized Hitler as a "tuned-in guy who leveled the karma of the Jews." During the trial,

UPI

Charles Manson

Manson carved a swastika into his forehead, and his acolytes immediately followed suit.

In the 1930s, the fascists in Spain proclaimed "Long live death!" A few years later, Hitler's death camps were murdering millions. From Manson to Mathews to Metzger, these kill-crazy racist terrorists are the dregs of a social system in its death throes. As the November 5 victory in Philly over the Klan and skinheads showed, integrated labor-centered struggle can and must sweep this filth into the sewers.

Comradely,
Len Meyers

Racists Threaten to "Celebrate" M.L. King Murder

Klan Terror in the "New South"

They claim Atlanta is the "city too busy to hate." But on the heels of repeated acts of racist and anti-Semitic terror on the outskirts of Atlanta, the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead thugs say they are going to stage a "White Supremacist" march through the city on January 21. Their targets are blacks, Jews, unions, "reds," gays—and everyone else who doesn't believe in slavery. Taking aim at the Martin Luther King Jr. birthday celebrations, and scheduled the day after the inauguration of George Bush, the KKK terrorists' provocation is an attempt to project their racist terror nationwide. The KKK's deadly threat must be stopped!

State officials and Atlanta police spokesmen have told the press that lots of cops and even the National Guard will be on hand to "protect" Richard Barrett's fascists. They remember last July, when the racist lynchers and skinhead thugs of Barrett's "Nationalist Movement" were stopped in the streets by hundreds of anti-Klan demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention. The Atlanta demonstration to "Stop the KKK" on January 21, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and endorsed by key Atlanta unions and tenant and student organizations, aims to bring organized labor/black power to bear against the deadly Klan/skinhead threat.

Wilkinson/Sygma

KKK attacks King Day marchers in Forsyth County, Georgia, January 1987.

Today's KKK has joined forces with a hideous "youth movement" of skinhead punks whose forces have grown ominously. Last Saturday 400 Klansmen and skinheads marched with police protection in Pulaski, Tennessee, birthplace of the Klan in 1866. In Phoenix, Arizona skinheads marched against M.L. King Day, flaunting Confederate flags with Nazi swastikas in the center. The skinheads are psychos who make a cult of random violence. In every city in this country, blacks, gays and immigrants are the choice target for humiliating insult and attack at the hands of these thugs, but white mothers too know to grab their children and run the other way when they see these sickos coming. At Barrett's camp in Mississippi, his skinhead followers received paramilitary training and took target practice at silhouettes of Martin Luther King Jr.

UPI

Birmingham church bombing, 1963: four little black girls were killed by Klan terror.

KKK: A Century of Racist Terror

The KKK was born as the resurgent terror arm of the defeated Confederacy after the Civil War. The modern Klan was refounded in 1915 following the lynching of Atlanta Jewish businessman Leo Frank, when the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross at Stone Mountain east of Atlanta. Growing to hundreds of thousands in the 1920s, the Klan terrorized blacks, immigrants, Catholics. In 1925, 40,000 hooded Klansmen marched through the streets of Washington, D.C.

Today, the "reborn" Democratic Party of Jimmy Carter and Jesse Jackson parades Atlanta as the capital of the "New South." But from the hail of rocks against black demonstrators in lily-white Forsyth County to the poverty of much of Atlanta's black population, the "New South" is a paper-thin veneer on the same old grinding oppression and racist terror. Leading up to the fascists' threat to invade Atlanta with their hoods and Confederate flags, in recent months Klan marches and anti-Semitic vandalism multiplied on the outskirts of Atlanta.

In September, 150 Klansmen in robes and military fatigues marched against Jews and the NAACP in Lawrenceville, northeast of Atlanta. In October, the Hebrew Academy of Atlanta was spray-painted with swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs. This followed attacks on Jewish schools and community centers in Doraville, Sandy Springs and Cobb County by fascists earlier this year. On November 12, the KKK, led by convicted Birmingham church bomber J.B. Stoner, terrorized members of the Macedonia Baptist Church in Powder Springs, in Cobb County. Protected by the police and the FBI, the Klan burned a 30-foot cross in front of the church to "send a message" to this black congregation in an integrated neighborhood.

The key to defending blacks, Jews and all the intended victims of Klan/skinhead terror lies in the strength of labor. Even in open-shop Georgia, the heavily black unions—in sanitation, hospital, transit, longshore, airlines—have the power to lead all the KKK's intended victims and stop the fascists' attacks. That masses of people in Atlanta would like to make a strong response of defiance against the Klan threat was suggested by the unprecedented 100,000 people who turned out January 16 for the city's annual King Day celebration. What is required is a leadership willing to mobilize that strength in determined action against the Klan provocation. For if the government succeeds in sealing off the KKK from *organized* mass protest, the authorities will be responsible when outraged citizens are left with nothing but the option of *unorganized* protest action.

But black labor in Atlanta is hamstrung by the ties to the Democratic city administration, which oversees the financial and commercial "hub" of the Southeast on behalf of the racist ruling class. Atlanta's black population has repeatedly come up against the city administration, from the bitter city workers strike broken a decade ago by then-mayor Maynard Jackson, to the recent Democratic Party convention, when Andrew Young razed the plywood shacks of the homeless to guarantee Dukakis a pristine site for his nomination.

Almost *one-third* of Atlanta's population lives below even the miserable federal "poverty level," and huge sections of the black workforce are paid so little that many are forced to work two jobs. At the M.L. King memorial, as tourists line up to buy "I have a dream" ashtrays, homeless blacks huddle right across the street. The glitter of the "New South" is reserved for the Coca-Cola capitalists and fancy projects like the "Underground Atlanta" entertainment and shopping complex. A highly visible black middle class and a black city administration are promoted, while underneath lies the de facto segregation and grinding exploitation.

Labor/black power must be unleashed, and that requires breaking from the "property party"—Democrats and Republicans—and struggling for a revolutionary workers party to lead all the oppressed. This must be a fight for a third American revolution, to "Finish the Civil War" and end once and for all the racial and class oppression which underlie every aspect of American capitalist society.

The Klan intends for their provocation on January 21 to take center stage in a national celebration of racist hatred. But mass mobilizations of labor and minorities have successfully spiked KKK provocations, in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, in San Francisco, Chicago and elsewhere. Most recently in Philadelphia, a KKK/skinhead rally was called off when they came up against the massive support for the union-based November 5 Mobilization to Stop the Klan. A mobilization of labor/black power to stop the racist nightriders in Atlanta can inspire integrated class struggle across the country. Act now! Stop the Klan! ■

Sorrell/Ebony

Memphis sanitation workers on strike in 1968. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis while supporting the strike.

Act Now!
Stop the Klan in Atlanta!

Dig deep and give NOW. It'll take $$$ to stop the KKK in Atlanta. Trade unions, tenant and student organizations have endorsed and pledged support to the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated demonstration. Expenses are mounting—we need money for printing 80,000 leaflets and getting the word out. Get your union, community and campus group to pledge. Send contributions to:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013

As Peking Encourages Capitalist Forces

Racist Riots Erupt in China

The People's Republic of China, in the tenth year of the Deng regime's attempts to "build socialism with capitalist methods," has produced an explosion of racist mob violence. Deng's program of decollectivization and private production in the countryside and an "open door" (tax breaks plus cheap labor, land and raw materials) for foreign capital has fostered a social climate of cutthroat competition, chauvinism and corruption. Thus at the end of December the world witnessed the appalling spectacle of Chinese university students on a racist rampage against black African (and other dark-skinned) students studying at Chinese schools.

On Saturday, December 24, at a party given by foreign students at Hehai University in Nanjing, long-simmering racial tensions exploded when a Chinese security guard refused entrance to two Chinese women and their African dates. A heated argument quickly escalated into a near-pogrom. Chinese demonstrators in Nanjing, sometimes numbering several thousand, threw rocks, smashed windows in dormitories where African students live, and shouted "black devils" and other racist slogans in clashes that began Saturday and continued for several days. The black students, who had been joined in solidarity by other foreign students including Americans, were eventually able to take refuge in the Nanjing railway station.

On the following Monday night, police herded the besieged students to a hotel outside the city. This move, supposedly for the students' protection, was actually more a house arrest, where reportedly Chinese police stripped a number of African students and beat them with their batons and tortured them with electric cattle prods. For 44 of the African students it took a two-day hunger strike, and an international storm of publicity highly embarrassing to the Chinese bureaucracy, to eventually get them freed.

The Hehai University explosion quickly triggered other racist incidents in eastern China. At Peking Languages Institute, where African students were carrying out a boycott of classes in protest against racial discrimination there and demanding freedom for the Nanjing students, hundreds of Chinese students demonstrated for hours on January 3 under slogans in Chinese and English declaring, "We Demand a Safe Campus," "Hooligans Go Home," and "No Offend Women's Rights" (*Newsday*, 4 January).

At the Zhejiang Agricultural University in Hangzhou, the African students (who are predominantly male and study in China for as long as six years) were subjected to new regulations restricting them to dating no more than one Chinese woman, who must be officially registered with the authorities! Meanwhile, there is a systematic rumor campaign labeling African students as AIDS carriers. This profoundly male chauvinist and racist campaign in the name of "protecting our women" from the African students is pure reactionary filth.

Reuters

Chinese student youth terrorize black African students in racist, male chauvinist campaign. Police reportedly beat and tortured Africans while "protecting" them.

Reuters

All the Old Crap Is Rising in Deng's China

The Chinese students have "justified" their mass racist attacks and hostility toward the African students as resentment at the Africans' "privileged" position:

> "Many Chinese students apparently resent the benefits that African students enjoy as foreigners, such as larger scholarships and better housing. African students have a room to themselves, while Chinese at Hehai University, where the weekend fracas began, are housed eight to a room."
>
> —*New York Times*, 27 December 1988

In Deng's China there certainly is massive privilege and inequality to resent and attack, but what small benefits the foreign students (i.e., not just African students) enjoy are only marginally better than those of their Chinese counterparts. At the *top* of the heap are the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, small-scale capitalists, and Western and Japanese businessmen, some of them operating large enterprises. Yet the students are not demonstrating against the truly privileged in People's China.

There is doubtless very deep demoralization and frustration among youth in China. The millions of workers and peasants who believed they were "building Communism" in the disastrous Great Leap Forward, the student-youth who flocked to the Maoist Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution," have become disillusioned with politics and absorbed in narrowly personal concerns. Deng and Zhao Ziyang have promised gold at the end of the rainbow (to be achieved through hustling in the marketplace and looking out for Number One), but today's students are finding their country still miserably poor and backward. Not seeing a genuine communist alternative, these youth are taking on some of the most repellent aspects of Western bourgeois culture.

Up to the point in 1971 when Mao sealed his alliance with U.S. imperialism (as U.S. B-52s carpet-bombed Vietnam), Chinese Stalinism was widely perceived as the militant ally of the "Third World" against the major imperialist powers. Pictures of Mao with the leaders of the emerging black nations of Africa were commonplace. Black American radicals like Robert F. Williams looked (mistakenly) to China as the way forward and in the late '60s traveled there, where they felt they were treated with the respect and dignity denied them in racist America. And certainly, whatever the brutal crimes and stupidities of the Red Guards, they did not engage in race riots.

The young Karl Marx, two years before the *Communist Manifesto*, wrote: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." In present-day China—the product of 40 years of rule by a Stalinist bureaucracy attempting to carry out the objectively impossible goal of building "socialism" in one terribly economically backward country—the "old crap" is reviving with a vengeance.

For thousands of years, Imperial China (the Middle Kingdom) was a great and isolated center of civilization. The Chinese word for foreigner was "barbarian." What we are seeing today is in part a return to Han Chinese xenophobia and racism. And it comes from the top. The bureaucratic elite ruling the People's Republic, under both Mao and Deng, are deeply nationalistic and dream of restoring a new Middle Kingdom to its rightful place in the world. In 1984 Deng proposed to *quadruple* national output by the year 2000 through rural free markets and an "open door" to the imperialist West. When this is achieved, declared Deng, "China's international influence will also be quite different, and our country's power will become truly strong."

Deng's China looks toward the West and Japan as its allies and economic partners, no longer proclaiming "solidarity" with the impoverished and exploited Third World. Whereas African and Asian heads of state used to be lionized in Peking, now it is Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers and Japanese industrialists who are given the red-carpet treatment when they visit China. No wonder Chinese students display the same racist contempt for black Africans to be found at Harvard or Todai University.

Trotsky once said one of Stalin's greatest crimes was turning countless young revolutionary idealists into political cynics. This is also one of the great crimes of Chinese Stalinism, under both Mao and Deng, played out on the scale of an entire nation. But now it has gone far beyond political cynicism: a whole layer of privileged Chinese student youth, in this bureaucratically deformed workers state with its emphasis on market competition being fostered by the top leadership of the country, is behaving like racist, chauvinist, grasping "socialist" yuppies.

Eroding the Gains of the Revolution with Capitalist Methods

The Chinese working class and any other section of that society which maintains a shred of a sense of internationalism should crush these racist outrages wherever they arise. But it is important to understand at the same time that the present-day children of the Chinese Revolution are having their birthright stolen from them and are victims of a massive fraud. "Building socialism by capitalist methods" has led *not* to the modernization of the country but rather to an explosion of petty capitalism and massive inequality in both town and country.

Already by 1985 there was an extreme disparity between rich and poor peasants, with the press regularly reporting peasants earning 10,000 yuan a year, *20 to 30 times the national per capita income!* The basic unit of production, accounting and distribution had become the individual peasant household—the Chinese Stalinists turned the calendar back 30 years to the very beginnings of agricultural collectivization.

At the same time, tens of millions of poor peasants have poured into the cities in a futile search for gold. Rather than prosperity for the masses what one finds in China today is...all the old crap. In the southern Guangdong Province child labor has been resurrected. In

continued on page 12

Labor Must Defend the Clinics!

Abortion Rights Under Siege

In the U.S. today, a showdown is coming over the question of abortion rights. Terror bombings and arson against abortion clinics have been followed by mass mobilizations of fanatical "god squads" attacking the clinics and harassing women. Now the Reagan/Bush administration has gotten the U.S. Supreme Court to review a Missouri anti-abortion law, which may well lead to the overturn of the court's 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationwide. There is a felt sense of crisis among those defending women's right to abortion that unless this reactionary wave is stopped, in another few months maybe there won't be any clinics left to defend.

The Supreme Court majority that passed *Roe vs. Wade* has been whittled down to a razor-thin edge, so now *one* black-robed justice's "swing vote" is supposed to determine one of the most intimate and private decisions for millions of women! At a demonstration in New York City on January 10, held in a Greenwich Village back alley, Bill Tatum, publisher of the city's largest black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, said, "I recognize this alley as the emergency room for women of my childhood. Unless we fight, this will become the emergency room of poor, black and Hispanic women of our future." Rabbi Balfour Brickner of Manhattan's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue stated, "We've been too genteel and are in danger of losing the battle for women's rights" (*Newsday*, 11 January).

WV Photos

Battle over NYC abortion clinics, January 13-14: pro-choice activists confronted Operation Rescue fanatics (right).

So today the president-elect is "kinder, gentler" George Bush, who said during last fall's televised campaign debate that "there's got to be some penalties" for women who have abortions. As Ellen Goodman wrote, "By any estimate, 15 million American women have had abortions since it's been legal. Everyone knows someone who's had one. Would they be criminals in Bush's America?" (*Boston Globe*, 4 October 1988). This is no abstract question. Before abortion was legalized, at least eleven states made women who survived illegal abortions into criminals, with jail sentences of two to five years. And in some states, doctors who performed abortions could get up to five years in jail.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent in 1,000-strong protest against bigots' blockade of abortion clinics in New York last April.

The sinister forces behind the anti-abortion vigilantes of "Operation Rescue" are driving hard to inflict their reactionary program on everybody by force. And they take their cues from the Republican White House: they targeted Atlanta during the Democratic Party convention, and repeatedly went after abortion clinics in Brookline, Massachusetts, Dukakis' hometown. Joe Scheidler of Chicago, who orchestrated last spring's "Operation Rescue" attacks in New York City, was arrested in June 1986 for smashing up an already twice-bombed clinic in Pensacola, Florida. And in California, some of the "right to lifers" who are regularly at "Operation Rescue" blockades have appeared on fascist Tom Metzger's TV show.

Over the last couple of years, time after time defenders of abortion rights have found themselves penned in behind police barricades while the "right to lifers" terrorize women and block clinic doors. But lately the religious fanatics have been stopped here and there, and there is a growing will to find a successful strategy to fight back. In Chicago in May 1988, a united front of abortion activists and leftists including a large Spartacist contingent prevented Scheidler's vigilantes from blocking a clinic. In November, "pro-choice" demonstrators in Redwood City, California stopped the religious nuts, while at Stanford University "Operation Rescue" leader Randall Terry was shouted down by students.

In Boston last October 29, some 2,000 defenders of women's rights lined Beacon Street, forcing the "Operation Rescuers" to drive to Rhode Island, but the "pro-choice" activists were then treated to a Democratic Party election rally. So what have Dukakis and the Democrats done to defend women's rights? It was under Democratic president Jimmy Carter that the Hyde amendment was passed, cutting off federal Medicaid funding for abortions. For poor and working-class women, the right of choice requires "free abortion on demand" linked to free, quality health care for all. Yet bourgeois feminists like the National Organization for Women, *Ms.* magazine and the rest of the "you've come a long way, baby" crowd will never fight for that.

The NOW crowd are pressure groups on the Democratic Party, playing the sectoralist game, bringing out their "constituency" at the polls in exchange for a few crumbs. They accept the framework of capitalist politics, including the bourgeoisie's "right" to exploit the working class, instead of waging a fight against the all-sided reaction being imposed on the American people. The Democrats will not and *cannot* defend women's rights against the attacks on women carried out in the name of sacred "family values." They share with the Reagan reactionaries a common commitment to preserving the patriarchal family unit, the bedrock of social conservatism and the main social institution of women's oppression.

Abortion rights activists feel isolated. Yet the right to abortion is *popular* and widely supported by the American people. A survey by the National Opinion Research Center showed that support for women's right to choose abortion has *grown* from 59 percent in 1972 to 63 percent in 1987. In fact, despite the denunciations by the Catholic church hierarchy (like NYC Cardinal O'Connor, who blesses the clinic blockaders) and "born-again" bigot preachers, the abortion rate for Catholic women is 30 percent higher than for Protestants, while one out of every six women who have abortions describes herself as an evangelical Christian. So the anti-abortion fanatics have turned to direct physical intimidation, attempting to make their unpopular reactionary program prevail as the law of the land.

What's needed to stop these reactionaries is first of all a *break* with the Democratic Party that ties the oppressed to their oppressors. Independent labor-centered mobilizations have the social power and class interest to defeat the anti-woman "god squads," the "gay-bashers," the racist terrorists. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have shown the way by mobilizing unions, blacks, gays and others against KKK and skinhead provocations. Massive support for our strategy of mobilizing labor/black power kept the Klan off Philadelphia's streets last November 5. It will take a revolutionary vanguard party, acting as a tribune of the people, to lead the fight for liberation of all the oppressed from our common enemies. For labor defense of abortion clinics! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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Young Spartacus

Eyewitness Report

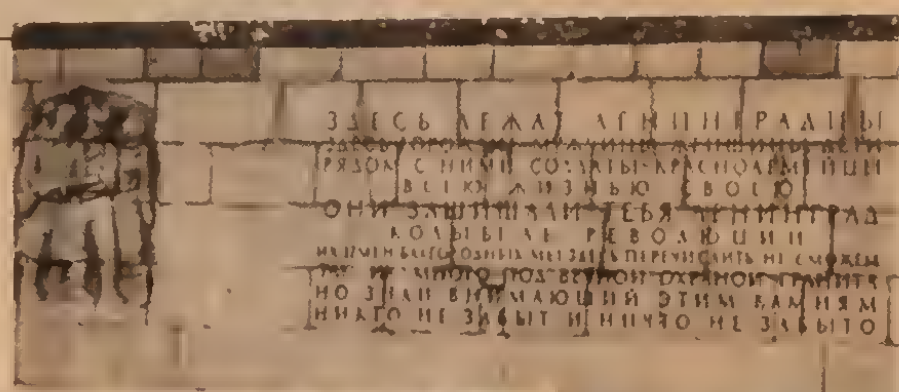
A Young Trotskyist Visits Gorbachev's Russia

"Glasnost" has generated a groundswell of interest in the Soviet Union. We reprint below some impressions written by Nick J., a young comrade who visited the USSR in September (during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit), focusing on some of the striking contradictions of Soviet society. The overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of a collectivized, planned economic system by the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution is the most important international victory of the working class. Yet the parasitic bureaucracy which usurped political power in the 1920s and rules the USSR today undermines the gains of the revolution by its economic mismanagement, heavy-handed suppression of political and cultural life, and selling out struggles abroad in the name of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists who are hell-bent on restoring capitalism in the degenerated Soviet workers state. We Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union unconditionally against imperialism and counterrevolution, and insist that only proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and social revolution in the capitalist countries can open the road to world socialism.

As we drove from Sheremetyevo airport into Moscow we passed through the forests of white birch that cover much of the USSR. Alongside the road is a huge concrete monument piled high with flowers. It's called the "hedgehog," a 50-foot-high structure that resembles the jacks kids play with—a giant replica of the tank traps that surrounded the cities of European Russia during Hitler's invasion. The monument is situated at the point furthest east that the Nazis reached during their advance on Moscow, and it reminds you right off that it was the Red Army that smashed Hitlerite fascism.

The contrast with the rotting misery of Reagan's America hits you in the face. The ghetto hellholes, the millions of homeless, the unemployment lines, the rotting steel mills that cover the U.S.—you don't see these things in the USSR. My companion put it well: her most striking impression of the USSR was the "absence of squalor." As the bus drove through Moscow to our hotel I kept thinking, "this society, where a job, an education, a place to live is a right, this is what the U.S. ruling class would like to nuke out of existence." A huge, modern industrial economy, without the capitalists!

"Here lie Leningraders,
Here citizens, men, women, children,
Alongside them soldiers of the Red Army,
With the whole of their lives
They defended you, Leningrad,
Cradle of the Revolution.
Their noble names we cannot list here,
So many of them are in the eternal shield of granite.
But know, you who gaze upon these stones,
None is forgotten, and nothing forgotten!"
— Olga Berggolts



Young Spartacus Photos

Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery where a half million Leningraders lie in collective graves, victims of the 900-day Nazi siege.

White Racist "Club": A Threat to Temple Students

Something calling itself the "White Student Union" has crawled out of the sewer at Philadelphia's Temple University. While "White Student Union" vice president Harry Maryanski whines that "there is really no expressive white pride" at Temple, the group, which claims some 90 members, is an open racist threat on this campus in a city the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads have openly targeted. Last November 5, the Klan and skinhead fascists tried to hold a race-hate "white pride" provocation in downtown Philly—an action that was spiked by a successful labor-centered united-front mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Even before the Temple administration announced recognition in late November of the "White Student Union" on ludicrous "free speech" grounds, some revolting and obscene "expressions of white pride" began appearing around campus. According to the Temple NAACP, on October 27 the words "We white people need protection from you n---ers" were found in Jones Hall. On November 9 someone scrawled a racist epithet in the Student Activity Center, and "N---ERS GO HOME" appeared in the Paley library. The Temple NAACP responded with a leaflet which stated that "we want to send a message to the person loud and clear that we cannot tolerate these ridiculous racist writings that are appearing throughout the university." Far from being "ridiculous," this filth is the language of would-be lynchers and a rallying call to racist violence.

There is reason to believe that the group of "white pride" punks at Temple is part of the KKK/skinheads' avowed goal of "creeping up on Philadelphia." Just a month after Temple's recognition of the racist student group, the Ku Klux Klan (represented in court by the ACLU) won the "right" to "hand out literature" at Stockton State College in Pomona, New Jersey, just across the state line from Philadelphia. The KKK crawled out of the sewer there after the racist and anti-Semitic rag of Tom Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" was stuffed inside the campus newspaper in 1986. Metzger's 20-year-old son John heads up the "Aryan Youth Movement," a fascist skinhead outfit which according to a recent Anti-Defamation League report is trying "to establish White Student Unions on high school and college campuses to serve as forums for Tom Metzger's views and recruiting grounds for his organization."

Where racist terrorists like the Klan and skinheads are involved, the issue is not "free speech" for these fascists but *self-defense* for their intended victims. On October 29 in a subway station in New York City, skinheads from the Philadelphia area attacked a white family who had objected to their racist epithets, even trying to throw their baby down a flight of stairs. And on November 13 in Portland, Oregon skinheads beat and killed a black Ethiopian worker.

According to the Temple administration itself, "The stated purpose of the White Student Union is to 'preserve and promote white racial culture and pride, and to abolish affirmative action'" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 December 1988). So-called "reverse discrimination" has been a battle cry of 1980s racism, from Reagan and Bush to the yuppified "new Klan" of former "grand dragon" (and California Democratic "Klandidate") Metzger. The "new Klan" expresses its "white pride" the same way the "old" one did—with the burning cross, the lynch rope, and now the skinheads' "Doc Marten" boot. While the Temple NAACP intends to "monitor" the WSU's activities, Temple students, campus workers and faculty should take note: neither fascists nor the racist punks on campus need "official recognition" or permits to carry out their deadly program.

This racist and fascist filth must be crushed—and fast. With the wave of racist attacks on college campuses over the past couple of years, black students have often found themselves besieged and isolated. But Temple has a substantial number of black and other minority students. And allying students with the power of labor has scored real victories, not least in Philadelphia itself. Temple students played an important role in mobilizing against the KKK/skinheads' planned November 5 provocation in Philly, but some of the student groups who initially helped to build the successful anti-Klan action backed away from it in the days leading up to November 5. Anti-communist sectarianism can only emboldens the fascists. The November 5 victory over the Klan has to be *carried forward*. The fascists and their racist punk understudies in the "White Student Union" must not be allowed a foothold at Temple!

Young Spartacus

TASS billboard hypes Reagan-Gorbachev Moscow summit. Bureaucrats push "peaceful coexistence" with warmongering imperialists.

The government's summit hype is everywhere. People in the street are waving star-spangled summit buttons, carrying summit shopping bags with U.S. and Soviet flags on them. There are summit T-shirts with Reagan's and Gorbachev's signatures on them, pictures of Reagan and Gorby in the shops. In Irkutsk, Siberia I even saw a working woman wearing a button with just a picture of Reagan on it! (I haven't even seen that in the U.S.) Gorbachev's line is that Reagan is a peacemaker, a friend of the Soviet people. The flip side of détente is of course the disappearing of any hint of international class struggle against imperialism. There are no placards, no newspaper articles, no speeches, that even pay lip service to anti-imperialism or internationalism. I saw one sign of the Afghanistan war: a billboard in a Moscow park with photos of the Soviet troops leaving. The inscription read, "The limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan has already begun to withdraw." When the U.S. Navy shot down the Iranian airliner, murdering some 290 innocent civilians, the story was buried in the Soviet press and the meager reports termed this atrocity "an accident."

People find it hard to believe the picture I paint of the oppression and poverty in the U.S. But a popular joke we heard about defectors reflects the Soviet people's understanding of the hypocrisy and inequalities of capitalism: "A man dies and goes to hell. He takes a look around: it's hot, it's nasty and he doesn't like what he sees. So he asks god, 'Listen, do you think just once, before I spend all eternity roasting, that you could send me on a two-week vacation to heaven?' God thinks about it and decides to grant the request. The man goes to heaven and has a great time, eating, drinking, screwing to his heart's content. The accommodations, the food, the people are incredible. But at the end of two weeks he finds himself, once again, at the gates of hell. 'God,' he says, 'look, why don't you just make an exception and send me to heaven for good? What do you say?' Again, god decided to grant his request. The man goes to heaven, and is immediately put to work cleaning toilets from dawn till dusk. 'God,' he asks, 'the first time I came up here everything was just beautiful and now they put me to work cleaning toilets—what's the deal?' 'Well,' says god, 'now you know the difference between tourism and defection'."

As for the supposed Soviet "police state," you see far fewer cops on the street than you do in Chicago. The general puritanism and oppressiveness of the Brezhnev years is noticeably absent. Gorbachev's speech to the conference is live on television, but Wimbledon and a documentary about seals are playing opposite him on other channels. There is plenty of rock 'n' roll on TV, and even a Soviet version of the "Solid Gold dancers." Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign, a massively unpopular move to discipline the Soviet workers, is the notable exception and the brunt of another current joke: "A man is waiting to buy vodka in one of the 'booze lines' which are so common in Soviet cities. After two hours he gets fed up and says to the guy in front of him, 'I've had it! I'm going to punch Gorbachev!' and stomps off in the direction of the Kremlin. About an hour later he returns. The guy who remained in line asks him, 'Well, what happened? Did you punch Gorbachev?' The man replies, 'No, the line was too long'."

* * *

It's disturbing how little the Intourist guides say about the October Revolution and how much they say about the renaissance of the Orthodox church, one of the most oppressive, anti-Semitic, anti-woman institutions in history. Our guide gleefully pointed out the site where a new church is to be built on land granted free by the state. Many of the older women on our tour were straining at the bit to visit a functioning church. When they finally got the chance in Irkutsk, most of them were turned away at the door because they were wearing pants and not skirts. Well, they wanted the Russian Orthodox church, and they got it!

Boris, our guide, was an interesting character. He is very consciously a part of the Soviet elite. He recently purchased a pedigreed English cocker spaniel which he plans to enter in dog shows, explaining that pedigreed hounds are all the rage among Moscow snobs. Boris got a deferment from military service because he was in a special language program, yet he holds the rank of lieutenant in the Red Army anyway. I asked him what he thought of perestroika and the fact that, for the first time since the revolution, there might be unemployment in the USSR. "That's good," he replied. "It will get the lazy buggers off their asses."

Boris carries around a Bible with him, although he treats it more like a fashion accessory than a religious artifact. He knows his Russian history backwards and forwards, but my questions about October elicited minimal responses. He reserves his eloquence to describe the palaces of the tsars, the Fabergé eggs, etc. "I was born in the wrong time," Boris was fond of saying. Boris is, of course, a member of the Komsomol and is applying for Party membership this year.

* * *

It was in Uzbekistan that the nature of the revolutionary gains we defend hit me the hardest. In this part of the world that was positively medieval in 1917, people appear to have as high a standard of living as in Moscow. Where Islam once ruled and women were bought and sold as virtual chattel, you now see women integrated into the society at all levels. And there are light-skinned Europeans and dark Uzbeks, but you can't find the color line in Bukhara or Tashkent. You see mixed couples walking down the street without fear of harassment.

Here we didn't get the kind of church-mongering that we got in Moscow. People here *know* what Islam is about and they don't want to turn back the clocks. I did not see a single woman wearing the veil. Most of the mosques are museums or tea shops although a few are still functioning. Our guide in Tashkent pointed out the old Madrasa (Koranic school, now a museum), "from the minarets of which they used to throw women who had committed adultery." She then pointed to a tall modern building across the street and went on, "And this is the Moscow Hotel, the tallest building in Tashkent. After the revolution the women considered throwing adulterous men off the top but they decided it would make too big a pile." ■

Young Spartacus

Orator in Pushkin Square, Moscow. Glasnost has sparked political ferment in USSR.

Defend Anti-CIA Protester!

Madison

MADISON—On December 8, the University of Wisconsin campus cops staged a violent attack against students protesting CIA recruitment here. Chief Ralph Hansen led the roughing-up of anti-CIA protesters and the arrest on trumped-up charges of one protester who may face *years* in jail. Cop Hansen has overseen the cracking of leftists' skulls since the '60s, notably including the beating of anti-CIA protesters in October 1985.

At the December 8 protest some 25 students, including members and supporters of the Madison Spartacus Youth Club, lined the halls of the Engineering Placement Building where the CIA was interviewing. According to a witness, grad student Doug Sherry, "Police started pushing two people on the opposite side of the police. They threw one woman to the ground. Another fellow was...tackled and arrested.... One policeman took out a blackjack and started to swing it around. This was without provocation" (*Badger Herald*, 9 December 1988).

The arrested man was grad student James Carl. After being roughed up by the cops, he was charged with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and attempting to disarm an officer! Although Carl was released on bail, if convicted of the last charge, a felony, he faces the possibility of many years behind bars. "I did not attempt to disarm an officer, and I did not see any weapons out of their holsters," James Carl told the *Daily Cardinal* (13 December 1988). Over a month later he has yet to be formally arraigned and charged, as the D.A.'s office plays a cruel game of suspense.

The victimization and attempted frame-up of James Carl is orchestrated by the administration of "progressive" chancellor Donna Shalala. Her "Madison Plan" includes a carte blanche for the CIA terrorists, and cop violence and the threat of jail for those who would protest the CIA. As CIA-man Bush prepares to enter the White House, Shalala and the university administration are trying to send all students a message: Stay in line like good careerist sheep or else it's off to the slammer.

Drop the charges against James Carl! Cops and CIA off campus! There must be a massive outpouring of support for Jim Carl—an injury to one is an injury to all. A mass united-front mobilization of students and labor could spike this frame-up and the intended intimidation of student protest. ■

Young Spartacus Photos

UW cops rough up Madison anti-CIA protesters last December.

Richard Fraser—Memorial to a Veteran American Trotskyist

Comrade Richard S. Fraser died on November 27, 1988 at the age of 75. On January 8, we held a memorial meeting in Los Angeles to honor the life and work of this veteran American Trotskyist who above all established his mark as a tenacious fighter for black liberation. Some 85 people came out to pay tribute with their memories of Dick Fraser, from old comrades and friends going back over 50 years when Dick joined the Trotskyist movement to a younger generation which included many members of the Spartacist League. Also present was his son Jonny, whom Dick cherished.

A beautiful display of photographs and other materials showing Dick's life was assembled by comrades from the West Coast, many of whom had worked with and cared for Dick during his last years as he courageously fought to overcome many painful and debilitating illnesses to carry on his life's work. The speeches and messages to the memorial meeting were as rich in their diversity as was the man they spoke of.

Dick Fraser was a talented violinist, an expert in the trade of plaster pattern making, a seaman who was a member of the National Maritime Union, an innovative although untrained scientist many of whose works were patented. But above all else Dick Fraser was a devoted communist. Although lacking much formal education Dick dedicated himself to the study of the black question in America, and he enriched the program of Marxism with his understanding that emancipation of blacks in this country will only come through integrated revolutionary struggle for proletarian socialist rule.

For close to 30 years Dick was a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party, where he began his lifelong work on the program of revolutionary integrationism as the road to black freedom. Later, he was a founder of the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party and an editor together with Arne Swabeck of the journal *Revolutionary Age*. After a split in the FSP he went into the New American Movement hoping to educate some of these young New Leftists in the old Leninist school and was subsequently carried into the Democratic Socialists of America.

1913-1988

The American attack on Libya was decisive in breaking the contradiction between Dick's fervent political beliefs and his formal membership in the DSA. A co-reporter on the black question at the founding conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. in 1966, over the years Dick continued to develop his relations with the SL, leading to a close and invaluable collaboration in our work to establish organizations of labor/black defense. The author of "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle," Richard Fraser was a theoretical mentor, cherished friend and in the end a comrade of the Spartacist League.

Dick Fraser was a veteran of the old revolutionary SWP. Together with other veterans of the party that James P. Cannon and Trotsky had built, he taught us some of the things that make us what we are today. Above all what emerged from the tributes and memories of Dick Fraser at the memorial meeting was the thread of revolutionary continuity which his life embodied, from the tradition of western radicalism represented by the Wobblies which, refracted through the experience of the great Russian Revolution of 1917, led to the formation of the American Communist Party and later to the foundation of American Trotskyism by Cannon and other leading cadre out of the CP to carry forward the program of Leninism.

Both Frank Krasnowsky, who was a longtime comrade and collaborator of Dick's in Seattle, and the SL's Jim Robertson remarked at the memorial meeting that they would have liked to have had the time to speak about the reformist degeneration of the SWP and all those who scorned Dick Fraser and his invaluable contribution to a revolutionary program for black liberation. The sequel came with Jack Barnes driving out and expelling the last longtime party veterans, laying to rest any ghost of a claim to continuity between the *anti*-Trotskyists of Barnes' organization and the revolutionary SWP.

The Spartacist League is fortunate to be the heirs to an unbroken revolutionary tradition which goes back to Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. Dick Fraser was an important part of that continuity and it is in this spirit that we are reprinting in full the speeches and messages to his memorial meeting, serially in this and the coming issues of *Workers Vanguard*.

Karen Wyatt
Los Angeles Spartacist League

We're here today to honor the life of Richard Fraser. Dick joined the Trotskyist movement at the age of 21 in 1934 and was an active participant in the socialist movement until his death on November 27, 1988. The attendance here today I think is a testimony to his deep and lasting friendships as well as the political impact he had on his own and on younger generations. We'll have seven speakers as well as twelve messages from comrades and friends who couldn't attend today. After that we will conclude with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Now you're all welcome to stay following that. The bar will be open and you can look at all the displays that have been done. We'll also be playing music that Dick particularly liked. Included in this is some music that was written, orchestrated and played by Dick's son Jonny who is here today. Dick's love for his son was very great. Even after eleven hours of surgery the mention of Jonny's name would light up his eyes, and he was very proud of his music.

* * * * *

Don Andrews
reading statement of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense

We in the Labor Black League for Social Defense salute Richard S. Fraser, historic American Trotskyist, who died today, 27 November 1988. Richard Fraser was our teacher, the author of "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" that lights the road to black freedom through the program of revolutionary integration, the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society.

Richard Fraser, the theoretician, was above all an organizer and a tireless fighter for freedom for black Americans and all the working people. His courageous struggle in his later years to overcome his many painful illnesses in order to complete his historic work on the black question is only one recent example of his exemplary tenacity.

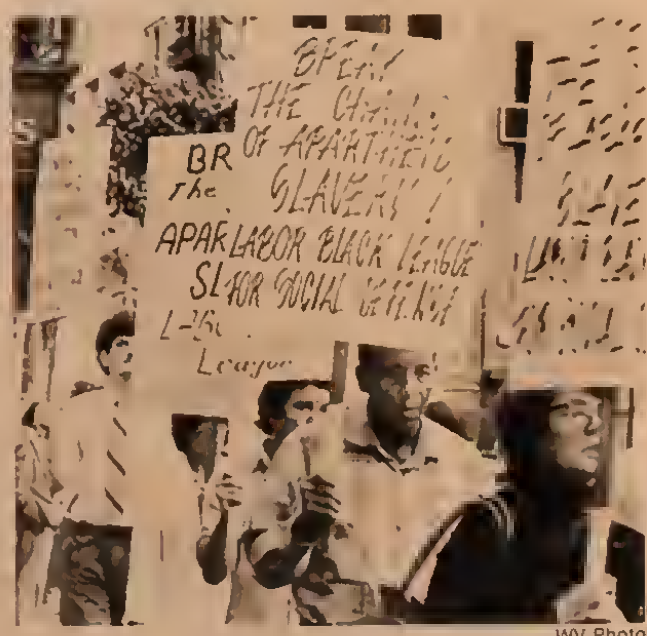
Comrade Fraser rejoiced in and endorsed our victorious labor/black mobilizations that stopped cold the Ku Klux Klan's intended provocations in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 and our recent satisfying victory against these fascists on November 5, 1988 in Philadelphia. The labor/black mobilizations are in life the verification of Richard Fraser's historic contribution to history: for revolutionary integrationism as the road to the emancipation of the American proletariat—white and black—as opposed to the dead end of black nationalism. From its inception the Spartacist League's adoption of Richard Fraser's program of revolutionary integrationism has been the cornerstone of Spartacist's program of black liberation through socialist revolution. Our organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense, grew out of the SL's successful November 27, 1982 mobilization that stopped the KKK.

We honor our friend and teacher Richard Fraser most of all by continuing his fight. Forward to the Third American Revolution to Finish the Civil War! Hail Richard S. Fraser, fighter for black freedom!

* * * * *

WV Photo

Don Andrews of Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense.



WV Photo

Labor Black Leagues embody concept of revolutionary transitional organizations advocated by Dick Fraser in the SWP 30 years ago.

WV Photo

Charles Curtiss, who was L.A. organizer of the Trotskyist Communist League of America in the early 1930s, addresses memorial meeting.

Charles Curtiss

who knew Dick Fraser for 55 years and was Los Angeles organizer of the Communist League of America when Dick joined

I am here in two capacities. From the Los Angeles Socialist Party I bring condolences to the family, friends and comrades of Dick Fraser. But I'm also here in a personal capacity, for the ties that link Dick Fraser and me go back more than a half century. On counting back it was about 55 years ago that I first met Dick in San Diego. We were obviously considerably younger then. Together we studied the fundamentals of internationalist socialism, the class struggle and its final outcome in socialism. We pondered over the sources of surplus value, class exploitation and its termination in a socialist society of abundance for all with production for use not profit.

We analyzed the cruelty and the absurdity of unemployment, of want and suffering in the midst of plenty. This was in the very depths of the Depression. We probed the economic and political roots of war and imperialism, and how to eradicate them and establish an economic order internationally where the antagonism between classes vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

We learned and we were also active. We fought against fascism in demonstrations. We battled in discussion with individual members of the Communist Party and its supporters against Stalinism and for the internationalist essential of socialism as against the monstrosity of the theory of "socialism in one country." And he, we, responded "present" with enthusiasm on picket lines, as volunteers in supporting union efforts, in backing the movements of the unemployed and the oppressed segments of our society for human rights.

Dick had a constant and loved companion—his fiddle. He was a sensitive musician, a talented and devoted violinist. For it is well to remember that we, young people, many of us in our teens, brought into the socialist movement music and literature. We had choral groups and we heard recitals at our socials. We formed drama groups and Dick among others gave much here.

There was a kindliness and generosity in Dick that surmounted even the bitterness of the factionalism that marked the socialist movement and that asserted itself, despite the torturous pain he was suffering. And this kindliness and generosity, as so often happens, called forth kindliness and generosity in turn in those he touched, whether briefly or for long periods of time. There is guidance in this thought. Dick in his integrity, his giving of himself without stint in the daily work for socialism, his respect for clarity and knowledge in the realm of thought, his artistry, his magnanimity, was a forerunner of the person of the human future of associated labor in which the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

As I visited him in the last months of his life, and these visits were harrowing for he was very sick, I bear witness that he remained true to the ideals and goals and values he consciously adopted 55 and more years ago. The thoughts of youth were for him long, long thoughts. With all the setbacks of the intervening years and with all the pain of his illnesses, Dick stood fast as an internationalist socialist to the very last day of his life. This memory he left us and it is precious.

* * * * *

Myra Tanner Weiss

former longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party sent the following greetings

Dick Fraser lived his whole life as a socialist. However important the differences we had between us, we shared the desire for a socialist society and Dick struggled always to organize the working class and to raise its political consciousness. My special sympathy for our loss goes to those of you who not only lost a comrade but a close political collaborator and friend as well. He can never be replaced in your hearts. Dick was always certain of the socialist victory for which he devoted his life. And so are we. In revolutionary solidarity, Myra Tanner Weiss.

* * * * *

WV Photo

Dick Fraser studied to be a violinist and never lost his love of music.

Dave Cooper

member of Socialist Action who first met Dick Fraser in the SWP in Minneapolis in 1938

I was listening to a tape recording this morning of the history of the IWW. Now Dick was never a member of the IWW. But if you knew Dick Fraser you knew that his roots were in the IWW. What do I mean by that? I mean, Dick may not have had a penny in his pocket, but he might have heard that there was a contact a hundred miles away. And Dick knew how to go the cheapest way—thumb or railroad.

One of the comrades I talked to, Asher Harer, who was recruited by Dick, said they had a peace demonstration where Asher went to school, and who showed up but Dick Fraser. And when he showed up, Asher said, "Do you have any money?" "Hmm, yes," he said, "I have five dollars." Now he had to go about 150 miles, but he heard that there was a peace demonstration and there might be a possibility of a recruit. So wherever there was a possibility of recruiting, wherever there was a possibility of participating in a strike, wherever there was a problem in the working class you could expect Dick to be there.

Now I lived in Minneapolis. I went to the university during the great strikes. And we were sitting around with Max Geldman—unfortunately this has been a period where we've lost a number of the comrades that have had 50 years in the movement or more. A good part of that generation—I'm glad I'm a lot younger—but a good part of that generation has left us. But we were sitting around the table, Max Geldman had just come from the convention in '38, which was the founding of the Socialist Workers Party. He was much wealthier—he took a bus or a train, I don't remember. And about three or four days later, in came Dick. A knock at the door and this man with a gentle face, as he's been described by Charlie, 5' 10" or 5' 11", I guess, came in. And I said, "Well, how did you get here?" He said, "a very cheap form of transportation." I asked him what it was and he said, "Well, I found that the boxcar and the thumb were one way you can get almost anywhere in the country." That was Dick Fraser.

I didn't meet Dick again—although I heard that he had become a seaman, he was a seaman for about four years—until I came to Los Angeles. I had heard from Asher the story that Charlie told you, about the fact that Dick had been a violinist, that he was with the San Diego symphony orchestra for a period of time. People wanted him to go on to study with leading musicians. But once he had seen the vision, the socialist vision, once he had seen the idea of internationalism, of an independent working class, of a type of party that was necessary to make a revolution in this country, Dick put away his violin and joined the socialist movement.

And in Los Angeles, the thing that I remember about Dick is that there was no task that Dick wouldn't do. I was telling Karen when I talked to her that if the office had to be cleaned up, Dick would clean it up. If there was a strike to go to, Dick would go and provide whatever leadership. If there was a struggle, any type of struggle of the working class, you could depend on Dick to be there.

And that was one of the reasons that I wanted to speak. Because in this tradition of a number of comrades that have left us—I must tell you that I talked this morning to a woman who was one of the leading comrades on the East Coast and she said, "What have we achieved? We've had Dick and Max [Shachtman] and [James] Cannon and all these people. Where are we now?" And I smiled to myself as I said to her on the phone: Where was the working class in 1917? Where is the working class of the world today? Where is the capitalist class today? It's in a blind alley. These comrades left us with a great and a historic tradition and we will link up with the revolutionaries of England, France, of Africa, Latin America.

Yes, great were the contributions that these comrades made and we will live to see younger comrades coming in, taking up the cudgels and becoming part of that fight. And you young comrades who are not part of the movement yet, you must take up where Dick and many of the others left off and carry this struggle on.

continued on page 10

Fraser Memorial...

(continued from page 9)

Because there is no question, there is a socialist vision and there is a socialist movement. And if you believe in the socialist vision, you must become a part of that socialist movement. Thank you.

* * * * *

Dorothy Ray Healey

of the Democratic Socialists of America sent the following statement dated 28 December 1988

I don't remember what year it was when I met Dick Fraser. I do remember, however, how it came about and what we discussed. He phoned, said he listened to my radio program on KPFK, was a former member of the S.W.P. and suggested we get together for a visit. Both of us were amazed at how much the S.W.P. and the C.P. resembled one another in their organizational methodology even as each was proclaiming the other as a chief opponent. When I told him how Les Evans, then a member of the S.W.P. had told me of his being present at Jim Cannon's home watching the TV news report of the 1962 California elections and how Cannon exulted in Pat Brown's defeat of Richard Nixon for governor, Dick commented that way down deep many Trotskyists did recognize that there was a difference between Republicans and Democrats. He said that in 1939 when Cannon and other leading Trotskyists visited Trotsky in Mexico, they discussed electoral policy with him and asked what the position should be if an Afro-American was running as a Democrat. According to Dick, Trotsky replied: "We support the men not the party."

Dick's pamphlet, "An Open Letter to American Trotskyists" is one of the few examples I know of where a critical and self-critical analysis of past policies was made public. It was no surprise to anyone who knew of Dick's focus on a proper policy for Marxists toward the "national question" for his pamphlet to attack the racism involved in the S.W.P.'s policy in the 1930's toward Harry Lundberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

He joined the New American Movement and was active within it until his illness curtailed his mobility. But each time I visited him at the hospital or his home I was impressed by his willpower and his determination to overcome his physical ailments and the mental clarity with which he surveyed the world.

I am grateful to all of you for the solicitude and care you gave him until the day he died.

* * * * *

Cliff Carter

a longtime union activist in the Tidewater area and a friend of Dick's sent the following message dated 28 December 1988

Today I went to the public library and looked in the *Books in Print* titled "Authors," and searched for Richard S. Fraser. Dick's name wasn't there and I felt a little bad about this; but then I had a very good feeling that in the near future his name will be listed with the "Authors" with the completion of his book titled, "The Struggle Against Slavery in the United States."

Some time ago, around the end of November I received a call from a friend that said Fraser passed away in his sleep 27 November 1988, the same day the Spartacist League and friends stopped the Klan in 1982.

I met Dick in 1985 and had a couple of talks with him concerning a book that he was in the process of writing. At the time, the title of the book was "The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," but was changed in June 1986, because a Senator Wilson used the same name about a century ago.

In our conversation, Dick told me that I would be surprised how many black people do not know the complete truth about slavery in the United States. Dick said, "My book will be written for scholars, teachers, students and for anybody who wants to read the book."

Fraser sent me to my history book when he said, "After the election of Thomas Jefferson as president and he (Jefferson) made the Louisiana Purchase, everything went along smooth for the slave holders." Jefferson's presidency (1801-1809) was the beginning of the now Democratic Party.

Thomas Jefferson being president of the United States (his occupation listed as a planter) and a big slaveholder was a founder of the now "friend of labor" Democratic Party. This is why the workforce, black and white, should break away from the Democrats, for a party started by wrong people cannot be changed. You destroy this wrong party and build a new party free of slaveholding policies.

Dick Fraser sent me a copy of his writings entitled, "Two Lectures on Black Liberation," which was delivered in 1953 at the Militant Labor Forum at Los Angeles. One of the subtitles is, "The Negro Struggle, Capitalist Politics and the Labor Movement." Enclosed are five sentences from the above:

1. "But it must be remembered that if it was the Democratic Party which created the semi-fascist Southern system, it was the Republican Party which voluntarily turned the South over to the Klan."

Dick was talking about the Compromise of 1877, when arrangements were made between Southern Democrats and Republicans to give the 1876 presidential election to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes (loser in the popular vote), in exchange for withdrawal of federal troops from the South.

2. "The Democrats, it is true, are the main upholders of white supremacy."

With this coming from Dick over 30 years ago, why are labor and black leaders still today trying to tie the workforce with the Democratic Party? To preserve white supremacy and maintain segregation among the workforce.

3. "Voters don't determine or control anything of great importance in the South."

This is true because the working people have never obtained anything at the voting polls except another politician to mess up things some more.

4. "Without the overbrow of prejudice unionism itself is always in danger."

This reminds me of November 27, 1982 when the Spartacist League along with unionists from the East Coast stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. The very first workday on the job, fake local union heads tried to bring the stoppers of the KKK up on charges of inciting a riot. A Klan sympathizer is the same as a Klansman.

5. "The low wages of the South are a constant pressure upon all unions throughout the country."

The capitalist uses the South to set the standards as far as prices are concerned. Cheap labor can always be found in the South for the Northern factories.

While looking through my files, I came across a note-type letter that was never mailed to Dick Fraser:

To Dick Fraser: You said, "Discrimination and prejudice in the rest of the United States derives directly from the Southern system, feeds upon it, and like racial discrimination throughout the world is completely dependent upon it."

In another paragraph you said, "But since discrimination in the North and West derive from the Southern system, it will never be eliminated until the Southern system is uprooted and destroyed."

My comment to Dick: I like this, Dick. This is important to remember for everybody who is against discrimination and prejudice. If you want to destroy the two (discrimination and prejudice), you start at the source, the beginning. Go to the South Land, the origin of the hell fire.

Dick told me he joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1934. With the decay of the SWP, and the actions of Dick's last performances prove that he is the same Trotskyist in 1988 as 1934.

The worthwhile people die too quick.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Schomburg Collection

Harper's Weekly

Democratic Party poster in 1868 (right). In post-Civil War period the Democrats campaigned to restore white-supremacist rule in the South through KKK terror.

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Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

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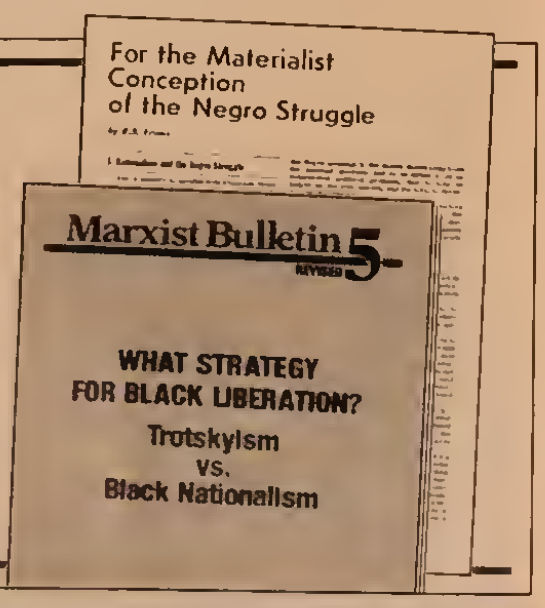

Spain: "Socialist" Regime Hit by Protest Strike

On December 14, Spain was shut down by a massive one-day general work stoppage protesting pro-business economic policies which have brought massive unemployment and falling wages for the workers and fabulous profits for the bosses. Almost eight million workers, 90 percent of the working class, struck against the "socialist" government of Felipe González. The response exceeded the most optimistic expectations of the Socialist-led UGT (General Workers Union) and Communist-led Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.—Workers Commissions) union leaders who called it. It was the first time in more than half a century, since before the Civil War of the 1930s, that Spain had seen united strike action by the entire proletariat.

The workers were lashing out at González' program to "modernize" the country by attracting international capital with "free market" policies. With this policy of economic growth through high tech and low pay, the yuppie social-democratic planners did produce an investment boom. Joining the Common Market in 1986, Spain outstripped most of Western Europe in economic growth. But in "restructuring" industry by dismantling unprofitable state-owned companies, unemployment shot up to the highest level in Europe, almost 22 percent in 1985 and double that for youth under 25. So González introduced a plan to pay employers for hiring youth at the minimum wage, while "flexibilizing" (removing) controls on firing workers.

After years of tightening their belts so that companies could rake in millions, and now facing the prospect of government-subsidized mass layoffs, Spanish workers have had it. The last attempt at a general strike (in June 1984) had spotty results, as Comisiones Obreras went it alone. This time discontent among labor was so strong that the UGT joined in. The result was a total shutdown. Even though only 12 percent of the labor force is unionized, 95 percent of industry, construction and transport stopped work. Government offices closed, newspapers didn't publish. The streets were deserted as small shops kept their shutters down. Even agricultural workers refused to go into the fields, and many of the government-ordered "minimum services" stopped as well.

A dramatic showdown came at RTVE, the state broadcast network run by Pilar Miró, a close personal friend of the prime minister and one of the most notorious "beautiful people" of his PSOE (Socialist Workers Party) government. She had ordered broadcasts to continue throughout the 14th. But at 12 midnight, just as the announcer on the news program declared that minimum services would be maintained, technicians pulled the plug and TV screens went blank throughout the country. And exactly a month later Miró was sacked after a judge ordered her to repay over $30,000 which she had taken from the RTVE treasury to pay for expensive clothes and jewelry.

El País

Spanish working class showed its power. General work stoppage on December 14 shut down 95 percent of industry, construction and transport.

"The main symbol of the wide support for the strike was the closing of small shops," reported *El País* (19 December 1988). Even in Madrid's posh Salamanca barrio, where nostalgic Francoists give the stiff-arm fascist salute on the anniversary of the dictator's death, shutters were closed. Soccer matches were canceled as star teams like the Barça and Real Madrid joined the strike. In Barcelona 75 percent of the bordellos reportedly closed. The few clashes came outside the department stores of the Corte Inglés chain, which has a company union and vowed to stay open. But although scabs came to work, they were forced to shut down by midday because of the large picket lines and lack of customers.

The government raised a hue and cry over fears of picket line violence. Before the strike they even set up a hot line so finks could help the police by calling in. The labor tops, themselves fearful of strike militancy, responded by declaring that pickets would only be "informational." On the 14th, there were plenty of pickets (80,000, according to *El País*). But as a correspondent in Barcelona reports, "the 'information' they gave out was that everything was closed." Throughout the industrial belt of the Baix Llobregat and Vallès, factories were shut down with handfuls of pickets. Militants drove around looking for plants that were open and picketed them out.

There were also major labor mobilizations during the strike week, the largest in years. On Wednesday (December 14), more than 200,000 demonstrated in Barcelona even though, despite the government's "minimum services" order, there was no public transportation at all to bring them in from the workers' towns. And on Friday, half a million marched in triumph through the center of Madrid, converging on the Puerta del Sol. A giant papier-mâché float was burned which showed González and his hardline deputy Alfonso Guerra clutching wads of money while starving workers holding red roses (the Socialist Party symbol) looked on. Police helicopters circled overhead, and at the end riot cops laid into the dispersing crowd.

General Strike Poses Fight for Power

The day after the walkout, Felipe González issued a statement recognizing "the political success of the general strike, as well as the heavy blow it means for the government" (*El País*, 16 December 1988). For the last month, government and PSOE leaders went all out in redbaiting and violence-mongering in an attempt to break the momentum. They tried to split the UGT, whereupon dozens of union leaders who opposed the strike were ousted. Already in 1987, UGT chief Nicolás Redondo had resigned his parliamentary seat as a PSOE deputy; the strike formalized the division in the "Socialist family." But without a revolutionary leadership, the tremendous social mobilization will only serve as a *pressure tactic* for a slight shift in government policy, the so-called "social turn."

The reformist leaders of the UGT and CC.OO. underlined this in a statement in which they showed their "concern over the tremendous strength and power that we have today, which requires us to administer the success with great caution. We do not in any way seek the fall of the government" (*El Periódico*, 15 December 1988). Likewise the general secretary of the Communist Party (PCE), Juan Anguita, stressed that the strike would let González "stop feeling imprisoned by the de facto powers" such as the army and the banks. But from the beginning of his reign, the "Socialist" prime minister has tried to show himself the handmaiden of the capitalists and militarists, bringing Spain into the Common Market and NATO against massive popular opposition.

Moreover, the Spanish general strike is part of a growing trend in West Europe of workers' opposition to the Reaganite/Thatcherite economic program being carried out by social-democratic regimes. Next door in France, the Socialist Party government of Mitterrand/Maurois was hit last fall by the biggest strike wave in years, centering on government employees. On November 30, they brought in the army for the first time in years to break a Paris transit strike, yet even then it dragged on to the end of the month. But while González and Maurois denounce the strikes as political, *the reformist union and CP misleaders refuse to wage a political fight against the anti-working-class regimes they helped put in office.*

In his terse televised statement, Felipe González stated the obvious: "By definition, a general strike is political. Trying to pretend otherwise is a waste of time." Yet having demonstrated the backing of eight million workers, the UGT/CC.OO. tops demanded the government fulfill a pitiful minimum program of a *2 percent* wage increase, withdrawing the misnamed "youth employment plan," indexing pensions for inflation and increasing the number of those eligible for unemployment benefits from under a third to barely half of the jobless! Easily affordable—but a month after the strike, talks broke down as the government refused to meet even a fifth of the unions' demands. So much for González' "social turn"!

Rather than fighting for powerful working-class action to kick out the pro-business government, the fake-Communists are treating the December 14 strike as a popularity poll on the González regime and looking to the next elections. And to increase their vote, they are trying to reconstitute the splintered PCE by bringing back the "ex-pro-Soviet" Stalinists of Ignacio Gallego's PCPE (Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain), while leaving ex-CP *caudillo* Santiago Carrillo's PTE (Workers Party) out in the cold. Also absent from this lash-up is the PCC (Catalan Communist Party), the former *afganos* who formed as a hardline

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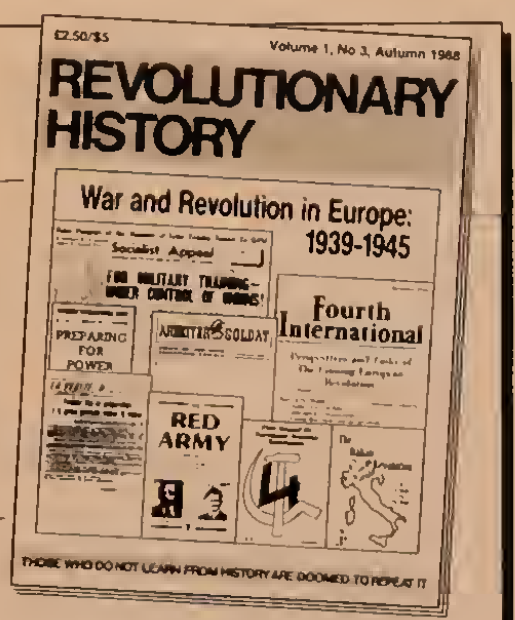

China...

(continued from page 4)

Peking homeless live on handouts and others steal to live. In southern Canton there now exists a small army of beggars by day, many of whom turn to gambling and prostitution by night.

The Chinese economy and Chinese society after 40 years of Stalinist zigzags and adventurism is in a shambles. Inflation is running close to 50 percent a year. The foreign debt is $40 billion. And the government is "considering" retrenchment and redeployment (read layoffs) of 2.5 million workers currently on the state payroll. The prospect of mass layoffs (and unemployment) is the inevitable result of the erosion of centralized planning and an emphasis on competition among the various enterprises and regions. As the London *Guardian* (19 October 1988) noted:

> "To put Chinese factories on a commercial footing would mean sacking up to 30 million workers, or 20 to 30 per cent of the urban industrial workforce. To really allow the market to set prices would inevitably mean real hardship for millions."

Indications are that the Chinese working class is fighting back against rocketing inflation and government attempts to break the lifetime job security (the "iron rice bowl") that has become traditional since the revolution. For example, in November dock workers at Tanggu (a major port about 100 miles southwest of Peking) began a go-slow work action that paralyzed the port. This action is part of a sharply rising line of workers struggles that between January and July last year resulted in 49 strikes by *official* figures (the real figure is doubtless much higher).

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

There have now emerged *openly* pro-capitalist elements within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Recently, three prominent economists with close ties to the Deng regime have proposed to "transfer ownership of all of China's state-owned companies to shareholders that would include individuals, universities, institutions and local governments" (*New York Times*, 10 January). However, the restoration of capitalism in China cannot take place simply through bureaucratic fiat, passing new regulations and the like.

The Chinese Revolution which triumphed in 1949 on the bayonets of Mao's Red Army and without the participation of the working class, was, despite its profound bureaucratic deformation, a world-historic event. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie, was destroyed. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were abolished. A nation which had been ravished and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. These fundamental gains of the Chinese Revolution will be defended by the workers and poor peasants, and can be overturned only by civil war, a massive social cataclysm.

But what the bureaucracy is doing does *endanger and erode* the gains of the revolution, thus powerfully strengthening capitalist-restorationist forces. Viscerally hostile to the Leninist program of world socialist revolution, the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Peking seek a modus vivendi with the imperialists. The Deng regime has gone further, allying China to American imperialism (for example, in attacking and besieging Vietnam). It has also opened the country to ever greater imperialist economic penetration and pressure, pressure which is especially heavy given China's backwardness.

The alternative to "opening" China to capitalism is not national autarky along the lines of Mao's Great Leap Forward, but genuine international socialist planning. And that requires socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies not only in Peking but also in Moscow. A revolutionary workers government in China, based on soviet democracy, would promote balanced economic growth, ensuring a steadily rising standard of living for the population. But *this cannot be done solely on the basis of the resources available in China.* The modernization of China, the world's largest nation with its rich and ancient culture, is a great task for the international proletarian revolution and global socialist order. ■

Gamma

Wallis/J B Pictures

Deng's program of "building socialism with capitalist methods" encourages emulation of imperialist West, including Madison Avenue-style hype and promoting of social inequality.

Spain...

(continued from page 11)

opposition to Carrillo's "Eurocommunism." But especially as Soviet leader Gorbachev takes up many of the themes of yesterday's "Euros," while withdrawing from Afghanistan in the face of Reagan's *mujahedin*, these "ex-pro-Soviets" have no independent program either nationally or internationally.

For a Trotskyist Party in Spain!

As for the ostensible Trotskyists, they are hardly more militant than the Stalinist or social-democratic reformists. For the December 14 general strike, the PST (Socialist Workers Party), followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, in no way posed the question of power, calling only to "defeat the economic and social policy of the government" (*La Verdad Socialista*, 15 November 1988). And no wonder, since Moreno & Co. *hailed* the election of social-democrat González in 1982 as a "workers victory." Meanwhile the LCR (Revolutionary Communist League), supporters of Ernest Mandel, have dissipated into every conceivable petty-bourgeois milieu. At the end of the Barcelona march on December 14 the LCR distinguished itself by being the only ones to sing the Catalan nationalist anthem.

Any real general strike inevitably raises the question of who will rule, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The Spanish "general work stoppage" was, as Leon Trotsky wrote of France in February 1934, "not a general strike in the proper meaning of the term, but only a 24-hour demonstration." While the Stalinist leaders temporized, seeking to avoid at all costs a struggle for state power, Trotsky emphasized:

> "The fundamental importance of the general strike, independent of the partial successes which it may and then again may not provide, lies in the fact that it poses the question of power in a revolutionary manner. By shutting down the factories, transport, generally all the means of communication, power stations, etc., the proletariat by this very act paralyzes not only production but also the government. The state power remains suspended in mid-air. It must either subjugate the proletariat by famine and force and constrain it to set the apparatus of the bourgeois state once again in motion, or retreat before the proletariat.
>
> "Whatever may be the slogans and the motive for which the general strike is initiated, if it includes the genuine masses, and if these masses are quite resolved to struggle, the general strike inevitably poses before all the classes in the nation the question: *Who will be the master of the house?*"
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "Once Again, Whither France?" (March 1935)

It was because they were not prepared to give a revolutionary answer to this question that the Spanish "Communists," including *afgano* militants prominent in the labor movement, *refused* to call a general strike during 1975-77 after Franco's death when shaky governments survived only because of pacts with the UGT and Comisiones. A "strike of folded arms" will not suffice to defeat the ruling class. This was the lesson of the general strike fetishism of the Spanish anarchists during and after WWI, and of the failed August 1917 general strike against the Bourbon monarchy. What was lacking then was precisely the key which led to victory three months later in Russia—a Leninist vanguard party, tested in battle and forged in the political struggle for authentic Marxism.

As Trotsky noted in his repeated warnings during the 1936-39 Civil War, in the absence of such a party, the heroic efforts of the Spanish proletariat to defeat Franco and the fascists were held back by the Popular Front of class collaboration. The struggle for a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Spain today, as part of the fight to reforge the Fourth International, remains the key to victory. ■

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Libya...

(continued from page 1)

You could almost see Reagan swaggering about the White House "impersonating a Western gunfighter drawing his six-shooters," as he reportedly did back in 1981 when the U.S. also shot down two Libyan planes. It was Reagan's last parting shot from office, a bit of cheap bravado to set the tone for the incoming administration of his disciple Bush—in short, a demonstration of unbridled imperialist arrogance from the White House, which thinks it has the right to bomb anyone in the world, anytime, to satisfy the obsessions of a dying empire.

The Reagan/Bush gang has made Qaddafi's Libya, a "radical" Arab regime and Soviet military client, the number one target for U.S. state terrorism. Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, an idiosyncratic nationalist demagogue, is portrayed as the evil genius orchestrating every terrorist act on the face of the planet. In 1986 the White House falsely accused the Libyan strongman of engineering the bombing of a West Berlin disco frequented by U.S. servicemen. In "retaliation" U.S. warplanes bombed Tripoli in a deliberate attempt to *assassinate* Qaddafi. They succeeded in killing his adopted baby daughter and killing and maiming over 100 Libyan civilians. In solidarity with the Libyan victims of this cowardly imperialist attack, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli right after the U.S. bombing.

Given the rising crescendo of threats from Washington in recent weeks, the Libyans had every reason to believe another bombing attack was imminent. A second aircraft carrier, appropriately named the USS *Theodore Roosevelt*, was heading for the Mediterranean. Moreover, in a little-noticed admission, the Pentagon has stated that U.S. fighter-bombers were "engaged in bombing practice Wednesday 70 miles off the coast of Libya—dropping smoke bombs and then performing bombing runs on the columns of smoke—when two Libyan MiG-23 fighters were detected" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 5 January). Sending up a couple of MIGs for reconnaissance was a minimally prudent step on the part of the Libyans.

The Pentagon claims these MIGs attacked the U.S. planes, which first took "evasive maneuvers." But even the *New York Times* (6 January) printed a diagram of the "U.S. Pilots' Version" which shows that the first thing the two American fighters did after picking up the Libyan MIGs on radar was to turn 180 degrees and "head toward them." Some "evasive maneuver"! And then they quickly dove to a very low altitude, knowing that the MIGs' radar has difficulty detecting planes below them, which gave the F-14s the advantage for an *attack*.

Who Buys White House Lies?

After eight years of practice, the Congressional Democratic "opposition" no longer even stumbles over their Reaganaut lines. Senator Christopher Dodd instantly praised the shootdown as "appropriate defensive action." Les Aspin, liberal Democratic chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, went on at length about the "paranoid" Qaddafi. Of course the yellow press like the *New York Post* ran flag-waving headlines about the "Top Guns" of the U.S. Navy who managed to push the right buttons on some millions of dollars' worth of high-tech gear to shoot down reconnaissance planes which never fired a shot.

But after eight years of Reagan/Bush lies, many of which came apart in the Iran/contra affair despite the best efforts of Congress to cover it all up, media skepticism was massive. Even ABC's Ted Koppel, no liberal muckraker he, warned on *Nightline* (4 January) against being misled by the White House:

> "The only reason for being at all cautious about the Pentagon version is that once, referring to a Libyan assassination plot against President Reagan, and once in blaming the Libyans for blowing up a cafe in Berlin, the Reagan administration misrepresented the facts. The assassination plot later turned out to be deliberate disinformation; the cafe bombing was later reportedly linked to the Syrians. In any event the rest of the world is treating today's story with restraint."

When the U.S. tried to "prove" its planes had been attacked by releasing a videotape of the clash, the editor of the respected military publication Jane's Avionics yearbook, David Brinkman, remarked, "The video doesn't prove it to me...." "It could have been just an innocent wish to investigate what was out there," he said of the Libyan planes' course from their airbase out toward the American carrier group offshore (*Newsday*, 7 January).

Reuters

Young Spartacus Photos

Libyan capital of Tripoli was bombed by U.S. warplanes in 1986 in attempt to murder Qaddafi. International Spartacist tendency protested Reagan/Bush state terrorism.

AP

Chemical warfare: U.S. Air Force dropped 19 million gallons of "herbicides," including deadly Agent Orange, on South Vietnam.

Not surprisingly, administration attempts to line up its allies on this one didn't fare so well. In Europe only Thatcher's Britain backed the U.S., but the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (15 January) astutely observed that "In the minds of many Americans a US strike on the plant would be in revenge for the Pan Am sabotage at Lockerbie"—for which there are no known credible suspects. At the United Nations Security Council, no one was buying the U.S. representative's inkblot test—a dark, blurry photo of a Libyan jet which, it was claimed, showed the plane was armed (so what?). Only vetoes from the U.S./Britain axis blocked the condemnation of the American action.

The Pentagon and Chemical Warfare

The Reaganites' accusation that the firm of Imhausen-Chemie was supplying the alleged poison gas plant in Libya has heated up relations between the U.S. and its West German ally. Washington is pressuring West Germany over its sales of high-tech equipment to the Soviet bloc and over disgruntlement in Bonn with NATO policy. West Germany has been increasingly aggressive in pursuing its own imperialist interests, including secretly developing nuclear weapons with South Africa. Resentful of American arm-twisting, Bonn reportedly told the Reaganites that West Germany was not a "banana republic." But after weeks of denying any link between Imhausen and Libya, the conservative Kohl regime shamefacedly backtracked.

Not coincidentally, the U.S. propaganda campaign against the alleged poison gas plant came on the eve of the Paris meeting of 145 nations to discuss the question of chemical warfare. Secretary of State George Shultz came to pontificate on the dangers of the spread of chemical weapons to the Third World, and everyone knew he meant Libya, not U.S. allies like Egypt and Israel, both of which have chemical weapons. Indeed, if one wants to pinpoint murderous outlaw states in the Near East, Israel is certainly at the top of the list. It has carried out bombing attacks against other nations in the region at will, from the 1981 attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor to the bombing of Lebanon in 1982 to the 1,500-mile bomber raid on Tunisia in 1985.

Israel has stockpiled mustard gas and nerve gas, as well as a massive arsenal of nuclear weapons, without so much as a peep of protest from Washington—a fact not lost on Arab states at the Paris conference who note that chemical weapons are the "poor man's atom bomb." If Qaddafi has managed to build a poison gas factory with West German help, it could be considered a prudent deterrent against demonstrated Israeli/U.S. aggression. (Despite Qaddafi's braggadocio, his minuscule military force has never gotten further than Chad, and didn't fare very well even there.)

In any case, it takes a lot of chutzpah for the U.S. to lecture the rest of the world on this subject: the U.S. has one of the largest stockpiles of chemical warfare agents in the world. In fact it was Vice President George Bush who broke the tie in the Senate in 1986 to resume production of nerve gas. During the Vietnam War, the U.S. Air Force dropped over *19 million gallons* of "herbicides," including the deadly Agent Orange, over Viet Cong-controlled territory. The Vietnamese are still paying for this mass poisoning, especially with large numbers of birth defects. It was only in 1975 that Washington finally signed the 1925 Geneva protocol banning the use of chemical warfare agents. And then it had the gall to add a caveat exempting so-called military "herbicides." This was done because the U.S. government wants to claim that what they did in Vietnam was not chemical warfare!

Once Again, Gorbachev Bows to U.S. Imperialism

If anything, these continued U.S. provocations ought to wake up the Russians, who under Gorbachev are foolishly undermining the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state by conciliating the imperialists at every turn, from Afghanistan to Angola. In this latest incident, the Soviets at first appeared to put up at least a verbally strong defensive reflex by denouncing the American action as "state terrorism." *Krasnya Zvezda* (Red Star), the Soviet Army newspaper, called it "banditry" and "piracy," a return to the U.S.' notorious "aircraft carrier diplomacy." But at the UN they caved in, agreeing to see some of the U.S. "evidence" in private.

The latest U.S. attack comes directly in the wake of Gorbachev's visit to the U.S., his announcement at the United Nations of a unilateral cut in Soviet armed forces, and other concessions. All this has only *emboldened* the warmongers in Washington. Some of the franker American strategists are admitting as much. As one imperialist think-tank analyst, Stephen Sestanovich, noted in an article titled "Gorbachev: Giving Away the Store?":

> "Gorbachev's is a foreign policy of concessions ...offering one new formula after another, often without receiving offsetting concessions from the other side...
>
> "But other governments are bound to ask the obvious question: Why reciprocate, rather than simply wait for another concession? Why not add new demands? There's a dawning sense that Gorbachev may be a man who can be had...."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 11 December 1988

Rather than being the road to "peace," Gorbachev's détente is only fueling the American imperialists' drive toward *war*. Cuban leader Fidel Castro is worried that "détente between the United States and the Soviet Union, does not necessarily mean that there is going to be peace for us" (*New York Times*, 11 January). And détente won't bring peace to the Soviet Union either. As the Soviet bureaucracy throws its allies (such as Afghanistan) to the imperialist wolves in the name of détente, it will find itself completely isolated when the wolves finally turn on Moscow. Remember June 1941! Stalin almost lost the Soviet Union to Hitler's armies because of the same sort of blind faith in paper agreements with the capitalist powers. And now Stalin's heirs are repeating the same fatal error.

Reagan/Bush celebrate the repeated attacks on Libya, like the 1983 invasion of tiny black Grenada, as military victories on the cheap. Bullying this small, weak Arab country is intended to overcome "the Vietnam syndrome" in preparing the American people for new, bigger military adventures—like sending U.S. troops into Central America, perhaps starting with Panama. The imperialists' drive toward war can only be stopped by revolutionary class struggle. The working people of America, united with their class brothers around the world, must disarm the terrorists of Washington by smashing capitalist rule and establishing workers power. ■

Bloody Horror in Khomeini's Iran

The Graveyard of the Damned

As news began filtering out about the massacre now going on in Iranian jails, particularly of leftist political prisoners, several relatives and friends of those executed who had managed to escape to Europe told of the reign of terror in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic."

Farhad Moghaddam wrote in the London *Guardian* (13 January) of Masoomeh, a young woman he had known in Tabriz who was among those recently killed. She was arrested at the age of 16 and, although sentenced to four years, was not released until six years later in November 1987. Following the August 1988 cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, Moghaddam learned from her relatives that:

> "All visits to political prisoners were cancelled and Ladjevardi, better known as the butcher of Evin, was returned to his old job. He is especially remembered for two widely used innovations in Iranian gaols.
> "The first, still in operation, was the rape of virgin girls through forced 'marriages' to prison guards, so that an obscure religious sanction against the execution of virgins could be overcome.
> "The second... was to test 'converted' prisoners' loyalty by using them in firing squads aiming at other inmates.
> "This ploy backfired when 'tested' inmates opened fire on prison officials including Ladjevardi himself, before committing suicide."

Khomeini declared that "Islam does not believe in prisons," so now the prisoners would become corpses, and those earlier released would be rearrested. Among them was Masoomeh. In December, she was executed.

In Berlin, Mahin Esmati told *Die Tageszeitung* (16 December 1988) that she had learned of the execution of her husband Reza when her mother-in-law was called to the prison to pick up a bundle of clothes. "She had to sign a statement that the family would not stage any funeral ceremonies." Mahin and her husband were both supporters of Komala, and he had been in jail for three years under the shah. One night in 1981, the *pasdaran* showed up at the door and dragged Reza away. He was given 20 years as a "Communist" and "blasphemer." Reza was arrested shortly after his son was born, and they hadn't had time to pick his name. Mahin tried to tell him during prison visits, but they could only "communicate" through sign language. In early December Reza was executed without learning the name of his son, Said.

Marvam Entazari's husband was also among those recently executed. "I insisted on knowing his place of burial," she wrote in the *New Statesman* (13 January). "They wouldn't tell me. I knew that executed leftists were usually buried in a cemetery in Jadeh Khavaran," the infamous "Graveyard of the Damned" where non-Muslims are buried. When Entazari went there she found an insane gravedigger who pointed at some newly dug graves, filled with bodies that had arrived the previous evening from Qum, Khomeini's headquarters. She began digging with her hands:

> "It was shocking and horrific. I unearthed the body of a young man, 26 or 27 years of age. He was clothed and wrapped in a blanket. His face was bloody, his eyes had popped out of their sockets. His feet were swollen and there was blood between his toes. The body was dumped and covered with only a few centimeters of earth. He was not my husband, but he was someone's loved one."

Marvam Entazari decided to leave Iran with her children. And she wanted to tell the outside world of the horror that is going on in Iran. "This is a regime of murderers," she writes. "Please print my words. Tell the people of Britain that the Iranian people are captives in their own land. They are at the mercy of criminals who kill indiscriminately. Even young children are not spared. Please tell them this. Ask them to put pressure on the regime to stop the murders." ■

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Guardian [London]

"Islamic Revolution" means women in veils, bloody repression of working class and national minorities (left). Pasdaran ("Revolutionary Guards") in Teheran (right).

Afghanistan: Soviet Withdrawal Means Bloodbath for Women, Leftists

At the January 11 protest in Hamburg against the mass executions in Iran, supporters of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) carried the sign, "Afghanistan: Soviet Withdrawal Means Bloodbath for Women and Leftists." A TLD speaker declared, "It is not an accident that this bloodbath in Iran comes now, as the Red Army is withdrawing from Afghanistan. The regime in Teheran is giving us a foretaste of what the *jihad* [Islamic holy war] in Afghanistan has promised."

At the beginning of the '80s the international Spartacist tendency's support for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against mullah-led counterrevolution ("Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!") led to howls of outrage from Western leftists sucked into Washington's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. In Germany, Islamic reactionaries stabbed a leader of the TLD for our forthright opposition to the CIA-financed terrorists.

But just as our call "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" in Iran proved tragically prophetic of a decade of Khomeini's repressive regime, culminating in today's bloodbath, and has won us respect among thoughtful militants, our warnings of the impending nightmare of fundamentalist terror hanging over Afghanistan have increasingly gained a hearing. At a December 3 TLD forum in Berlin titled "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution," an Iranian militant underlined this connection as he recalled the time of Khomeini's triumph in 1979.

"After a week, the TLD—I didn't know the organization at all—wrote a declaration, 'Down with the Mullahs! Down with the Shah!' This statement impressed me greatly. At the Technical University there was a prominent action by a couple of people from the TLD, and unfortunately the Iranians pushed them away, reacting very sharply against the action. I even heard that they said these people were CIA agents. Then we spoke with the [Tudeh] party, and asked Kianuri, the party leader, what have you got against this organization? He said, 'Khomeini is saying the same as the Communist Party about the revolution. So we want to continue with Khomeini.' That is very important, because there was no revolution. And Kianuri said, 'the whole party is going home, we have supported Khomeini there, although Khomeini spoke on the radio about Islamic law.' We had to learn from Tudeh how to defend the revolution.

"And what do we have now? The party has been destroyed. Thousands have been executed, and recently, two or three days ago, we heard that 33 more members of the Central Committee were executed.

"In another article I read about the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan. What will happen when the Red Army is out of Afghanistan? As an Iranian, I tell you: that means the annihilation of the revolution. That means the annihilation of the entire population of Afghanistan, 15 million or so. Don't make a mistake like our mistakes. It's very important what is being said here. I don't know your organization, but the whole movement here is about Trotskyism. I think that if we had understood the TLD back then, or wanted to, then the party wouldn't have been annihilated at all. Then we could now say out loud that the revolution must be made and not destroyed."

AP

As mass executions proceed in Iran, Soviet leader Gorbachev woos bloody Khomeini regime.

Iran Executions...

(continued from page 1)

found in the Spartacist-initiated protests their first opportunity to cooperate in a joint action protesting the bloodbath unleashed by the ayatollahs's regime.

Hamburg, West Germany

Some 100 people, including scores of Iranian exiles, turned out in Hamburg January 11 outside the General Consulate of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Joining with the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) were the Communist Party of Iran (CPI)/Komala, Rahe Kargar, the Fedayeen Central Committee of Minority Cells, and sympathizers of the former Peykar organization. Demands at the rally included: "Stop [Interior Minister] Zimmermann's Deportation Program!" "Political Asylum for Refugees from Reactionary Terror" and "Deportation Is Murder!" A CPI/Komala speaker linked the wave of executions to the Islamic regime's pursuit of better relations with the Western imperialist powers and specifically to West German foreign minister Genscher's visit to Iran in late November: "Herr Genscher travels to Teheran to boost the hangmen."

The TLD speaker stressed the urgent need for *united-front defense* to stop the executioner's ax, pointing out that today Khomeini "is attacking *everybody*, including those who ten years ago had open illusions in the mullahs and also served Khomeini. It is easy today to be against Islamic reaction. But in 1978 and '79, it wasn't so easy. Then, the international Spartacist tendency stood alone. We told the truth: 'Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!'" The demonstration concluded with the singing of the *Internationale* in German, Farsi and Serbo-Croatian.

Campaign initiated by the international Spartacist tendency: Paris (top); Hamburg (bottom left); Washington, D.C. (bottom right). Sign in Farsi says, "Stop the Executions in Iran!"

Paris and Lyon, France

Also on January 11, 140 demonstrators gathered outside the offices of Iran Air on the Champs Elysées in Paris. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), initiators of the protest, had distributed 10,000 leaflets at various universities in three days, and numerous Iranian groups responded to the call. Speakers at the protest included a representative of the Committee Against Political Executions in Iran, and sympathizers of the CPI/Komala and the Fedayeen Minority. Also participating in the protest were Rahe Kargar, the Fedayeen Majority, supporters of the Iranian journal *Recommencement*, and the Muslim group, Ershad. Three supporters of Tudeh also joined the demonstration.

The next day, January 12, some 45 people demonstrated in Lyon, including a number of Iranian women and members of the Kurdish and Azeri national minorities. The Iranian women enthusiastically joined in LTF chants of "Down with the veil! Down with Islamic reaction!"

Washington, D.C.

On January 13, some 20 protesters demonstrated outside the Iranian Interests Section located in the Algerian embassy on the outskirts of Washington. In addition to denouncing the executions in Iran, they chanted "U.S. hands off Libya! Down with U.S. war moves!" A speaker for the Spartacist League/U.S. declared: "As American revolutionaries, it's incumbent upon us to fight our own bourgeoisie. And we say: U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! Remember Iran Air Flight 655—the 290 people who were killed, victims of U.S. war moves."

London, England

On January 14, over 60 demonstrators joined with the Spartacist League of Britain (SL/B) in picketing outside the Iranian embassy in London. Speakers included an Iranian activist and a London-Islington branch official of the National Union of Public Employees, as well as spokesmen for the British "Leninist" organization, Iranian Political Prisoners Action Committee (IPPAC) and the SL/B. Also participating were supporters of the CPI/Komala, Fedayeen Majority, Fedayeen Minority, Committee for the Defence of the Iranian People's Rights, and Committee Against Political Executions in Iran.

The police prevented a number of Iranian militants from joining the protest by threatening to arrest them if they refused to remove headwear covering their faces and thus expose themselves to the agents of Khomeini's murderous regime. A Spartacist representative denounced this provocation as "an outrageous example of collaboration between the British state and the Iranian state."

The spokesman from the IPPAC quoted a letter he had received from Iran: "Everyone you know, anyone whose name you know, has been executed." The SL/B speaker drew attention to the bloodbath which looms following the Red Army's withdrawal from Afghanistan: "Iran shows clearly what is planned by the *jihad* [Islamic holy war] in Afghanistan against leftists and against women." The protest concluded with the singing of the *Internationale* and a final defiant chant: "Down with Khomeini! Workers to power!"

Toronto, Canada

A protest called by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) in Toronto the same day attracted 60 people to Speakers Corner at City Hall. Cosponsors included supporters of Tudeh and the Fedayeen (Majority) in Canada and the Toronto South Asian Women's Group. Also participating were supporters of Fedayeen Majority, CPI/Komala and the Democratic Organization of Iranian Women. The Tudeh supporters pulled out early on, objecting to groups carrying any slogans other than the call to stop the executions. However, a Tudeh representative did speak, as did Janet Yip, a member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Afterwards, the demonstrators marched to a nearby Tudeh hunger-strike protest where a TLC spokesman addressed the protesters.

From Germany to the U.S., these protests were a statement of proletarian internationalism. In response to the hideous massacre in Iran, the international Spartacist tendency has simply carried out the duty of communists to champion the oppressed as part of the struggle for world socialist revolution. As the TLD speaker in Hamburg concluded: "Iran is very similar to the Russian empire under the tsar—a huge prison house of peoples. Equality for women, liberation for the Kurds, Baluchis, for the other peoples, an end to the oppression of the religious minorities like the Bahais—the bourgeoisie can bring none of this. But in Russia there was one thing that does not exist in Iran and which did not exist ten years ago, when the question of revolution was posed. This was a revolutionary party of the working class.

"Comrades, proletarian revolution is what is necessary to open the doors of the prisons, for freedom for the Kurdish people, for the other peoples, for the peoples living in Afghanistan. This generation of Iranian leftists must be saved. What is necessary is a powerful outcry from the whole left, from the workers organizations, above all from the trade unions, and from all organizations who defend democratic rights. We must stand together to demand an end to the executions in Iran. Stop the executions in Iran!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

ACT NOW! STOP THE KKK!

Atlanta: Saturday, Jan. 21 at 12 noon
Central City Park near Five Points

We reprint here the demonstration call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee on 11 January 1989.

The KKK and skinhead racists say they are going to march through the streets of downtown Atlanta, from the state capitol to the Omni, on January 21. The slogan of Richard Barrett's sinister "Nationalist Movement" from Mississippi is "No King Over Us." These fascists are trying to celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and they have the working people of this city lined up in their sights. Anyone who thinks it is a question of "free speech" for the likes of Barrett and J.B. Stoner had better remember the four black little girls murdered in the Birmingham church bombing.

Public Employee

Atlanta city workers protest at City Hall last February.

Fatalism in the Face of a Deadly Threat Can Be Fatal

The official presidential selection process could be pretty discouraging to everybody who is on the receiving end of the bad stuff this society dishes out. It's shifted from Jesse Jackson to Michael Dukakis to Lloyd Bentsen to "Poppy" Bush to Dan Quayle; Bush the oil man and ex-CIA chief came out on top. Now the day after the presidential inauguration, Barrett, a particularly virulent Klan/Nazi/skinhead would-be führer, wants to really shove it to the people of Atlanta.

We've always known that the so-called "New South" ends at the city limits—but now they are threatening to invade Atlanta with their white hoods, swastikas and Confederate flags. The fascists are poison to every kind of integrated social struggle—like union organizing and winning strikes. Behind the Klan with their gut hatred of unions stands a greedy racist ruling class which thirsts to drive down wages and increase work until we reach the point that nobody can live anymore.

The country has lurched to the right, but we can stop these genocide-lovers in the city of Atlanta. Arch-capitalist Bush has a hard row to hoe—maybe if we act strongly here we can start reversing this willful, deliberate increase in the misery of people, especially poor blacks but in fact practically everybody.

Atlanta is a city with a black and labor majority, many of whom took the lead in smashing Jim Crow. And labor's social power can stop the KKK/skinhead marauders in their tracks! Let's do it.

Act now! Stop the Klan!

Initiated by the
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 3132
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 659-3088

"We endorse and will help build a demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan/Nationalist Movement/skinheads in Atlanta on January 21, 1989."

Partial List of Endorsers as of 14 January 1989

AFSCME Local 1644, Atlanta, GA
AFSCME Local 1644, City Chapter (City Employees), Atlanta, GA
AFSCME Local 1644, Grady Chapter (Hospital), Atlanta, GA
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
Anti-Apartheid Committee, AFSCME Local 1644, Atlanta, GA
Bomani Bakari, Producer/Host, "Round Midnight," WRFG,* Atlanta, GA
Derrick T. Boazman, President, Student Government Association, Morris Brown College,* Atlanta, GA
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Harry G. Britt, President, Board of Supervisors,* San Francisco, CA
Sadie Campbell, Business Agent, CWA Local 1150,* Bronx, NY
Centro Presente, Cambridge, MA
Ronald V. Dellums, Member of Congress,* Oakland, CA
John J. DiPaola, President, IAM Local 1018,* Ronkonkoma, NY
Michael B. Drake, Chief Steward, IAM Local 1690,* Riverdale, GA
Rev. Graylan S. Ellis-Hagler, Pastor, Church of the United Community,* Roxbury, MA
M.J. Flynn, President, IAM Local 1690,* Forest Park, GA
Freedom Socialist Party
Francis R. Grinnon, Jr., Business Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011,* Oakland, CA
Hattie Harrison, President, Martin St. Plaza (Tenants Association), Atlanta, GA
Gene Hoffman, General Chairman, IAM District No. 100,* Lynbrook, NY
Calvin Holland, President, Jonesboro Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Hollywood Ct. Tenants Association, Atlanta, GA
Hometowns Against Shutdowns, Freehold, NJ
Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535,* Oakland, CA
Rev. Nelson N. Johnson, President, Theologue Fellowship, Virginia Union University,* Richmond, VA
Melvin C. Jones, Chairman, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Atlanta Chapter,* Atlanta, GA
Jonesboro Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Mel King, Massachusetts Institute of Technology,* Cambridge, MA
Labor Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Labor Black Struggle League, Chicago, IL
George Lach, Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2203,* Baltimore, MD
Susan Lantz, Director, Labor and Community Affairs, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants,* Forest Hills, NY
Fannie Maddox, President, University/John Hope Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Martin St. Plaza (Tenants Association), Atlanta, GA
Thecla A. McCulloh, President, Black Student Alliance, Georgia State University,* Atlanta, GA
Jean M. McGuire, Treasurer, Boston School Committee,* Roxbury, MA
Franz Minuty, Host, Caribbean Forum, WZBC Radio,* Mattapan, MA
Delois Payne, President, Hollywood Ct. Tenants Association, Atlanta, GA
Radical Women
Larry Regan, President, USWA Local 1014,* Gary, IN
J.C. Reynolds, President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
James Richardson, Financial Secretary, USWA Local 8751,* Jamaica Plain, MA
Harold Rogers, Assistant to the President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* Chicago, IL
Malcolm Samuels, Senior Representative, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 28,* Oakland, CA
San Francisco Black Fire Fighters Association, San Francisco, CA
SEIU Local 679, Atlanta, GA
Margie Smith, President, Techwood/Clark Howell Tenants Association,* Atlanta, GA
Spartacist League of the U.S.
David Stewart, Vice President, Northern California Chapter, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* Berkeley, CA
Student Government Association, Clark College,* Atlanta, GA
Bob D. Taylor, General Chairman, IAM District No. 100,* College Park, GA
Ron Teninty, President, Teamsters Local 315,* Martinez, CA
Stanley E. Tolliver, Sr., Attorney-at-Law and member, Cleveland Board of Education,* Cleveland, OH
Ronald A. Tyree, Vice President, CWA Local 1150,* New York, NY
United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442, Atlanta, GA
University/John Hope Tenant Association, Atlanta, GA
Lloyd K. Vandever, President, UE Local 1412,* Oakland, CA
Ben Visnick, Executive Board member, Oakland Education Association/CTA/NEA,* Kensington, CA
J. Lowell Ware, Editor/Publisher, *The Atlanta Voice Newspaper*,* Atlanta, GA
LeRoy Washington, General Chairman, IAM District No. 100,* Lynbrook, NY
Bob Zimmerman, Secretary, AFT Local 1474,* Berkeley, CA

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that endorsers of the demonstration against the KKK/Nationalist Movement/skinheads do not necessarily agree in any particular with the anti-Klan call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed above.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 470 3 February 1989

Bush's "Kinder, Gentler" Police State?

Racist Cops— Judge, Jury, Executioner

As George Bush was crowned imperial president in Washington, D.C. in a biggest-ever $30 million extravaganza, here is what was happening in the rest of America.

Miami, January 16: After the parade honoring Martin Luther King's birthday, a 23-year-old black man, Clement Anthony Lloyd, was giving a friend, Allen Blanchard, a ride home on his motorcycle when Lloyd was shot dead in the Overtown district by a Miami cop. Blanchard later died from the injuries he suffered when the cycle then crashed. This was a cold-blooded execution: the cyclist was struck by a bullet in the temple. According to a longshoreman, one of six witnesses, the cop was writing in his notebook when he saw the cyclist and grabbed his pistol like he was entering a shooting gallery:

> "'He crouched, then kind of tiptoed out into the street.... He crept into the street, almost to the center line, holding his pistol with both hands.
> "'Just when the motorcycle came by, he fired. Boom!... He meant to kill him'."
> —*New York Times*, 22 January

This incident triggered three nights of anti-police rioting in black areas of Miami. Desperate to keep the lid on the city on the eve of the Superbowl, SWAT teams sealed off 130 blocks in Overtown and part of Liberty City, site of the 1980 ghetto explosion after the acquittal of four cops who had killed a black businessman coming off I-95 on his motorcycle.

Atlanta, January 21: The day after the presidential inauguration of George Bush, city and state authorities in the majority black city of Atlanta deployed a combined force of some 2,000 National Guardsmen, Georgia Bureau of Investigation commandos, state prison riot cops and local police in order to make sure that seven white supremacists could parade through downtown with a banner saying, "No King Over Us"—a racist "protest" against the MLK holiday. With flak jackets, body shields, riot clubs and sharpshooters on the roofs, the paramilitary police forces formed a Roman Legion-type phalanx around the little band of KKK lynchers and skinhead Hitler-lovers as they spewed out racist filth to taunt the thousands of blacks, trade unionists and other decent people who came out to protest this obscenity. Such a mobilization of paramilitary forces for police-state repression hasn't been seen in a major American city for years.

Miami cops occupy black area in January after gunning down black motorcyclist. Frakes/Miami Herald

Miami to Toronto—Blacks Under the Gun

New York City, January 23: On Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn, a 62-year-old black construction contractor, Stephen Kelley, was arriving home in his van when he found the road blocked by a double-parked car. He honked, and two off-duty cops in street clothes jumped out of the car and argued with him, then one pistol-whipped him and shot him dead with two bullets in the abdomen. His son Stuart heard the shots and ran outside to find his dad dying, and the cop who did it said, "You better watch it, or I'll shoot you, too." Kelley was described by his six sons (one of them an Army sergeant in Germany, another a lawyer in California) "as someone who avoided trouble but could not resist intervening when someone else was in need" (*New York Times*, 28 January). He had once received a letter from the mayor for rescuing a woman from a burning building. But last week Stephen Kelley was wantonly slain by a killer cop over a parking space.

Cops Rampage Coast to Coast

This wave of racist police provocations has not been limited to the Old South and New York's mean streets. Last September in San Francisco cops savagely beat up Dolores Huerta, well-known leader of the United Farm

continued on page 11

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

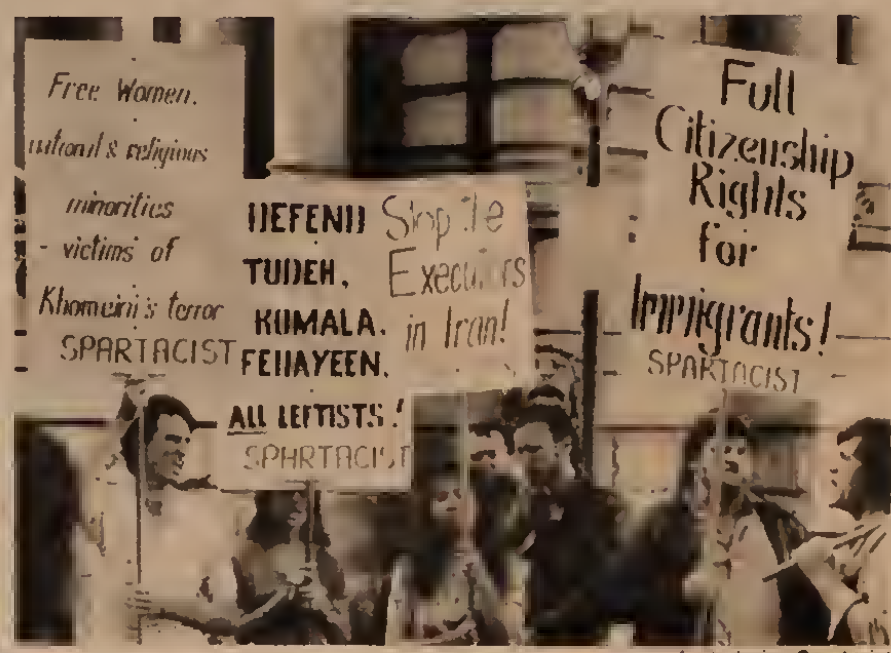
As Army of Cops, Troops Shields 7 Klansmen

Atlanta: 3,500 Turn Out Against KKK

SEE PAGES 7-10

Australia, Italy, U.S.
Protests Demand: Stop Iran Executions!

WV Photo



Australasian Spartacist

Demonstrators chanted, "Stop Khomeini's executions—Fight for workers revolution!" Left: New York City, outside Iranian mission to United Nations. Right: Sydney, Australia Town Hall Plaza.

In mid-January demonstrations were held on three continents demanding, "Stop executions in Iran!" The protests in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia, New York City and Milan, Italy were part of an emergency campaign called by the international Spartacist tendency and the Partisan Defense Committee against the massacre now being carried out by the bloody Khomeini dictatorship. The recent actions followed earlier demonstrations in Hamburg, London, Washington, D.C., Toronto, and Paris and Lyon, France.

Speaking at the New York protest January 19, a PDC spokesman stressed that "up to 10,000 people have been hanged, shot before firing squads and dynamited en masse since the August cease-fire stalemate in the Iran-Iraq war which took one million lives." It's feared that the wholesale physical annihilation of political prisoners is planned by the tenth anniversary of the mullahs' seizure of power, February 12, he said. "We are witnessing a calculated program of extermination to head off a social explosion in the wake of a protracted reactionary war. This must be met by mass workers actions around the world."

In Melbourne, Australia on January 17 some 60 demonstrators rallied at Town Hall Plaza. Joining the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, which had called the demonstration, were representatives of the Revolutionary Workers Organization of Iran (Rahe Kargar) and the Freedom Socialist Party—both of whom addressed the demonstration—the Iranian Refugee Association, the Union of Australian Turkish Workers, the Community Centre for People of Turkey in Victoria, Devrimci Yol and the Chilean Socialist Party. A statement of solidarity was read from Louis Kent, Labor Member of the House of Representatives, condemning the executions and nailing the threatened deportations of Iranian refugees by the Hawke Labor government as "execution by proxy of the deportees."

Two days later a Spartacist-initiated demonstration of 80 people gathered at Sydney's Town Hall Square. Nearly half the demonstrators were Iranian, Turkish and Kurdish militants. Speakers from the SL/ANZ, the Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners in Iran and the Sydney Turkish Workers Association addressed the rally. The demonstrators enthusiastically chanted: "Free women, Free Kurds—Victims of Islamic reaction!" "Down with Hawke's deportations to death!" and "Down

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On January 27, the London *Independent* reported, in an article by Middle East editor Harvey Morris, that Khomeini has "in effect called a halt" to the executions. However, Iranian opposition groups had predicted that the regime would *first* wipe out its opponents and *then* declare an amnesty on the anniversary of the mullahs' seizure of power. Khomeini's "offer" stipulates that pulitical prisoners will still have to recant and have their cases heard before a special commission. A spokesman for the People's Mujahedin described the announcement as "a sham to counter Iran's bad image," adding, "otherwise why haven't they allowed anyone to visit the prisons?"

TROTSKY

For Black Emancipation Through Socialist Revolution

LENIN

Mounting racist terror and government assaults on the most minimal gains of the civil rights movement make it clear that black equality cannot be achieved within the framework of capitalism. James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, pointed to the pioneering role of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky in stressing the centrality of the struggle for black emancipation to the American socialist revolution. The integrated working class must take the lead in the fight against segregation, KKK terror and all manifestations of racial oppression.

The policy of gradualism, of promising to free the Negro within the framework of the social system that subordinates and degrades him, is not working out. It does not go to the root of the problem. The aspirations of the Negro people are great and so are the energies and emotions expended in their struggle. But the concrete gains of their struggle up to date are pitifully meager. They have gained a few inches, but the goal of real equality is miles and miles away.

The right to occupy a vacant seat on a bus; the token integration of a handful of Negro children in a few public schools; a few places open for individual Negroes in public office and some professions; fair employment rights on the books, but not in practice; the formally and legally recognized right to equality which is denied in practice at every turn—that's the way it is today, 96 years after the Emancipation Proclamation....

In the next stage of its development, the American Negro movement will be compelled to turn to a more militant policy than gradualism, and to look for more reliable allies than capitalist politicians in the North who are themselves allied with the Dixiecrats of the South. The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary.

An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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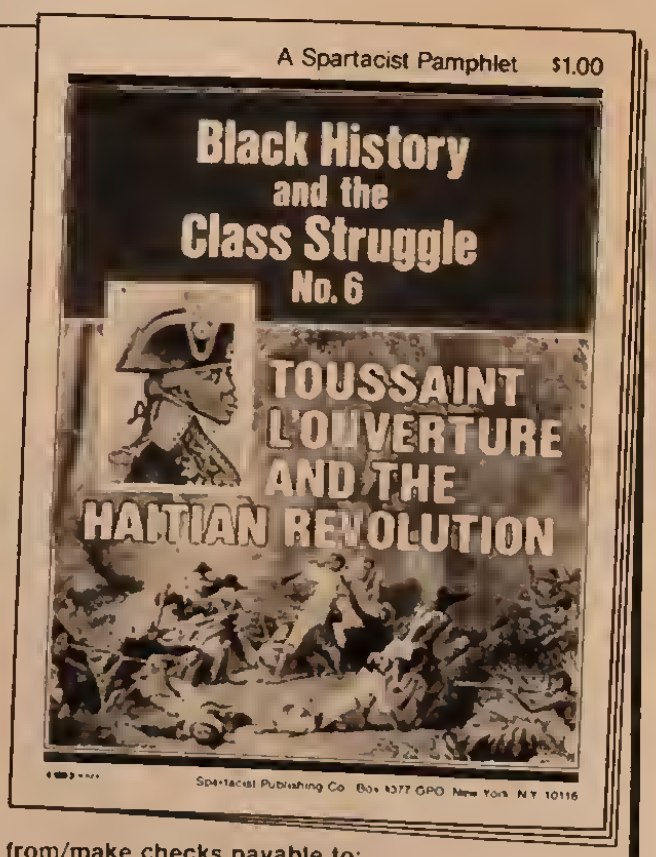

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Army Seizes Oil Workers Chief

Mexico Rulers Declare War on Labor

MEXICO CITY—On the morning of January 10, army troops and federal police agents arrested the leader of the powerful oil workers union following a shoot-out at the labor chief's home in which one cop was killed. In the next hours, the government rounded up dozens of the union's top officials. The bazooka blast which blew in the door of the house of Joaquín Hernández Galicia, popularly known as "La Quina," was not just a settling of accounts with the union leader who had run afoul of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Salinas' first major act since taking office December 1 was a declaration of war on the organized labor movement as a whole.

In an effort to forestall resistance from the 200,000-member Revolutionary Union of Oil Workers of the Mexican Republic (SRTPRM), government troops occupied oil installations around the country. As news of the arrest of La Quina spread through the oil fields, tens of thousands of workers walked off the job. Seven of the country's nine refineries shut down. Long lines of cars formed at service stations as people filled their tanks in anticipation of a showdown. Mexico was poised on the brink of a major class battle that could have ignited the restless proletariat and the poor in struggle against the starvation policies of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

In taking on the mighty oil workers union, the Harvard-trained technocrat president had broad support from the Mexican and U.S. bourgeoisies. The *Wall Street Journal* (12 January) wrote approvingly, "If Mr. Salinas succeeds in breaking Latin America's largest union, he will have dramatically asserted his authority after coming to power six weeks ago with the weakest mandate of any president in modern Mexican history." The *Journal* editorialized that it "is difficult to overstate the importance and significance" of this "bold stroke," saying, "The United States has a large and obvious interest in his success." U.S. president-elect Bush applauded the union-busting assault by his Mexican counterpart.

Castillo/AP

Army troops rode shotgun with tank trucks when Mexico's oil workers struck over arrest of union leader, January 10.

Salinas' bazooka blast signaled a hardline policy toward labor, but the heads of Mexico's PRI-affiliated unions didn't reply in kind. The wizened leader of the 6.5-million-member Mexican Confederation of Labor (CTM), 88-year-old Fidel Velázquez, muttered about not being "indifferent" to this blow "which can endanger the civil peace." Worried about solidarity strikes, the government stationed riot police outside union offices and telephone company installations in the capital. But Velázquez' only "action" was to visit Salinas to pledge that, as one of the ruling party's three sectors, the federation promised "support for your government."

Anxious to keep the lid on the angry ranks, oil workers union leaders called for the members to return to work. SRTPRM bureaucrats only mobilized 15,000, largely technical staff, for a protest march on the National Palace January 12. While demonstrators demanded an end to military occupation of PEMEX, the state oil company, La Quina's boys are scared to death of the consequences of solid strike action. Hernández Galicia himself told the press from behind bars that he saw "no reason to break the alliance with the government," and that he had signed the attorney general's charges because he was afraid PEMEX workers would be driven back to work "by blood and fire" (*La Jornada*, 13 January).

The Mexican reformist and nationalist left initially opposed Salinas' unexpected assault on the oil workers. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the bourgeois populist candidate and former PRI leader who challenged Salinas in last July's vote, denounced Salinas for violating the constitution by sending in the army. His newly founded Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) issued a statement criticizing the arrests, as did the leftist parties in Cárdenas' popular front (PMS, PFCRN). But Cárdenas pointedly refused to defend the oil workers leaders and didn't show up at the January 12 protest. An open letter from the establishment intelligentsia (including writers Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes) backed Salinas.

Outside the CTM, there exists a whole range of important "independent" unions, but with few exceptions they have subordinated themselves to the Cardenista popular front and took *no action* against the government's union-busting assault. One large and potentially powerful labor grouping which does not support Cárdenas is the Stalinoid-syndicalist Movimiento Proletario Independiente (MPI) which organizes the militant Mexico City bus workers. On January 13, a demonstration called by the MPI brought out more than 80,000 to denounce the government's wage-freezing "economic solidarity pact." But while they carried banners for a "government of the workers," the MPI raised no slogan or demand against the government assault on the oil workers union.

The *quinazo*, Salinas' coup against La Quina, was a bazooka blast at one of the basic pillars of Mexico's semi-bonapartist regime. For over five decades the PRI has maintained itself in power by incorporating the unions and peasant associations into its party-state apparatus. The "social peace" praised by Fidel Velázquez (and greatly prized by Washington and Wall Street) has been achieved by using the carrot of massive corruption to buy off a narrow layer, and the stick of brutal repression. But after six years of austerity in Mexico's worst economic crisis of the century, as Salinas prepares to slash Mexican capitalism's huge "public" sector, the government's jackboot will be felt by "independent" *and* PRI-controlled unions. Defense of the oil workers is defense of the entire proletariat.

WV Photo

Oil workers march on presidential palace in Mexico City, January 12, demanding freedom for union leaders.

Throwing Down the Gauntlet

Already under Salinas' predecessor Miguel de la Madrid, airline, auto, mine and other workers in strategic sectors have seen thousands of jobs axed, strikes broken and several unions smashed. Now the pre-emptive strike against La Quina has dealt a blow against the biggest obstacle to Salinas' plans to "modernize" Mexican industry by "privatization"—the selling-off of nationalized companies. Government economists have been preparing plans to divide the giant PEMEX into three separate companies for drilling, production and distribution. This would also mean breaking up the union, the juggernaut of Mexican labor.

The accusation against Hernández Galicia and his cohorts centers on illegal possession of weapons reserved for the armed forces. Upon breaking into La Quina's Gulf Coast home in Ciudad Madero, the government says it found 200 Uzi submachine guns and more than 300,000 rounds of ammunition. Whether or not they were placed there by the army, as a Cardenista oil worker parliamentary deputy and several area residents say they witnessed, guns are hardly the issue. Heavily armed union bureaucracies are the norm in Mexico. The government claimed the weapons were intended "to paralyze the headquarters of PEMEX" and thus threatened "national security." A week beforehand La Quina had threatened a nationwide strike if the government attempted to break up the state petroleum company.

Other charges against the union tops include fraud and tax evasion. Corruption in the SRTPRM is hardly news. For the last quarter century Hernández Galicia maintained labor peace in return for government concessions which made him and his cronies millionaires. "Don Joaquin" oversaw the union and its various enterprises, dispensing favors and ruthlessly crushing opposition like a Mafia godfather. First as Secretary General and later as "Director of Social and Revolutionary Works," La Quina delivered the union's considerable resources to elect PRI officials. Union members got a few crumbs too. While working for miserable wages they often received subsidized housing, cheap groceries through a chain of union-owned supermarkets, etc. The union even had several "collective farms."

Cracks in this paternalist corporatist system began to show in the previous administration in which Salinas was the austerity budget minister. When he was tapped as De la Madrid's successor, PRI labor chiefs were infuriated. During the election campaign, La Quina paid lip service to Salinas while not-so-secretly backing Cárdenas, whose father nationalized the petroleum industry in 1938. The rift widened last fall when PRI legislators from the oil workers union launched corruption charges against a former PEMEX chief and Salinas ally who is currently governor of the state of México. For Salinas this was the last straw.

To carry out this coup against what they describe as "a state within the state," the Salinas regime brought in a hit squad of police officials notorious for their heavy-handed tactics. The new

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Richard Fraser—Memorial to a Veteran American Trotskyist

We print below the second portion of the series of speeches and messages delivered at the memorial meeting, held on January 8 in Los Angeles, honoring the life of Richard S. Fraser, who died in November of last year. Many spoke and wrote of Dick's historic contribution to the Marxist movement through his elaboration of the program of "revolutionary integrationism" as the road to black freedom in the United States.

Dick witnessed the betrayal of blacks by the Communist Party which was the Stalinists' pledge of allegiance to American imperialism during World War II. He was a Trotskyist, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party which stood alone in struggle for black rights during the war and recruited hundreds of black workers. As a member of the National Maritime Union Dick worked together with many blacks. In a letter to his son Jonny he noted, "I had the advantage of having lived with black workers and with our own black cadre and had experienced their frustrations with them, and I realized that their problem was a unique American phenomenon and had to be treated independently."

The SWP's loss of the bulk of its black members at the onset of the Cold War made Dick come to feel that the American communist movement had yet to come to grips with the problem of black liberation. Seeking to redress this failure he devoted himself to the study of the evolution of the racial structure in the United States. In 1955 he submitted his document, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question," for discussion in the SWP, in counterposition to a nationalist conception of the black question within the organization, particularly associated with George Breitman, which posited an "independent" separatist road to liberation.

That same year Dick fell into disfavor with the SWP leadership for his opposition to the party's slogan for "Federal Troops to Mississippi" to defend Southern blacks. In 1957 when the SWP supported Eisenhower's introduction of federal troops to Little Rock, Dick argued powerfully against it in his "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis," pointing out that the end result had been the destruction of local black self-defense efforts.

By the early 1960s, the SWP had fully embraced black nationalism, which became the cover for their abstention from the mass civil rights movement. This was one of the central issues in the fight of the Revolutionary Tendency against the reformist degeneration of the SWP. At the 1963 party convention the RT (forerunner of the Spartacist League) supported Fraser's and Clara Kaye's resolution for revolutionary integration.

Today, through our initiation of mass mobilizations bringing to bear the power of organized labor, blacks and others to stop the fascists, and building organizations for labor/black defense, the Spartacist League has sought to carry forward the program to which Dick Fraser dedicated his life—integrated revolutionary struggle for black liberation through proletarian power.

1913-1988

Monica Hill

reading statement from the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee

The Freedom Socialist Party extends its sympathy to Jon Fraser and to the comrades and friends of Dick Fraser gathered here today.

Dick made a lasting contribution to our movement and to the Black liberation struggle through his collaboration with Dan, Clara Fraser and others in originating and developing the Revolutionary Integration position. Dick spoke brilliantly on Revolutionary Integration, many times from the pulpits of Black churches. And his grasp of history, economics, and politics was widely admired. He is remembered for his scholarly talks on a host of issues, his energetic organizing, and his stinging barbs at the bourgeoisie.

Fraser's profound Marxist analysis in Revolutionary Integration is destined to become one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of U.S. radicals. It has already left an indelible mark on our organization, helping to shape it into a multi-racial party with deep respect for the materialist roots of the vanguard role of Blacks in the fight for socialism.

The FSP parted ways with Dick in a serious, bitter and well-known struggle over women's rights. Still, we pay respect to him today for his positive contributions to the movement as writer, speaker, teacher, historian and leader who never relinquished his socialist goal. His long life encompassed a host of jobs and talents. In the '30s he supported himself in Seattle by selling *The Militant* on Skid Road; he later became a merchant seaman, a carpenter, and a plastics technician. He was a violinist and a gourmet chef. And he devoted his life to Trotskyist politics. As the son of a miner killed in a mine explosion, he was always a highly class conscious worker and unionist. He never finished high school but became a consummate worker-intellectual; his agile mind soaked up ideology like a sponge.

He left us two chief legacies: theoretical work which guides our daily practice, and his jazz musician son Jon who is creating the music of a new and better society in the belly of the old one. And we salute this unique legacy, this incendiary mixture of jazz, Black history and revolutionary socialist theory!

* * * * *

Charles Du Bois

a friend and comrade of Dick's since 1974

This is very beautiful here. I find these things out about Dick that I never suspected. He was not a braggart, obviously. I first heard about Dick Fraser through reading "The Materialist Conception of the Negro Question," I was about 18 years old, this is back in '71. I was impressed with the document, and it had a profound impact on my development and understanding of American politics and especially the black question, since I had come from being a black nationalist, Maoist, kind of.

So I was in awe of his name, you know, Richard Kirk [Fraser]—well, who is this guy, he's pretty good. Of course, I didn't know that about a year and a half later we'd be sharing the same couch. I was on the couch first, I was staying at Ted and Gayle Fagin's house, and I was sleeping on the couch, and he needed a place. He had seniority, so he got the couch and I got the floor. So I finally said, this is Dick Fraser and, legends don't quite fit the mental image or expectations—I came from this Maoist background and they have these bigger-than-life leaders, you know, Lenin's got bulging arms and stuff—this is Dick Fraser, wow. But he was "bad." Size don't count.

When I met him, he was on some kind of rebound. He was not one to talk about a lot of his problems, and I wasn't the kind of person to get nosy with something somebody didn't want to talk about. But since I had met him, I guess sometime around '72 or '73, he was on some kind of rebound. I guess it was some years later where he actually ended up soliciting me for a place to stay, but it was a privilege that I was able to help him out. Myself and the Spartacist League and all people in the socialist movement are indebted to this man for his contribution.

What we were doing, while I was a member of the Spartacist League, was collaborating with him on doing archival research into the SWP work in the '40s. See, he never mentioned a lot of this stuff that he had written before—we were going into the '40s, so he pointed us in the right direction, but he didn't tell us. Of course, he had a hard time speaking, too, so I guess he had to save his words. But I was very surprised to see a lot of this stuff and hear all these stories. I mean, I never knew all this stuff about Dick.

But one thing I could not understand at the time was that he was giving us all this information and helping us out, pointing us in the right direction, and telling us stories, like how the SWP looked and what it was doing, or how it lost its members, how it gained them, what the organization in Detroit looked like as far as he could recall. But he was in NAM [New American Movement], and you know, this was a political opponent, an organizational opponent. See, I didn't have it then, you know—political opponents, organizational opponents, I didn't quite get the differentiation, you see. And it was painful for him to talk, but he was giving us all this stuff, and I couldn't figure it out. Well, I got it figured out now.

He really cared for revolutionists, and people that wanted clarity and respected history and wanted to study. And that above all was what the man was about. He wanted to teach. And your organizational affiliation wasn't necessarily the thing that was going to color what he did and how he did it. The man was very, very generous. I knew that, and hearing these people that knew the man, really knew the man, yes.

So we have a great loss here, a great loss with Dick

The Fraser Family

Dick Fraser with his son Jonny, who is now an accomplished jazz musician.

WV Photo

Frank Krasnowsky, editor of Revolutionary Age, speaks of his long collaboration with Dick Fraser, at memorial meeting held in Los Angeles January 8.

Fraser. But when I reread the "Materialist Conception" after I met him, I had read it before and I always read it again, but it's kind of funny reading it now, because you read his polemical barbs and I know how he looks, or how he looked, and could sort of see the twinkle in his eye like he's kind of saying this stuff. It's kind of fun to read, yeah, Dick.

I don't know what emotional cost he had to pay in terms of the constant rebounds he was having to make, politically, personally and then in terms of his health. But the man, he never quit. And I'm just very glad to say that he was able to witness the impact of what his contribution actually has meant, in terms of the mobilizations that have stopped the Klan. That he was able to witness that and see that what he stood for was not just a good idea and he's pretty sure he's right, but he

WV Photo

Charles Du Bois spoke of the impact of Dick Fraser's writings on him as a young radical breaking from black nationalism.

knew he was right, and that the last act that he did do, the last political act [endorsing the November 5 Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Philadelphia], this is very gratifying that he was able to see that carried out.

And what I can say is that Dick Fraser did not surrender to the bourgeoisie or bourgeois ideology. People have said it, he died a communist. And we owe a lot to Dick Fraser, we're gonna miss him.

* * * * *

Larry Levinson

a Spartacist comrade who sent the following message, dated 30 November 1988

Dear Comrades and friends,

I am sending this letter to share a few thoughts on my impression of Richard Fraser. I was privileged to help take care of him while I was still living in Los Angeles. Looking back at this I can see that I was carrying out an important duty as a young communist in assisting Richard. For me being with Dick was my chance to have a real link with a socialist from the old revolutionary SWP. A generation of militants that I would only know through the program and the written word they left behind. Although most of the time I spent with Dick was involved with basic survival tasks for him, a few telling facets of this man stood out.

First and foremost Dick was a tenacious man. The medical battle he waged not only against his condition but also against the wretched world of doctors and hospitals would daunt anyone. Dick kept on fighting and at the same time kept an ironic slant on all this. Dick could tell you the most horrible things that happened to him and have you laughing and crying at the same time. It was a bittersweet task to take care of Dick.

That Dick was able to continue contributing politically was a real testament to his history as an organizer and leader in the SWP. Where I mainly saw this was how he would continually overcome the latest adversity to strike him so as to be able to keep on following world events and most importantly write down his thoughts. The most important possessions he had were his books, his television and his typewriter.

The other thing that sticks in my mind is how Richard's eyes would light up when he mentioned two other things important to him. These were his son and music. Richard's voice would get that tone of pride when he mentioned his son. And one nice memory that will stay with me was when we were able to take Dick to a concert of the L.A. Philharmonic.

Dick was a charming man who had wards of nurses of numerous hospitals in the greater Los Angeles area caring for him as their favorite patient. The only patient I had ever seen who had a typewriter in his room.

I end this by saying that I will always be proud for having been a part of helping Dick in his later years and always a little sad that I didn't know and learn more from him.

* * * * *

Jim Stark

a Spartacist comrade, sent the following contribution

Dick, in spite of being in bad health during the last years, and when I helped care for him in Los Angeles, was always willing to draw on his own array of political experience to help us with our work. (In hindsight, he laughed at some of them.)

I remember in particular the good advice he gave me at the first national SL conference after he found out that I was doing work among black workers in the South. He told me that in addition to having a revolutionary program, because of the history of segregation, it would be necessary to find ways of achieving social interaction with my black coworkers. He suggested that if necessary, join clubs or associations where one could establish these kind of relationships, but that I would have to find out how to do it in my own way. It was good advice on his part, as we have learned from doing communist work among the black working class in the Deep South.

This example is probably a small thing by itself, but the total of Dick's work, in particular his work on the black question, is a valuable contribution to Trotskyism.

* * * * *

Message from the Chicago Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League

Long service and tenacity as a partisan of the working class and oppressed demand the greatest admiration and respect from we who come after. His contribution to be realized in the struggle for black liberation and proletarian power that will be the American socialist revolution.

* * * * *

Frank Krasnowsky

a longtime comrade of Dick's who collaborated with him for over 20 years in the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party and the Freedom Socialist Party, and as editor of Revolutionary Age

We've got all these young people up here today. I'd like to thank you for the invitation to speak here, and particularly I want to thank those of you who took care of Dick in these last years, and made his last years so productive and as pleasant as possible.

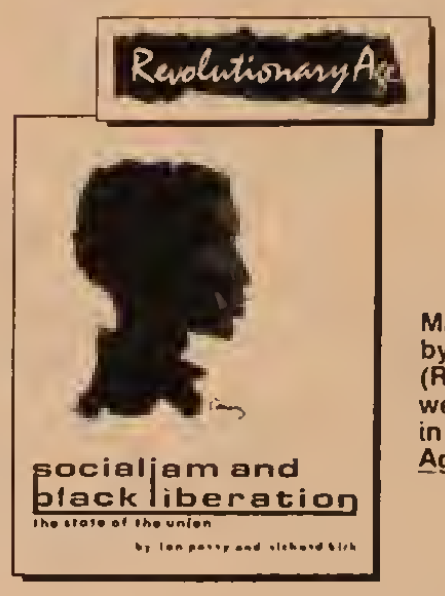
When I was asked to speak, I was kind of pleased with the idea that I would finally get a chance to get even with all those people who ignored Dick over all the years, you know. And I worked out a wonderful talk that I was going to give down here. I was going to go through the whole history of his ideas and present them to you here. And talk a little about the way he worked with others and confronted with others, to talk a little bit about the way I and Clara Fraser and the Seattle branch worked together with him in developing his ideas. Then after all that I was told that I should try to keep it to ten minutes. So you don't know how lucky you all are here today.

No, I'm not really going to talk too much about the contents of his writings, because those are all available. We've printed them out, particularly in two publications which I edited, in the *Revolutionary Age*, in the work "Revolutionary Integration," and "Crisis and Leadership," which were the major works we published.

I'd rather talk a little bit on the way Dick worked, that is how he managed to enrich his own ideas and to test them in the class struggle, and to help others develop their own thinking and their own understanding. Dick, as you know, and as has been described here to you, was never what you'd call an ivory tower radical. He was a constant activist. But he used all the material on hand, both in the form of data and the knowledge and experience of others in developing his own ideas. He was particularly astute in drawing people out and getting them to express their ideas and in trying to get his ideas over to them.

It wasn't mentioned here, but Dick for a couple of years worked as an engineer at Weyerhaeuser in Seattle. Now you know he didn't have a college degree or anything, but one of the people who worked with him, who was a doctor in physics at the University, said that he thought that Dick was the greatest engineer that he ever met. And I asked Dick, "How'd you get a reputation like that?"

Well, what happened is, if he ever had a problem or a puzzle, he would head straight for the University of



Many articles by Dick Fraser (Richard Kirk) were published in Revolutionary Age.

Washington, talk to all the professors who were involved in that field, bring together all their knowledge, and then use it. This was a great talent. And he'd use that same talent, of course, as a Marxist thinker and a writer. In this respect he received, I would say, constant help from our Seattle branch and of many individual comrades in Los Angeles and throughout the country.

This may step on some people's toes, but I have to say it anyway—he got almost no help from the official party to which he had devoted his entire life. Neither in the form of support for his ideas on black liberation, nor what would have been important for him as well, in the form of an honest confrontation of ideas. In 1957 when the Southern movement was first beginning to break out, and when his ideas were getting their first real test in life, we went to the '57 convention of the Socialist Workers Party with a resolution and were answered, rather strangely, with a demand by the National Committee that we provide a vote of confidence in the National Committee in opposition to his resolution. I had never heard that before in the party.

Again in '63, where we put together all of the

continued on page 6

Fraser Memorial...

(continued from page 5)

experiences of the Southern movement, we came in with the resolution and for the first time in the history of the party, equal time was not provided to the opposition. There was an hour and a half given to the majority, a half hour given to Dick's position and to our position, and the bulk of the discussion consisted of an organizational attack upon our branch. And finally in '65 when we presented the document, it was called "Crisis and Leadership." After it was all over we received instructions from the presidium not to discuss any of the political material presented, and transforming the conference into an active workers conference. Now there was in that no confrontation of ideas, no way that he could draw from any of that.

Fortunately, there were better places for him to develop his ideas and his inspiration. Dick took every opportunity that was offered to him to talk and discuss with revolutionary black leaders his ideas on revolutionary integration. Anybody who came to the Northwest got stuck—that is about what it came down to. Maybe there was one or two of us who would talk to them in the afternoon, but by the time it was over they were over at Dick's for ten to twelve hours and all night long, discussing and talking. And I'm not talking just about this or this Joe, it didn't matter to Dick who he talked to, but among the people who he caught were William Worthy, James Farmer, Gibson, Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Robert Williams.

I can't recall all that were there, but we had a session with Dick Gregory in which together we organized a whole meeting in the black community, of a very conservative black community, in support of the Southern struggle. Dick could talk with him. And these weren't just little discussions, they were a complete confrontation of ideas, one to the other, in which he hoped to teach and he hoped to learn. And I don't remember any of them ever being angry about having participated in it.

But I'll tell you, visitors could escape with maybe ten or twelve hours of discussion. That wasn't true of the rest of us in the branch. In Seattle we had a man named Waymon Ware. He was a young man then, of course. Waymon Ware was probably the leading person in the black movement in Seattle. He was also a member of our group. And Dick was constantly in conversation with Skip Ware. And his wife, who was not in our organization but was a leading community activist, also suffered, enjoyably, constant probing and discussions of her ideas.

And not only, and this may strike people as some kind of a violation of some myths about democratic centralism, but not only did he confront them with his ideas, but our document that was in preparation, called "Revolutionary Integration," was carried by these people into the South for their discussion. The columns appeared in SNCC and in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. They were sent out so people could study them, to look at it, write back to him, so we could build up our resolution with people who were serious about our ideas.

But ideas alone do not make a Marxist movement, or a Marxist theory. You have to take your ideas and put them into life, to test them, to reformulate, so that you know your ideas are rooted solidly in Marxism at the same time that they deal with all of the newest and most modern developments in society. The Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party took every opportunity it could to participate in the black liberation movement. I'm not going to go into now what had happened before Dick came, but we were very active when he arrived. But in the '60s we were already central to the whole organization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. We were involved in the training of cadres, we helped send people down. In fact, one of the announcements we got from the South, from the people who were participating, was that the people from the Northwest were those best equipped mentally to participate in the struggle down there.

Incidentally, we also sent two people down from the Seattle branch, one our only Spartacist member, and I think you may know of that around here somewhere, who spent about six months at least in the South during that period. We didn't discriminate in the branch, if different political opinions, if they were helping to build the organization. So that even those in the end who weren't in the SWP and who went down to the South that were not in our organization came back with the experience that we provided them, with the knowledge we provided them, and added a new mass of experience for the development of our ideas for the next cadres that could go down and carry out the fight.

I'm going to tell you a little story. I don't think anybody knows this here. But in 1964 for the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, my former wife Ann Krasnowsky took a carload, actually it was a van, of black women and SNCC leaders to the convention, with a resolution for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which condemned the whole racist role of the Democratic Party in the South, and called for the unseating of the Mississippi Democratic white delegation and the Alabama delegation. And I want to tell you, we were a little surprised when we heard over the radio that almost precisely the wording of his resolution was presented by the black caucus at that convention.

Now, this is just an inkling, I'm not going to go on too far, of the kinds of experience and work that went into the concepts that Dick presented and developed in our movement. The rejection of which I can say quite bluntly, since it involved the rejection really of the revolution in the United States, led very much to the degeneration of the organization that we built earlier, of the Socialist Workers Party.

And one last thing in conclusion. In the '60s, I had a little talk with Jim Cannon. I'm just dropping names now. Actually, I didn't know Jim that well, he was a different generation than mine. Actually it was something which I realize now was something that bothered me much more than it bothered him. But every time I came through Los Angeles, we'd have coffee, Ann and I, at his house, and have a little discussion for several hours with him and Rose [Karsner]. And this time he was sitting there and studying two books. One was a book by James Boggs, *The American Revolution*, and the other was Harrington's *The Other America*. And he commented to us, "Why is it that two non-Marxist writers can write a brilliant analysis of what is going on in the United States in the nature of class relations, and even propose a political program, and the pages of our magazine, the *Fourth International*, are completely sterile?"

Well, it was a rhetorical question, but I decided I'd try to answer it anyway. And I said, well, if you really want to get original thinking in the SWP, you're going to have to read the internal bulletins. And that was about the way it appeared to me. That many of the people who had been studying and thinking had been suppressed by what I considered a sort of a bureaucratic centralism, not democratic, in which people with all kinds of ideas found that they didn't have a way to express their opinions. And I really think that that's one of the great tragedies of the movement.

I have some optimism out of this whole meeting. I will say that I came down here a little depressed, and much of that is overcome already by the people here. But I think that the great tragedy really of the movement in the past is not just that we lost for a while, because we can win again. But the number of fine minds, fine thinking and the rest that have not found the way to express themselves, that got confined in this myth that everybody must hold the monolithic idea and not open criticism, and not think about things anymore. The party should be, an organization of the left should be an extra group that strengthens your ideas, that builds you, that makes you better able to deal with the class struggle as you go on.

It's for that reason that I truly thank the people who organized this memorial, who are part of an organization with which I have had many differences, but then I can't think of one that I didn't have many differences with, if you want to get down to it. But at least for rescuing from extinction the work of one of the truly great Marxists and Trotskyists of our era, and for helping him to live and last as long as he was able, and to make new contributions in the struggle for which he lived. Thank you.

* * * * *

Statement of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency

Comrades,

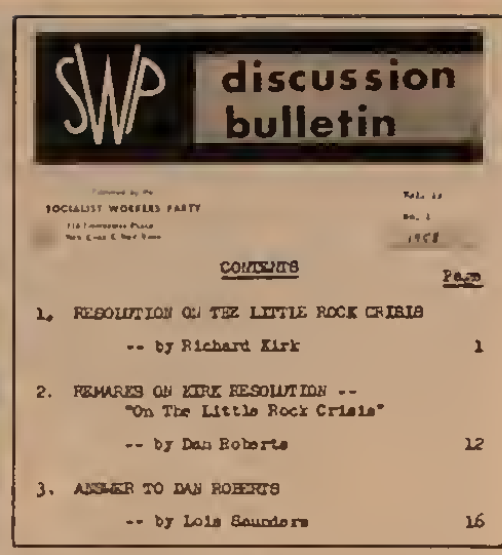
We would like to add our salute to the memory of comrade Dick Fraser. A number of us had the honour of meeting comrade Fraser, which serves to underline our deep sense of loss. We stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us. As Marxists and internationalists we deeply appreciate the work he did, in particular "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question." This contribution is not narrowly confined to enunciating the crucial elements for black freedom in the United States through the programme of revolutionary integration. By clarifying a Marxist methodological approach, he aided us in building our international on a firm basis. Our capacity to address the national question and situations such as Ireland where the problem of interpenetrated peoples must be confronted owes a great deal to the Bolsheviks, but also to such contributions as comrade Dick's.

Comrade Fraser already has an epitaph in his contributions, and we are sure that he, like any revolutionary, would feel his memory can best be honoured by carrying the work forward for world revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Wide World

Eisenhower sent federal troops to Little Rock during 1957 school integration battle. Dick Fraser's "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis" opposed SWP's call for troops, insisting government stepped in to "cut off an insurgent movement of the Negro masses there which was beginning to erupt."



SWP discussion bulletin

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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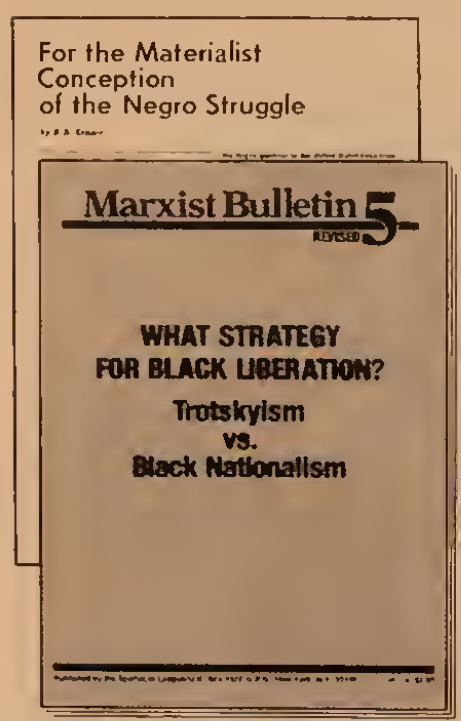


For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle

Marxist Bulletin 5 REVISED

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?

Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

Spartacist strategy for black liberation, documented in Marxist Bulletin No. 5, traces its continuity to Fraser's tight for revolutionary integrationism, as opposed to SWP's embracing of black nationalism.

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD
Special Supplement

As Army of Cops, Troops Shields 7 Klansmen

Atlanta: 3,500 Turn Out Against KKK

WV Photos

Atlanta's Central City Park, January 21: thousands demonstrate defiant opposition to KKK and skinhead racists.

ATLANTA, January 29—The Klan and skinhead thugs planned their racist "celebration" of the murder of Martin Luther King with a January 21 march through this capital of the "New South." Taking place just miles from where the modern Klan was reborn at Stone Mountain, their provocation was intended to fuel racist terror across America. The Georgia state house and the black Democratic city administration mobilized a virtual army to ensure that organized protest would not prevent the race-haters from invading a black city on the first day of the Bush administration.

But thousands filled Central City Park in downtown Atlanta in a labor/black mobilization of defiance. This integrated demonstration, bringing out over 3,000 unionists, students, gays and socialists, was a sight not seen in the open-shop, Klan-infested Deep South for decades.

Last summer, would-be führer Richard Barrett and his skinheads were frustrated in their attempt to march outside the Democratic convention by several hundred demonstrators. So the powers that be served notice that this would not be allowed to happen again. The relationship of forces on the side of the state was so overwhelming that when the march passed the 3,000 anti-Klan demonstrators in Central City Park, only the fascists' disgusting "No King Over Us" banner was visible amid the 2,000 cops and troops arrayed in riot gear and battle fatigues. Elsewhere along the line of march, skirmishes broke out as protesters tried to get at the Klansmen. The cops escorted the fascists through town and launched a police rampage against black Atlanta.

Labor/Black Mobilization Says: "Sweep the Fascists Off the Streets!"

Fatalism in the Face of a Deadly Threat Can Be Fatal

In initiating this labor-centered show of strength against Barrett's fascist provocation, the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, initiated a united-front call: "Act Now! Stop the KKK!" Pursuing the same strategy which spiked a Klan/skinhead threat in Philadelphia November 5, on the eve of Bush's election, the PDC call warned "Fatalism in the Face of a Deadly Threat Can Be *Fatal*":

> "The country has lurched to the right, but we can stop these genocide-lovers in the city of Atlanta. Arch-capitalist Bush has a hard row to hoe—maybe if we act strongly here we can start reversing this willful, deliberate increase in the misery of people, especially poor blacks but in fact practically everybody."

Atlanta's heavily black and beleaguered unions saw the need to act. Key Atlanta unions joined the mobilization: AFSCME Local 1644 city and hospital workers, Service Employees International Union Local 679, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732 representing MARTA transit workers, as well as Machinists' officials at Atlanta's huge Hartsfield airport. Jerry Waters, AFSCME City Chapter chairman, spoke to the significance of the anti-Klan rally:

> "Our message at AFSCME is that labor has to take a stand to rid this country of its apartheid ways. It is very simple... if you give the Klan the right to march in a city that is predominantly black you're saying to the Klan that you're giving them the right to hang, burn, kill and beat."

In the heavily working-class housing projects, tenants councils added their support to the effort, joined by student organizations from the black Atlanta University complex and Georgia State University. From elsewhere in the South, Greensboro Massacre survivor Nelson Johnson and Crystal Lee Sutton (the real "Norma Rae") added their endorsements.

By 10 a.m. on January 21, two hours before the demonstration's scheduled start, people were already gathering in Central City Park. Three hours later, the crowd had swelled to over 3,000, with unions and black fraternities providing marshals to ensure the crowd's safety. When the cops and troops reached the Five Points intersection, 150 feet from the rally, thousands of voices erupted in chants of "Down with the hoods, down with the sheets—Sweep the Klan off the streets!" and

continued on page 8

Atlanta...

(continued from page 7)

"Hitler-lovers, you can't hide. KKK must not ride!"

The united front provided a platform for a wide divergence of views around the common determination to oppose the Klan nightriders. One black nationalist was loudly booed when he started white-baiting and gay-baiting other protesters; an SL speaker was cheered for sharply criticizing those remarks. A number of speakers, including a member of the Georgia Rainbow Coalition, expressed illusions in MLK-style pacifism and black Democrats like Jesse Jackson.

For most participants, the event was their first exposure to the socialist program of the Spartacist League: that black liberation requires an American workers revolution. Many reacted strongly against our chant that "Cops and Klan go hand in hand." But there it was, staring everyone in the face: a horde of baton-wielding city and state police marching with the KKK. It was an object lesson in which side the state is on, whether under black Democrats or Reaganite Republicans.

The unions that helped build this labor/black mobilization represent a crucial toehold of labor power in the South. Atlanta is a transportation and commercial/banking hub for the region. It is also the bastion of the "New South," administered by black bourgeois politicians on behalf of the Coca-Cola bourgeoisie. In the 1960s Andrew Young counseled the oppressed black masses to "turn the other cheek" in the face of racist terror. Today these advocates of MLK-style "nonviolence" unleash their extremely violent cops on the black citizens of Atlanta in defense of the open shop and the Klan's "right" to terrorize.

Unionized black workers in Atlanta get shafted. In 1977, a bitter AFSCME city workers strike was viciously broken by then-mayor Maynard Jackson. Today, Andrew Young jets around the world selling Atlanta's "pro-business" (low-wage) climate to investors. The black working people of Atlanta know that the "New South" stops at the city limits. And their wages and living conditions are no better now than before a black administration took office. At a recent fund-raiser for the Martin Luther King Center, the "official" civil rights leaders were embarrassed when a bitter SEIU janitor rose to donate one hour of her wages—$3.35!

WV Photos

Phalanx of cops and troops escort 7 Klansmen up Decatur Street. Inset: fascist Barrett protected by Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

KKK/Cop Violence

The All-Peoples Congress (APC), which attracted several hundred youths to a site near the state capitol, now cheer how "Atlanta youth rebel against Klan, National Guard" (*Workers World*, 2 February). The APC and its parent Workers World Party were playing at a cynical and light-minded game and, especially in the South, a potentially deadly one. Prone to inciting young people into pointless confrontations with the police, the APC undercuts their ostensible—and our real—purpose in these anti-fascist demonstrations. The APC spurns mass mobilization based on the social power of the unions; the APC leaflet was even printed by a scab shop!

APC's mindless "militancy" conceals a liberal program. Today they tail after the black Democrats who have made their hallmark the anti-drug witchhunt carried out by naked racist police terror. WWP/APC jumps on the bandwagon, obscenely arguing, in the middle of their article which attacks the cop terror against protesters, that "the Klan and Nazis have no more right to be on the street marching to recruit lynch mobs than drug dealers have the right to set up shop on campuses." "Stop the drug dealers" is exactly the excuse used by Mayor Young's cops as they bust heads of black youths and housing project residents who dare venture downtown.

The city fathers perhaps thought they could use the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee as a steam vent for black Atlanta's outrage over the Klan incursion. But a powerful and determined mobilization of black labor united with anti-racist whites and "reds" was more than they bargained for. After the rulers marched the Klan through Atlanta and their cops rampaged against black protesters, their press starts screaming about "violence" by anti-Klan protesters and says everybody should have stayed home. If they wanted to save $300,000 and have a peaceful Saturday, they should have kept the soldiers at home, and it would have been the last time the Klan terrorists tried marching in Atlanta.

The *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (29 January) trotted out one Harvey Klehr to insinuate that the Spartacist League and the PDC had "another agenda," not stopping the Klan. Klehr "exposes" the revolutionary slogans carried by the PDC and the Spartacist League: "Free Abortion on Demand," "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty," "Workfare Is Genocide," "Billions for AIDS Research," "Free Iranian Political Prisoners" and "Defeat Yankee Imperialism in Central America." Hardly a secret agenda.

Klehr noted that "The Spartacists, for example, have long denounced black leaders like Jesse Jackson as 'shills' and 'front men' for a racist society." That's right—we say the Democratic Party for which Jackson fronts is an enemy of black and working people. What Klehr doesn't mention is that in a 1988 report on "The American Radical Left Today" sponsored by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, he attacked Jackson for endorsing a "communist-controlled" 1985 Moscow youth festival, going on to denounce him as an apologist for "Palestinian terrorism." Klehr even retailed the old Hoover-Kennedy smears about Communists in M.L. King's organization.

We can tell you straight out what Klehr's secret agenda is. He is a professional redbaiter and apologist for Zionist state terror. Nationalism always has the potential for fascism, and Klehr's variety is played out in Israel, where significant sectors are pushing for a genocidal program against the embattled Arab population. But the Zionist garrison state is a deathtrap for Jews as

"Students Unite with Labor to Fight Racist Terror"

Atlanta U. Contingent Marches

Two Spartacus Youth Club militants recount the long march through police-occupied Atlanta to reach the Central City Park rally.

Black students at Clark and Morehouse campuses of Atlanta University had decided to organize a march from campus to the labor/black mobilization at Central City Park. We gathered in a parking lot near Clark College at 10:30 a.m. At first it was all women—just us and the Delta sorority. Then some men began to trickle in and a group of Morehouse students showed up. We headed out to Morris Brown and started a chant on the bullhorn, "Students unite with labor to fight racist terror!"

At Morris Brown, there were another 50 kids waiting and we all started marching off. We chanted, "Down with the hoods, down with the sheets, sweep the Klan off the streets!" But at about the halfway point, the sound system died. We got to Spring Street, turned left and hit a police barricade. We were told we had to turn around and go past Five Points. There were about 150 of us. We turned down Alabama Ave., marched to Five Points MARTA station, hit another roadblock. We thought we could get through Five Points, but ran into a barricade. It was a hairy situation—as we approached, some of the men ran to the barriers as though to jump them and about 100 cops in riot fatigues ran forward to meet them.

We rushed to the front, saying this is a police provocation, they're there to protect the Klan. The crowd backed off. Just then, two people from the All-Peoples Congress showed up with their own (working) bullhorn, bent on hijacking our group and began leading the crowd away from our march route to the Capitol. They got the group to turn left and boom, all you could see was the sun glittering off thousands of helmet-clad shield-wielding troopers. Tired of marching, a large chunk of the group ran toward the APC demo. Some hung back, knowing something was wrong. "This is not our demonstration, this is a police trap," we said. The lack of a bullhorn was maddening. We began chanting, "Our demonstration is at the park, we have to link up with the city workers and transit workers to stop the Klan."

WV Photo

Black students' march joins rally at Central City Park.

Then, miracle of miracles, our bullhorn crackled back into life. We managed to extract a good chunk of kids and started down MLK toward Techwood. The people who had left the APC demo with us had really made a decision to throw in their lot with us and understood about staying tight together. Several of the young women made up chants, and took the mike—seeing all those Deltas chanting "Workers of the World Unite!" was great. One girl came up and said, "You know, it really blows me away that they use all those cops to protect the Klan and meanwhile they're keeping us from exercising *our* rights."

We'd been marching an hour and a half. As we passed through downtown chanting, cars honked in support and traffic stopped to let us pass. With clenched fists we finally entered Central City Park.

"Down with the Hoods, Down with the Sheets—Sweep the Klansmen Off the Streets!"

Dorothy Woods
Recording Secretary, ATU Local 732

We are here to honor the working people who built this country. We must realize the danger of the Klan and the Nazis, even in small numbers. Labor has the power, and that's why we're gathering like this.

Thecla McCullough
President, Black Student Association, Georgia State University

One thing that I think is a total travesty—less than one week after we

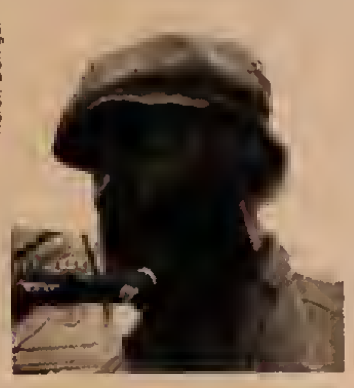
WV Photo

Thecla McCullough

celebrate Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, there are people who chose to make a mockery out of the whole ordeal.

Jerry Waters
City Chapter Chairman, AFSCME Local 1644

We black people have taken great interest in ridding South Africa of its apartheid system. We have taken so much interest in calling for a free Johannesburg that we have closed our eyes to


Karen Dunigan

Jerry Waters

racial hostilities here in America. From AFSCME 1644 we say that we wholeheartedly endorse this movement, and we say: Power to the people and stop the Klan!

Whitney Young
Former president, Student Government Association, Clark College

I just came from a long walk around, because our great city did not allow us to walk down our own streets that we pay tax for. Our nation is involved in terroristic acts all over the world. Here in their own backyard they sanction an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan.

WV Photo

Rally co-chairman Brian Manning of the Spartacist League.

They allow them to march and sit on our capitol, the capitol of Georgia. These things must cease.

Gene Herson
Rally co-chairman and labor coordinator for the Partisan Defense Committee

The Klan are at the capitol. We don't know if there are so few of these snakes up there, or if you just can't see them,

Karen Dunigan

Gene Herson

because there are thousands of police surrounding them. We want to make it clear why that is. The cops and the state are trying to use this rally as a steam vent. But we are here and we are organized. The city and state are letting the KKK march in an empty concentration camp. They have cleared the streets.

Now the reason that they are surrounded by thousands of police, and the reason that the police and the state and the city have created that vacuum is because we have the power, we are organized. In the forefront is the power of the integrated trade unions—we make the city and the industries work. We have the tenants associations. We have the student organizations. That's why they have created this kind of police-state vacuum to allow these snake Klan/Nazis to slither down the streets and back up.

Everybody here is sharing a piece of history. When else has it ever happened in this city of Atlanta that you saw something like this? We should remember what we have done here, and how to go on from here and build, and to keep on building, and to never let the Klan and these Nazis want to even come out of their holes in the future.

Dean Manley
Coalition Opposing Operation Rescue

Uncle Klan wants you dead! He doesn't think that you have a right to live. If you're gay, if you're black, if you're a woman—he wants you chained to your stove, he wants you barefoot and pregnant. The Coalition Opposing Operation Rescue is trying to break those chains.

Rolf Jones
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Georgia State University

In a time when the media gives more attention to hate groups, to the skinheads, the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Nation, to see all of us, black and white together, this is good.

Terry Rose
Homeless Task Force

Don't let these people run you into the ground. Stomp the KKK! Stand up for your rights! Homeless are people too, and you have a right to be heard, no matter who you are. These streets are for you.

Virginia Ramsey
City chairperson of the Grady Hospital Chapter of AFSCME Local 1644, vice president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

I want to say to you today, the health care workers protest the marching of the KKK. We in health care and we in the labor union movement have no intentions of turning around now. The KKK says "No King Over Us." If they're protesting the birthday holiday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Martin Luther King was there for labor when labor needed him. And we are going to keep on living the dream, and we are going to keep on dreaming the dream, and we are going to keep on demonstrating the dream!

I want you to take a message back to your neighborhoods, in order for the KKK to be able to receive it. You can tell them that we've come too far to stop now. We are not afraid anymore. Our strength has renewed. We are not going to run and hide in the basements. We are not going to sing how "We Shall Overcome" over a tub of water no more. We are not going to hide in the thickets by

WV Photo

Virginia Ramsey

the riverbank and leave our homes because we are afraid the KKK is coming in and burning them down.

Brian Manning
Spartacist League

When the KKK can march with impunity on our streets, it's an incitement to more terror, more cross-burnings, more lynchings. That's why we're out here today. To stop the KKK and the skinheads, they feed on and inflame racehate and fear, they poison every kind of integrated social struggle, from union organizing to winning strikes.

Who benefits by divide-and-conquer? They're the ones who are up in Washington, D.C., celebrating this weekend. They're the ones who are spending $1,500 on a plate of food this weekend, to celebrate the coronation of George "Poppy" Bush. And it's both the Democrats and Republicans. You know, the loyal opposition in the Democratic Party. They're driving up the misery index, whether it's homelessness, joblessness or hunger. Even Jesse Jackson met with George Bush, and says, well, I'm going to reserve judgment on George Bush for right now.

It's time for us to get up and fight for what's rightfully ours. Let's not beg, let's take it, it's ours. We need full social equality for blacks, which is impossible except through a socialist revolution. Let's build a party that can take this government out of the hands of the racists and the warmongers and run it for ourselves. Let's fight for a workers government. ■

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well. And Klehr should remember where Atlanta is: the Ku Klux Klan signaled its rebirth with the 1915 lynching of Atlanta Jewish businessman Leo Frank. Among the many SL/PDC signs at the demonstration, one Klehr did not report is: "Remember Leo Frank!"

Klehr made clear what really irks him and the bourgeois rulers he serves when he pointed to one of the Spartacist chants at the demonstration: "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!" We Trotskyists insist it will take a proletarian revolution to finish the task of black liberation begun by the Civil War. As the 21 January PDC press release said, "In the open-shop, anti-union, Klan-infested 'New South,' today's demonstration of labor/black power in Atlanta marks a milestone in the fight for black emancipation."

In his book, *Let Me Live* (1969), Communist organizer Angelo Herndon recalled an integrated unemployed workers demonstration in Atlanta in 1935: "It was a demonstration of the Southern worker's power. Like a giant that had been lying asleep for a long time, he now began to stir." The January 21 labor/black mobilization can be a beacon for the black and working people of the Deep South, and for the oppressed throughout racist America. That giant, the power of labor, united in defense of its real interests, must uproot the fascist scourge once and for all through proletarian revolution. ■

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WV Photos

Riot cops vault wall, beating and arresting protesters, to protect Klan terrorists in racist provocation against Atlanta.

Cops Rampage Against Anti-Klan Protesters

As over 2,000 cops and troops turned downtown Atlanta into an armed camp January 21 in order to escort seven fascists through this 60 percent black city, one anti-racist protester exclaimed, "This is a war zone." And when thousands of demonstrators turned out in defiance of the KKK and skinhead thugs, the cops ran amok—over 40 protesters were arrested, dozens clubbed. In the following days, Mayor Andrew Young and the bourgeois press launched a campaign to smear the anti-Klan demonstrators as violent "outsiders" and "hooligans." First they carry the fascists through black Atlanta in an incredible provocation, now they lie about it. *The truth is there was a police rampage on January 21.*

The day began with a massive array of force by six state and city agencies, under the control of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI). Starting at the state capitol, a gigantic phalanx of armed cops and soldiers surrounded a handful of Richard Barrett's Klansmen and skinheads. GBI arrest teams were on the inside. Ringing them were 1,020 National Guardsmen in flak jackets, long riot batons and gas masks, who were in turn flanked by state troopers in riot gear and mounted police. In front of this so-called "protective sock" was an ominous wedge of 200 state prison guards from the "special tactical unit." The formation stretched for an entire city block, led by motorcycle squads, prison buses, vans and squad cars. Outside the phalanx were the Atlanta cops, who barricaded every street within a block on either side of the march route—turning downtown Atlanta into an armed concentration camp. Instead of a Klan "march," *two thousand cops and troops invaded Atlanta.*

From the day Barrett announced his racist provocation, black Democrat Andrew Young and the state of Georgia sought to ensure that the Klan would march through black Atlanta at all costs. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) was denied the right to demonstrate at the state capitol, where the Klan assembled. By doing everything to prevent organized protest, Young was *guaranteeing* that there would be unorganized protest and the cops and Klan would provoke and set up individual protesters for arrest. And the liberal antics of the All-Peoples Congress fed into this, telling black and white youth to assemble *in the middle of the state's martial law zone at the capitol.* In contrast, the PDC sought to organize powerful labor/black protest against the Klan.

As the cops' massed formation moved through downtown, several hundred dispersed youth tried unsuccessfully to confront the Klan. When the phalanx passed Five Points in the central business district, the fascists were not even visible in a sea of riot helmets, cop horses and military fatigues. Thousands of blacks, unionists and students assembled at the PDC-initiated demonstration in Central City Park erupted in chants of "Down with the hoods, down with the sheets—Sweep the Klan off the streets!" and "Hitler-lovers you can't hide, KKK must not ride!"

Hundreds of black youth, including many students who had marched from Atlanta University, were cut off from Central City Park by the cordon of Atlanta police and prison guards who filled Marietta Street at Five Points. It took determined efforts by Spartacus Youth Club leaders to find a route around the lines of cops. Another group of two hundred students from Morehouse College were able to find their way underneath the police lines by taking MARTA transit. But hundreds of others were stranded south of Five Points.

As the cop/Klan formation moved down Marietta back toward the capitol, police charged demonstrators along the route. Carlos Williams, a Grady high school senior, described how the cops "jumped over the wall and started beating everybody. They slammed me up against a concrete wall." George Napper, the city "Public Safety" Commissioner, came down from his observation helicopter and went to the business district at Five Points. He was greeted with chants of "Napper and the Klan go hand in hand."

The cops went berserk, wading into the crowd. One student described how GBI agents and Atlanta police "turned their fury on" the youths, "beating them with nightsticks and deliberately smashing a pair of eyeglasses" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 24 January). Two hours after the Klan had gone, squads of police swept up and down Peachtree Street—the TV news that night was filled with scenes of cops clubbing black youths. Forty-two anti-Klan protesters were jailed on charges of battery, assault, disorderly conduct and inciting to riot, while the racist terrorists were given a GBI escort out of town. Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein denounced the arrests as "the result of a police riot." At the anti-Klan demonstration, she said, "People were very disciplined but very defiant" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 23 January). Sunday morning at 3 a.m., PDC representatives went down and bailed out everyone we could. We demand: Drop all the charges now!

After initial admissions on television by Napper that "some folks...should not have been arrested," Andrew Young laid down the law: "I think the actions of the police, from what I have seen and heard, will stand up under any investigation" (*Constitution*, 24 January). By who, the GBI? The capitalist press, which had reported some of the cop rampage, changed its tune and denounced "hooliganism" and "outsiders." It wasn't so long ago that black Democrat Young was baited as an "outside agitator" during the civil rights movement. But now he rules black Atlanta on behalf of the "Old South," and lays open the streets to the Klan.

On January 21 the black Democrats in city hall and white Dixiecrats in the statehouse waged a military campaign (at a cost of over $300,000) against blacks and labor in Atlanta. They sought to guarantee that George Bush's first day in office would be marked by the successful incursion of Klan race-terrorists against the black population of Atlanta under the guns of troops and cops. But the 3,000 blacks, unionists, students, gays and socialists who formed the powerful labor/black mobilization in downtown Atlanta stood united and defiant in the face of racist reaction and state violence in the "New South." ■

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Racist Cops...

(continued from page 1)

Workers union, at a protest demonstration for the homeless. Huerta was sent to the hospital with a ruptured spleen which had to be removed in emergency surgery. A local TV station broadcast footage of a cop furiously hitting people with his baton, and one could see the 58-year-old Huerta crumple to the ground. But after a meeting with SF mayor Art Agnos in December the police chief announced that the cop would not be disciplined. In another case, last October SF cops savagely beat a black Muni driver, Greg Wiggins, in his bus, then arrested him on charges of battery on a police officer. Wiggins' trial is coming up February 3, and fellow unionists are mobilizing to show solidarity at the Hall of Justice.

And in Long Beach, California on January 14, a black cop on leave from the local police, Sergeant Don Jackson, exposed racist police practices by driving through town as an ordinary workman, followed by an unmarked TV van. Within five minutes of entering Long Beach, the camera recorded his arrest on faked traffic violation charges. The incident was shown on national television as viewers saw the cop cursing Jackson and then throwing him face-first through a plate-glass window. Meanwhile hundreds of cops have been rounding up black and Hispanic youth in Los Angeles in a police crackdown against gangs in the name of the "war on drugs." Last May *1,500* were rounded up in one weekend simply for being on the street at the wrong time.

Downing/Newsweek

Cop endorsements played big role in Bush campaign. Killer cops have green light from White House.

AP

Canada Wide

Loyal Garner, Jr. (left), beaten to death in Texas jail. Michael Wade Lawson (right), shot in back of head by Toronto cops.

The racist cop terror runs north of the border, where on December 8 Toronto cops chasing a 17-year-old black youth in a car shot Wade Lawson in the back of the head through the rear window with an illegal hollowed-out bullet. They incredibly claimed self-defense. Four months earlier, police shot a 44-year-old black man to death in a Toronto rooming house. In January the cops staged a slowdown to protest manslaughter charges being brought against one of their own, while the president of the police association warned of "another Detroit" if city authorities allowed Toronto to be "run by a very small group of black activists" demanding justice. The Canadian cops are apparently copying their American brethren in preparation for economic *Anschluss* (annexation) with the U.S. under the new trade pact.

The cops' message is that they can do whatever they want, and this makes them very dangerous to everyone. Nothing matters—not videotapes, not evidence, not eyewitnesses. Incidents of police terror and murder are typically racial, but not always. A year ago in Alameda, California a 65-year-old white man, John Mitcheom—an ex-Marine, former Kiwanis Club president and real estate agent—was stopped for a routine traffic violation but ended up kneed in the groin, thrown against a wall and then to the ground, and handcuffed, suffering broken teeth and various bruises. He is still seeking justice in court as his lawyer argues that the cops think "they can beat someone up anytime they want to" (*Alameda Journal*, 16-22 December 1988).

Green Light from the White House

It was not coincidental that the latest police provocations occurred in the same week as the Bush inauguration. When Reagan was elected in 1980, right-wingers in Central America celebrated by cruising around Guatemala City and San Salvador shooting off their automatic weapons. With Bush's inauguration, it seems American cops are doing the same, except they're not firing into air. During the inaugural parade, Bush was saluted by a joint contingent of Boston and New York police associations. They had reason to strut: they played an important role during the election campaign by coming out for Bush in a carefully orchestrated campaign to paint Dukakis as "soft on crime." Bush arranged "photo ops" with the uniformed killers, prompting the copycat Democrat to do likewise.

As the presidential campaign was getting really down and dirty, Bush's TV ads featured one Willie Horton, a black prisoner accused of raping a white woman while he was on furlough from jail in Dukakis' Massachusetts. It was the classic symbol used to grease the Klan's lynch rope and fuel racist fears. The media didn't mention the case of another Bill Horton, a sheriff's deputy in Bush's Texas who was one of the three killer cops who beat their black victim, Loyal Garner, Jr., to death in a jail cell on Christmas night 1987 because he asked to make a phone call after being arrested on a trumped-up traffic violation (see "Cop Terror Stalks Black America," *WV* No. 444, 15 January 1988). This Horton and his fellow badge-toting killers were acquitted in July of civil rights charges; in August the murder charges were dismissed. But the Democrats said nothing, ever afraid of alienating the racist vote.

When Ronald Reagan came to office in 1980 his chief adviser was Edwin Meese, who oversaw the war against the Black Panther Party in California when Reagan was governor, and later became the nation's top cop. Meese yearned for a police state not so much to impose a reactionary social agenda, although he certainly has one, but because as a "cop's cop" he believed that police should rule. Now George Bush is in the Oval Office, and after all the rhetoric about a "kinder, gentler" America, in his inaugural address he proclaimed a new "intolerance" toward drugs. At a press conference a week later, he clarified this message, saying that in the anti-drug campaign his emphasis would be to cut demand by unleashing "law enforcement at home." Reading the lips of this former CIA director and control agent for the contra murderers, cops around the country are already carrying out this deadly threat to unleash police power.

The "Larry Davis Syndrome"

The cops' behavior in New York City is a litmus test of the violent change taking place across the country. Last summer the police went on a rampage in an attempt to impose a curfew in Manhattan's Tompkins Square Park. Dozens of local residents objecting to the curfew were brutally beaten by cops; 120 complaints were filed with the Civilian Complaint Review Board, and the incident was videotaped by TV stations as well as one independent crusader against police abuse. But to date not one of the 440 cops involved has been prosecuted, as the cops thumb their noses at the phony "review" board. PBA chief Phil Caruso excused the cops' action at Tompkins Square in a letter to the *New York Times* (25 January), complaining of "deviant behavior" by local residents and brazenly saying "some officers at the scene found it necessary to remove their shields" in order to avoid having to explain their brutal actions later.

But what really got NYC cops going was the acquittal in late November of Larry Davis, the black man who survived a police raid/shoot-out, hid out for two weeks and then emerged from a Bronx housing project as residents cheered. A jury of his peers—ten blacks and two Hispanics, who no doubt had bitter experiences with the NYPD—dismissed attempted murder charges on grounds of self-defense, finding that Davis had good reason to fear for his life if the cops were coming for him (because he knew about their drug deals). The next day an all-white crowd of 3,500 armed cops demonstrated outside the 113th Precinct, where several cops were transferred over racism, as Caruso vowed to "get these radicals" and "shove them aside and let us do our job." What this meant was shown in January when cops went looking for another black man, 20-year-old Ralph Richardson, in a case remarkably like that of Davis... except for the ending.

Richardson had been the focus of a massive five-day police manhunt after he escaped a confrontation in Brooklyn when the cops sent five officers to his Bed-Stuy apartment, not to arrest him but "to establish that he was staying there." It ended in a shoot-out in which two cops were wounded and Richardson fled. After a crime spree over the next few days, Richardson was found dead in the front seat of a car in the early morning of January 25. The cops are claiming suicide, but nobody is buying it. Police claim the right-handed man shot himself in his left temple with his left hand. Columnist Jimmy Breslin decided to investigate the cops' story that the body was "found" by cops on "routine patrol" at 3:30 in the morning at a desolate junkyard. Local residents told him addicts go there to do drugs because the police are never around:

> "As you looked around the place, a phrase came to mind naturally: 'taken for a ride.' I don't know of anybody who believes the police story. At the same time, most people don't care. Which is fine at first drink. Great! Gone. As vicious as we've ever had.
>
> "But already we have had a Bronx jury of 12 people, in the Larry Davis case, announce that they believe that the police murder people and sell drugs. And there are at this time two more cases of people being shot by police."
>
> —*Newsday*, 26 January

Was the Ralph Richardson case the cops' revenge for the Larry Davis verdict? This is the way the death squads got started in Brazil in the mid-'60s, as frustrated cops began executing drug dealers.

While police "hold court in the street," the sicko racists in this deeply racist country take their cue from the cops. Last week in Stockton, California a crazed drifter unloaded his AK-47 into a schoolyard, killing five children of Southeast Asian immigrants. Their parents came to America, they said, to get away from the killing fields of Cambodia. And the cult of cop violence is a staple of the mass media. Having reached the saturation point with fantasy cop shows like *Miami Vice*, they're now serializing real-life police terror as the Murdoch TV network (Fox Television) broadcasts a weekly half hour of cops bashing minorities, titled *Cops* ("viewer discretion advised").

The Bush administration is proposing to dig a huge ditch south of San Diego to stop "illegal aliens," while other Bush-whackers want to build a 12-foot-high concrete wall topped by barbed wire fence along the border with Mexico. Like the Sam Houston gang that died fighting for slavery at the Alamo, the Texas cabal now running Washington—from the Republican White House to the Democratic Congress—wants to run the country like the Texas Rangers run roughshod over blacks, Hispanics and Asians. At bottom, the capitalist class rests on the organized violence of its special bodies of armed men. And it will take a socialist revolution not only to win justice for the working class and minorities, but simply to make the streets safe from the cops. ■

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Young Spartacus

How Mississippi Burning Rewrites History

Continued from page 16

"sorry if them two civil rights boys is dead" (the third, James Chaney, is black and therefore doesn't count).

This film evokes an image of the KKK as hulking, slobbering, pea-brained racists who hold blacks in thrall by a tyranny of fear. What that leaves out is the fact that the Dixiecrats ran the KKK from the courthouse (controlled by the White Citizens Councils), the big house (Dixiecrat Senator Eastland's vast plantations were just a spit away from "Jessup," the movie's fictional county symbolizing Neshoba County, Miss.) and the State House where governors across the South called for "massive resistance" to integration. As Francis M. Wilhoit wrote in *The Politics of Massive Resistance* (1973):

> "For it was, after all, the region's political parties—particularly the dominant Democrats—that bore the chief responsibility for politicizing the segregationist masses and getting them to the polls on election day to vote for anti-integration candidates. Furthermore, since membership in Southern parties overlapped with membership in the Klan, the Councils, and other resistance groups, it appeared for a time that the segregationists would get a stranglehold on policy making in the racial area, and prevent even tokenism."

It's as if the Confederacy had won the Civil War. The images in the film are vivid, terrifying, and true. Hooded gangs lie in wait for blacks after evening church services, then chase them through the dark, beating, kicking, terrorizing every man, woman and child they can land a boot or a blackjack on. A black man who was questioned in public by the FBI is forced to flee his home when the Klan shows up that night; he gets tortured in a wire cage in a cotton field and dumped on Main Street the next day. "Can't have blood on Main Street," quips the sheriff who routinely orchestrates the release of his prisoners into the hands of the Klan.

The strength of the film is that it shows—so graphically that many who participated in the Southern civil rights movement wept even as they raged against the deliberate distortions—the raw reality of Klan terror. Unlike muddle-headed libertarians who today champion the KKK's supposed right to "free speech," *Mississippi Burning* shows the KKK is not interested in debating their "point of view" but exists for racist murder. In scene after scene the KKK "speaks" for white supremacy through beatings, firebombings, castrations, lynchings and shootings of blacks, Jews and "nigger-loving commies." Multiply the violence of Jessup a thousand times—for every village, town and city throughout the South and the segregationist enclaves in the North—and you know it's going to take a full-blown revolution to *finish the Civil War* and overturn the enslavement and oppression of black people that has existed for 400 years. Despite itself, the movie shows that freedom cannot be won through demonstrating an endless capacity to suffer, but only through a fight for *power*.

Wide World

Lunch counter sit-in against Jim Crow segregation. Civil rights militants in Northern cities picketed Woolworth's in solidarity.

Mississippi Lies

Into the Deep South swoop two G-men—Mr. Ward (Willem Dafoe) and Mr. Anderson (Gene Hackman). Ward is an idealistic young Northern Kennedy liberal who's pathetically ignorant of race relations in the South and gets a lot of black people hurt by sticking to the letter of the law instead of the law of the land. Anderson is a white Southerner and ex-sheriff who "gets down in the gutter" to play hardball with the Klan. Together this FBI odd couple cracks the case, mainly thanks to Anderson's understanding of the local psychology and willingness to dispense with the ineffective "bureau procedures" favored by Ward.

The brutal violence against blacks is so visceral that viewers are tempted to suspend disbelief—it's satisfying when the feds get the Klan. (As Julian Bond aptly put it, it's like "Rambo Meets the Klan.") As the level of frustration mounts, finally you see a man who will no longer submit to white tyranny and stands up for black dignity. In the dramatic high point of the film, a heroic black avenger kidnaps the mayor and threatens to cut off his balls, thus persuading him to spill the beans on who killed the civil rights workers. But it turns out the avenger is an FBI man too! (In fact the only blacks on the FBI payroll at the time were J. Edgar Hoover's five personal slaves—three chauffeurs, a doorman and a "houseboy.")

Anderson seduces the wife of the deputy sheriff who tells him where the boys are buried. She is then beaten within an inch of her life by her husband and his Klan buddies, but says she ain't leaving town because there's a lot of good people who are proud of her for what she did. The killers are sent to jail and black and white unite in Mississippi, singing hymns together amid the charred embers of a black church burned to the ground by the Klan. So much for the fantasized story line of *Mississippi Burning*. The reality is precisely the reverse.

Even the martyrs are nameless in this film and their story untold. On 21 June 1964, the very first day of "Freedom Summer," Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney were picked up by Neshoba County sheriff's deputy Cecil Price on a phony speeding violation. They were on their way home from investigating the burning of a black church, the first of many that were burned to the ground that summer. They were held for several hours and released after nightfall. Ten miles outside of town, their car was again stopped by the deputy sheriff, this time accompanied by a large party of Klansmen.

Mickey Schwerner, a 24-year-old experienced activist, was on a KKK hit list, known to them as "Goatee," "the Jew boy with the beard." Schwerner had been in Mississippi for six months, registering blacks for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was planning to challenge the state's Jim Crow Dixiecrat delegation at the upcoming Democratic Party national convention. Twenty-year-old Andy Goodman was shot and buried alive on his first day in Mississippi; he was unearthed from the dam with a hardened lump of Mississippi clay clutched in his fist. James Chaney, a 21-year-old black Mississippi civil rights organizer, was beaten so had his bones were pulverized, then shot three times.

The bodies were found when the FBI lined the pockets of a Klansman with $30,000 for the information and kept him safe from prosecution. A conspiracy of silence reigned in Philadelphia, Mississippi and the reaction of most whites when the bodies were found in an earthen dam was "Who told?" Buford Posey, one white man who spoke out, was run out of town with a Klan death contract on his head. Posey pointed to the sheriff's department from the start, and as he was leaving he threw a brick through the window of the *Neshoba Democrat*, his old nemesis. The paper's editor had hounded Posey since 1946 when he demanded that blacks, who fought this country's wars, be given the right to vote. (Posey, the first white NAACPer in Mississippi, was stripped of his own voting rights for challenging the paper's editor to a duel.)

The murderers were charged with federal "civil rights violations." In the state of Mississippi, the corpses of Schwerner and Chaney couldn't even be buried in the same cemetery. Twenty white men were indicted, including the sheriff and his deputy. Eight were convicted and sentenced to up to ten years—none served more than five. Mississippi never charged the racist killers with any crime.

There was more than a little bitterness for Southern blacks in the fact that the FBI's massive manhunt for two Northern white college students also turned up the corpses of more black men murdered by the Klan/police forces—but these murders were never investigated. Charlie Eddie Moore, a black college student from Alcorn A&M, and his friend Henre Dee, both 19 years old and known to have participated in protest demonstrations, turned up float-

Reed/Black Star

Ku Klux sheriffs who murdered Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner: Deputy Cecil Price (left) and Lawrence Rainey at arraignment. Rainey walked away free; none of the killers served more than five years.

ing in a bayou after being beaten to death. The body of a 14-year-old black male wearing a CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) T-shirt turned up in the Big Black River but was never even identified. Since Reconstruction, no white man has ever been convicted of murdering a black man in Mississippi.

G-Men Ran the Klan

While *Mississippi Burning* depicts an FBI locked in mortal combat with the local sheriff's office, *in reality the FBI rode with the Klan*. The Klan could hardly take a match to a freedom school or knot a noose without federal agents knowing. As Patsy Sims relates in *The Klan* (1978), "in the midsixties FBI informants held top-level leadership roles in seven of the then fourteen Klan groups and headed one state organization. At one time in 1965, nearly two thousand of the FBI-estimated ten thousand Klan members were its own informers." Unlike the agents the government placed in black and left organizations to disrupt and spy on them, the FBI "informers" in the Klan served as loyal dual agents of both organizations. They doubled as the "kleagles" and "kluds" who *perpetrated* racist terror.

The FBI's most infamous informant in the Klan was Gary Rowe, a leader of a KKK "action squad." Rowe was involved in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963 which took the lives of four little black girls. Rowe organized the May 1961 attack by 1,000 Klansmen which left freedom riders lying in pools of their own blood in Southern bus terminals. In 1965 Rowe was in the car from which civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo was shot to death on a highway outside Selma, Alabama. Subsequently the Liuzzo family brought a $2 million suit against the FBI in 1983, charging that

AP

FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO program targeted black leaders: "prevent the rise of a 'black messiah'."

Airtel to SAC, Albany
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BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its tritness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Such a messiah might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. [illegible] all aspire to this position. [illegible] is less of a threat because of his age. [illegible] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. [illegible] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community, [illegible] discrediting black nationalists [illegible]

policy, directed by the likes of liberal darlings like Bobby Kennedy. As an arm of the capitalist state, the FBI's mission was to disrupt, derail, and "neutralize" black and red organizations because the struggle for black equality represents the social tinder that can blow this country apart! In 1963, then-attorney general Robert Kennedy authorized FBI wiretaps on Martin Luther King, part of a years-long FBI campaign against him which included spreading gossip and innuendo about his personal life in an attempt to drive King to suicide. RFK's Justice Department "observers" were notorious for coolly standing aside and jotting down notes while racist thugs cracked open the skulls of civil rights marchers. Sometimes FBI men openly

Doug Harris

SNCC-organized Lowndes County (Alabama) Black Panther Party stood for independence from the Democrats and for self-defense against racist terror.

Rowe was in fact the triggerman in that murder.

Different federal agencies competed to get their piece of action in the Klan. This was crystal clear in the 1979 massacre of five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina. An "ex"-FBI agent working for the Greensboro police was present in the Klan/Nazi motorcade. And an "informer" from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in the local Klan/Nazi organization not only knew in advance of the murderous attack, but participated in planning meetings and even advised the killers how to transport weapons to the site! A state police cruiser brought up the rear of the KKK cavalcade as it left the highway, and local police were informed when to get there—late enough to allow the fascist death squad a leisurely departure and in plenty of time to arrest the surviving wounded victims, like Nelson Johnson.

FBI complicity with the KKK is not and was not a matter of aberrant rogues directed by reactionary throwbacks like J. Edgar Hoover. It was *government* joined in the beatings or took information from trusting civil rights workers seeking protection and promptly forwarded it to the Klan for action.

The illusions in the federal government propagated by this movie are all the more dangerous because at the time all wings of the civil rights movement appealed to the feds, often with disastrous results. Federal intervention on behalf of blacks was demanded during the 1957 school desegregation struggle at Little Rock Central High, but Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock only *after* outraged groups of black youth battled and dispersed white racist mobs and fought with cops. Even the most militant section of the civil rights movement, embodied in SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), looked to Washington to defend blacks. Yet when Kennedy deployed federal troops in 1963 in response to the movement in Birmingham it was not to protect blacks but to restore "order" after blacks took up sticks, rocks, knives and bottles to defend themselves in the streets against the racists. When troops were sent to "protect" the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march, they were precipitously withdrawn as the protesters reached Montgomery, leaving the marchers to make the return journey to Selma utterly defenseless in the face of brutal beatings.

The Deep South was not simply a scene of racist terrorization and black fear, but also of heroic black resistance to Jim Crow terror. *Mississippi Burning* portrays blacks as utterly helpless—the one man who does reach for his shotgun in self-defense gets clobbered and then lynched without firing a shot. However there were areas in Mississippi where the *absence* of racist violence corresponded directly to the practice of black armed self-defense, not only of their own homes and property but organized in defense of freedom schools and community centers. Most black sharecroppers probably had guns—the question was not weapons so much as *organization*. The example for militant blacks across the region was set as early as 1959 in Monroe, North Carolina by Robert F. Williams, whose courage in organizing self-defense against the Klan earned him the enmity of the liberal NAACP which disowned him as the FBI hounded him out of the country. In 1965 the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice organized patrols that protected blacks and civil rights workers. The recognition that the government was the enemy was the beginning of wisdom.

At about the same time, in Gulfport, Mississippi, the black longshoremen's union intervened in an escalating confrontation between civil rights activists and local racists, threatening to shut down the port if the young activists were injured or arrested. From the Virginia Tidewater area to Savannah and New Orleans, black workers organized in ports throughout the South possessed the tremendous social power of their own labor and could shut down the economy. As a Spartacist comrade who was active in the Gulfport struggle told *Young Spartacus*, "It worked! Not only were we not arrested or beat up, but the restaurant began to serve blacks. It was an impressive demonstration of how the power of labor could be brought to bear."

Scratch a Democrat and Find a Dixiecrat

The civil rights movement aimed to abolish Jim Crow segregation and inequality in the states of the Old Confederacy through mass protests that would force the federal government to intervene and establish equal rights before the law—"Northernizing the South." The Southern system of American apartheid complicated the government's efforts to portray the U.S. as leader of the anti-Soviet "free world." But John F. Kennedy and his "Camelot" courtesans were worried that more than cosmetic changes might be demanded. They feared the movement could escape the control of liberal preachers and bust up their alliance with the Dixiecrats. By the summer of '64 the bitter experiences of many activists led to a radicalization. SNCC activists grew weary of Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism in the face of vicious assaults.

Liberal anti-communists like CIA-connected Allard Lowenstein were employed to try and keep the movement within mainstream Democratic Party protest politics and isolate and redbait the militants. Lowenstein brain-trusted the summer voter registration project which was calculated to restore faith in the system by throwing a national spotlight on racist degradation in Mississippi, bringing hundreds of white student volunteers in to build freedom schools, conduct literacy drives, and register thousands of Mississippi blacks to vote. The students who joined the integrated Southern civil rights movement were privileged, skilled, idealistic, naive, and above all courageous. Experienced black civil rights fighters stressed to the young activists in training sessions that they would be facing risks such as they had never faced—harassment and intimidation, beatings, and perhaps death—risks that Southern blacks faced every day.

The murders of Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner threw a spotlight on Mississippi, all right. But the nation's attention was also riveted on the kick in the teeth the civil rights movement got later that summer, up North in Atlantic City at the Democratic Party National Convention. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had registered over 80,000 black voters and went to the convention, convinced that they represented the true interests of the national Democratic Party, to challenge the Dixiecrats who had disenfranchised blacks. Instead they learned that you can't fight the Dixiecrats from within *their* own political party.

The entire white delegation was seated and in a deal brokered by liberal Lowenstein the MFDP was offered only two at-large seats. To its credit, the

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Spartacist Pamphlet

Contents:

- **Ten Years After Assassination: Bourgeoisie Celebrates King's Liberal Pacifism**
- **Malcolm X: Courageous Fighter for Black Liberation**
- **SNCC: "Black Power" and the Democrats**

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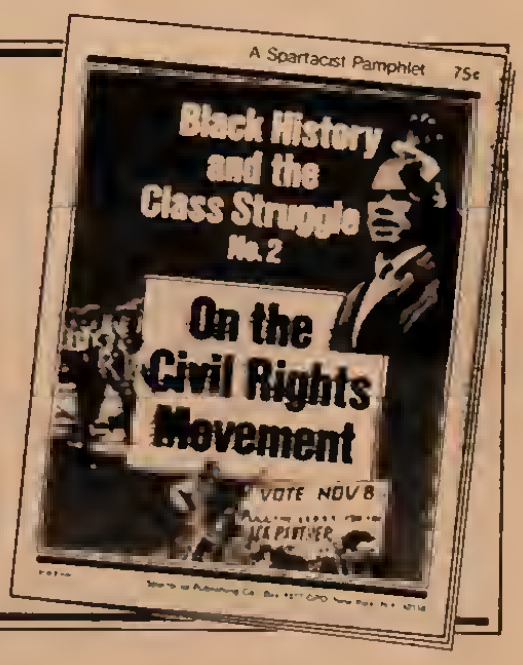

Mississippi Burning...

(continued from page 13)

SNCC leadership didn't go for the rotten deal but took to the street in protest in front of the convention with placards bearing the likenesses of the three recent martyrs. The convention was a watershed for SNCC, leaving no doubts in the minds of militants that the federal government stood by its Dixiecrats. The spectacular failure of the whole liberal strategy of the civil rights movement propelled militants in the direction of independent political action.

Finish the Civil War!

In a powerful eulogy delivered after the funeral of James Chaney, Dave Dennis, a senior black civil rights worker, said:

> "As I stand here I not only blame the people who pulled the trigger or did the beating or dug the hole with the shovel. I blame the people in Washington, D.C., and on down in the state of Mississippi for what happened.... I've got vengeance in my heart tonight, and I ask you to feel angry with me.... The white men who murdered James Chaney are never going to be punished. I ask you to be sick and tired of that.... We've got to stand up. The best way we can remember James Chaney is to demand our rights. Don't just look at me and go back and tell folks you've been to a nice service. Your work is just beginning."

What happened to that anger? What happened to those militants who broke with the liberalism of the civil rights movement? Rejecting the liberal strategy of Democratic Party pressure politics, SNCC activists electrified the movement with the "Black Power!" slogan in 1966. In part the slogan was an escape into the rhetoric of power in response to their own felt powerlessness to achieve full equality. But Black Power also meant organizing independently of the Democrats and championing the need for self-defense. The Lowndes County Black Panther Party, although only one local response, was a case in point.

However, isolated from the social power of the integrated working class, the "Black Power" advocates were unable to make any fundamental changes in the lives of the black masses and increasingly moved toward a reactionary utopian program of nationalist *separatism*, identifying all integrated organizations with the sellout liberals and union bureaucrats who had stabbed them in the back. The nationalists also isolated themselves from the majority of black people, who remain overwhelmingly determined to struggle against all segregationist barriers for full equality. And as the liberal civil rights movement smashed up against the economic foundations of black oppression when it went North, even the Black Panther Party's militant rhetoric, combined with social work programs, could not address the systematic and special oppression of blacks as a race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of American capitalism.

"Black Power" never found the bridge to *workers power*. In contrast to the MFDP, the newly founded Spartacist organization called for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party, to break labor from its bondage to the Democrats and link the black struggle to the organized workers movement. We called as well for a massive organizing drive to unionize black labor in the open-shop South. This call was part of our fight for the program of *revolutionary integrationism*, for black emancipation in an egalitarian socialist society. It was the criminal abstention and tailism from afar of groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) that obstructed the formation of black communist cadre. This was one of the central issues in the fight of the Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor of the Spartacist League) against the degeneration of the SWP in the early '60s.

In an amendment to a 1963 SWP conference resolution, the Revolutionary Tendency argued:

> "As regards the South today, we are witnessing from afar a great mass struggle for equality. Our separation from this arena is intolerable. The party should be prepared to expend significant material resources in overcoming our isolation from Southern struggles. In helping to build a revolutionary movement in the South, our forces should work directly with and through the developing left-wing formations in the movement there."

The SWP opposed this perspective, supporting nationalism as an excuse for their own cowardly abstention.

While the SWP called to "bring our boys home from Vietnam" and send the "troops to Mississippi," we fought hard against any illusions in the federal government. *Spartacist* No. 4 (May-June 1965) wrote, "Once the Negro people begin to assert their *real* power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression." Our understanding was based on the programmatic documents written by comrade Dick Fraser (see article on page four) who opposed the call for federal troops even before the events in Little Rock.

Various reformists also have noted that *Mississippi Burning* falsifies the role of the FBI. They know this well, because the axis of their political program at the time was pressuring the Democrats to get the feds to come in—thus fostering the same illusions as the film. Thus the *People's Daily World* (8 December 1988) writes that "the feds finally, begrudgingly, agreed to investigate," only under "popular pressure." The central question then *and now* is to break labor and minorities from the Democratic Party, which is no "lesser evil" but the main institution that shackles the oppressed to their oppressors.

Today Jim Crow is "officially" dead, but blacks are three times as likely as whites to be poor. Over half of black families are headed by single mothers, and the poverty rate for black kids under age 18 is a shocking 67.1 percent. In 1986 only 40 percent of all black men had full-time jobs. This contradiction between formal legal equality and the pervasive social inequality inherent in racist American capitalism is resolved through *systematic police terror against black people*. Last year, the murder of Loyal Garner, Jr. in East Texas stoked memories of 1960s-style racist Southern terror. Picked up on a traffic violation, he was thrown in a jail cell and beaten to death. He thought he had rights—he asked to make a phone call.

The civil rights movement tried to fulfill the unfinished business of the Civil War—the promise of black freedom. To fulfill that promise requires a socialist revolution against the exploitation of all the working people. A key section of the working class and often its most combative sector, black workers can take the lead in this fight and open the road to real freedom for all mankind. *Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

Black History Month Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

NEW YORK

Alternate Saturdays, 3:00 p.m.
Feb. 4, 11, 25
41 Warren Street
(1 block south of Chambers St. between Church and West Broadway)

Alternate Mondays, 8:00 p.m.
Feb. 6, 20
Hamilton Hall, Room 411
Columbia University
For more information: (212) 267-1025

MADISON

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
Feb. 4, 18
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for room)
University of Wisconsin
For more information: (608) 255-8068

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

CHICAGO

Wednesday, Feb. 1, 6:30 p.m.
Circle Center, Room 713
University of Illinois-Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement: The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wednesday, Feb. 8, 7:30 p.m.
Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room
Howard University
Speaker:
Brian Manning, Spartacist League
For more information: (202) 636-3537

CLEVELAND

Saturday, Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m.
University Center, Room 110
Cleveland State University
Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308

Sunday, Feb. 12, 2:00 p.m.
Room to be announced
Hiram College
Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (216) 781-7500

BERKELEY

Friday, Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m.
60 Evans
UC Berkeley
Speaker:
Peter Atkins, SL Central Committee and an organizer of the recent Philadelphia and Atlanta anti-Klan mobilizations
For more information: (415) 839-0851

CHICAGO

Saturday, Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Regency Room
636 South Michigan Ave.
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (312) 663-0715

BOSTON

Friday, Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Harvard University
Speaker:
Brian Manning, Spartacist League
For more information: (617) 492-3928

MADISON

Saturday, Feb. 25, 2:00 p.m.
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for room)
University of Wisconsin
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information: (608) 255-8068

SAN FRANCISCO

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin (at Geary)
Speaker: Peter Atkins
SL Central Committee and an organizer of the recent Philadelphia and Atlanta anti-Klan mobilizations
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Spartacist Video Showings

Black History and the Class Struggle

CHICAGO

Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.
Video/Discussion Series
February 8, 15, 22
Circle Center
University of Illinois-Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

"The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"

MADISON

Wednesday, February 8
7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for room)
University of Wisconsin
For more information: (608) 255-8068

SAN FRANCISCO

Wednesday, February 22
4:30 p.m.
Room B-114, Student Union
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Mexico...

(continued from page 3)

interior secretary, Mexico City police chief and police intelligence chief are all former heads of the Federal Security Directorate, infamous for the torture and murder of leftists and connections with drug traffickers. Most notorious is Miguel Nazar Haro, former leader of the Brigada Blanca, a government death squad which killed hundreds of leftists in the '70s. He also faces a 1982 indictment for involvement in an $8.4 million auto theft ring that smuggled stolen luxury cars into Mexico for sale. Investigation of the case was held up by the U.S. Justice Department as it turned out Nazar Haro was also a top CIA informant. Now he is "director general of intelligence services" in the capital.

To replace the old alliance of PRI machine politicians and corrupt union bureaucrats, Salinas has put together a regime of cutback technocrats and killer cops. Since Day One of his administration there has been a notable increase in repression. Peasant union and Indian community leaders have been gunned

David Hernández

Jailed chief of Mexican oil workers union, Joaquin Hernández Galicia (La Quina), right.

down and leftist politicians kidnapped. One of the most recent "disappeared" was José Ramón Garcia, a leading member of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party, Mexican section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat) and local official of the Cárdenas front in the town of Cuautla, Morelos. In late December, a paramilitary police team from Mexico City called the Zorros (foxes) brutally put down a prison riot in the provincial town of Tepic, killing 23 prisoners, many of them after they had surrendered.

Death Agony of Corporatism

In an editorial titled "End of an Alliance," the liberal daily *La Jornada* (11 January) wrote of the La Quina affair:

> "There's no doubt that traditional corporatism, i.e., the integration of the unions into the state through the subjection of the workers to the corrupt leadership machines, has entered a crisis phase which is probably definitive. The famous alliance, which was formalized around 1942, has lost efficacy due to the increasing pressure for renovation of the unions which is coming from the ranks."

The answer, say the editorialists, is not a "modernization of corporatism" (Salinas' program) but "its replacement by democracy and union autonomy." But this program for classless "democracy" undermines any resistance by the Mexican working masses against the depredations of the dying semi-corporatist regime. Under this watchword, the reformist left has formed blocs with the PAN (National Action Party), the major right-wing party, which hailed the arrest of La Quina as the opening wedge for a drive against the unions.

Many of the rad-lib intellectuals ask how one can possibly defend this labor kingpin, the embodiment of the corrupt *charro* (cowboy) bureaucrats who have lorded it over the unions for decades, and still claim to be a "democrat." With this same classless methodology, many pseudo-socialists have compared Salinas with Mikhail Gorbachev, talking about *perestroika a la mexicana*. Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, former leader of the Mexican Communist Party which has now become part of the Mexican Socialist Party, was recently quoted:

> "Here too there is a structure in which unions are not free, in which the party is not really a party because it is part of the state, and the state is not really a state because it wants to engulf all of society."
> —*New York Times*, 5 January

Yet despite the huge state sector of the Mexican economy and the PRI's authoritarian rule, there is a fundamental class difference between the Soviet Union, where capitalism was smashed by proletarian revolution in October 1917, and Mexico, where the frustrated peasant revolution of 1910-17 led to the establishment of a new bourgeois state.

The Trotskyists, who understand the class character of the USSR as a workers state despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule, and thus defend it against imperialism, likewise

International

Mass demonstrations greeted nationalization of oil companies by government of General Lázaro Cárdenas in March 1938.

defend the unions against the bosses despite the sellout bureaucracy which sits atop these repositories of workers power. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, "In the last analysis a workers' state is a trade union which has conquered power" (*In Defense of Marxism* [1939]). Those who don't defend the Soviet Union also can't defend the oil workers union in Mexico. Just as when the Kennedy brothers went after Teamsters leader Jimmy Hoffa in the U.S., "cleaning up the unions" is a pretext for union-busting.

The fight to smash the corporatist labor bureaucracy which shackles Mexico's unions to the capitalist state requires a revolutionary political struggle within the working class to break with all wings of the bourgeoisie, not only the PRI but also the Cardenista popular front. Trotsky stressed in his last, unfinished article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940), that "the most important basis for the Bonapartist and semi-Bonapartist character of governments in the colonies and in backward countries generally" was government support and control of a layer of the labor bureaucracy. "In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semistate institutions," he wrote, but noted:

> "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."

The key is the construction of a Mexican Trotskyist vanguard party, part of a reborn Fourth International, to lead the battles of all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the Americas and throughout the world. Hands off the oil workers union! Forward to a workers and peasants government! ■

Iran Protests...

(continued from page 2)

with Khomeini! Workers to power!"

On January 20 a spirited demonstration of 15 people called by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia protested the Iran executions outside the Iranian Consulate in Milan. Speakers condemned the complicity of the Italian government which had just hosted Iranian prime minister Musavi, the highest-ranking Iranian official to visit a Western country since the mullahs' 1979 seizure of power. While the Italian left boycotted the demonstration, 30 Iranian men showed up with pictures of Khomeini (likely provocateurs from the consulate) to disrupt the protest. However, they were easily drowned out by chants of "Down with the veil! Down with Islamic reaction!" and "Iran, Iraq: Down with the mullahs! Down with the colonels! Workers to power!"

In New York City on January 19 some 85 demonstrators rallied outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations chanting "Stop executions in Iran! Freedom for leftist prisoners!" Called by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the protest was joined by supporters of several Iranian leftist groups including the Communist Party of Iran (Komala), the Left Platform group, Tudeh Party of Iran, Democratic Organization of Iranian Women, and the Association of Iranian Left in New York. A statement was read from the Iranian Student Association in the U.S., supporters of the Fedayeen (Minority). Supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party joined the picket line and a speaker from the Freedom Socialist Party addressed the protesters.

Condemning the Reagan/Bush regime's murderous intervention in the Middle East, the demonstrators chanted "U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! Hands off Libya!" And as the withdrawal of Soviet troops threatens to open the door to the imminent extension of the Islamic bloodbath to Afghan leftists and women, Spartacist supporters called out: "Smash CIA's Afghan mullahs! Soviet pullout means bloodbath!"

"Bush, who is being coronated tomorrow, was among the first to applaud the downing of the Iranian Airbus, with over 250 dead," said PDC spokesman Paul Cooperstein at the rally. "Last week Bush promised that human rights would be a focus of his foreign policy—just like Jimmy Carter's 'human rights' in which he armed the shah, trained the SAVAK. Just a few days before Bush's pronouncement, a government spokesman said that the executions in Iran would not hinder a move toward better relations between the two countries."

In concluding the New York rally, Spartacist League speaker Alison Spencer summed up: "What is needed is the construction of an authentically Leninist, Trotskyist vanguard party, armed with the program of permanent revolution, and forged in opposition to their 'own' rulers. It will take a workers revolution to open the prison doors, to free the victims of Islamic reaction, liberate oppressed nationalities and stop the vicious cycle of bloodletting once and for all. Stop the Executions in Iran! Workers to Power!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bob Adelman

Civil rights activists raised placards of their martyrs (from left to right) Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, in protest against deal seating Dixiecrat delegation at Democratic convention, August 1964.

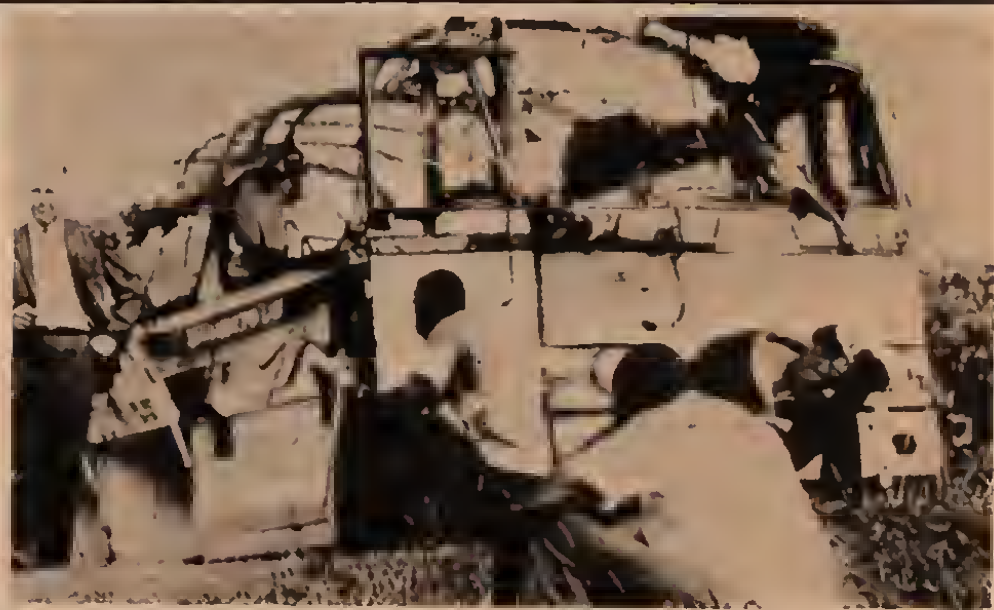
How Mississippi Burning Rewrites History

FBI Rode With the Klan

It's Hollywood's first attempt at a blockbuster on the civil rights movement. It's slick enough to make you cry, true enough in depicting the raw racism and terror of the Ku Klux Klan to rip your guts out, and so full of lies that *Mississippi Burning* leaves viewers who know anything about the civil rights movement infuriated. Set in the "Freedom Summer" of 1964, the movie is an action-packed melodrama based on the true case of three civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, murdered by the sheriff's department/Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Director Alan Parker has made a gripping Hollywood film of a lie that's been honed over 25 years—that the U.S. government and its FBI men supposedly stood on the side of the black freedom struggle against violent Southern race-haters.

Young Spartacus Film Review
by A. Stevens

UPI



CORE

FBI "Informant" Gary Rowe organized bloody rampage by 1,000 Klansmen in 1961, beating Freedom Riders and burning the buses.

A fictionalized account of the FBI's 44-day manhunt for the missing bodies, *Mississippi Burning* turns the entire civil rights movement into missing persons. Black people are transformed into a quivering mass backdrop for the heroics of two white FBI agents. Alan Parker admits, "Our heroes are still white. And in truth, the film would probably never have been made if they weren't." Indeed, the paucity of films on the civil rights movement is in itself a damning comment on the racism of American culture. Parker fills the breach with a promotion of the status quo. Black people are disappeared because to show the truth, that it was the masses of blacks, along with anti-racist whites, united *in struggle*, who smashed Jim Crow segregation, would explode the whole lying premise of the film: that federal good guys supposedly busted the balls of reactionary crackers while the oppressed never got off their knees.

If *Mississippi Burning* depicts a certain amount of FBI ineptitude and bungling (there's even a reference to J. Edgar Hoover's obsessive anti-Communism), it's only in order to more effectively obscure the essential truth that the government was and is the deadly enemy of the fight for black liberation. As Ben Chaney, the younger brother of James Chaney, told *Time*, "It is a dangerous movie because it could lead to complacency. Things haven't changed that much."

Things have changed so little that Philadelphia, Miss. has become a *de rigueur* political pit stop for aspiring presidential candidates to shore up the white racist vote. In 1984, Reagan made a speech there about the inviolability of "States' Rights." Last year, visiting the Neshoba County Fair 24 years to the day since the murders, "liberal" Democrat Dukakis deliberately did not mention the bloody crime that put Philadelphia on the map. White church groups have threatened an economic boycott if the film is shown in the local theater. John Proctor (the real-life Southern FBI agent that Gene Hackman's role is fantasized from) is chummy with the local Klansmen he convicted, and noted of *Mississippi Burning*, "It's going to be about as popular around here as a turd in a punch bowl" (*People*, 9 January).

This controversial film searingly portrays race relations and the meanness of life in the rural South. If it weren't for the '60s model car the G-men were driving, you couldn't tell whether the desperate poverty of black sharecroppers was a scene from 1870, 1964 or 1989. In fact, the rows of shacks on dirt roads on the black side of town were no movie set but the homes of black families today who were cast in the film. As hundreds of FBI agents and Navy reserves search the swamps and bayous, a white farmer in the film says, "Around here, Negroes have been treated awful bad for a long time." Sitting in the same slop with his pigs, he goes on, "They say we've got to eat together and use the same bathroom as the niggers, and that's awful hard for some Mississippi folks to do." A white lady in the beauty parlor is

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 471 17 February 1989

War to the Death Against CIA's Mullah Cutthroats!

Battle for Afghanistan

FEBRUARY 14—The Red Army withdrawal from Afghanistan is a cold-blooded betrayal of the Afghan *and Soviet* peoples. The CIA's Islamic warriors, armed for over a decade with billions of dollars of ultramodern military equipment, are poised to carry out the wholesale slaughter of Afghan women, teachers and other intellectuals, leftist activists and peasants. And George Bush has now announced the U.S. will continue to supply the *mujahedin* with arms as long as the left-nationalist Kabul regime is in power.

If this army of mullahs and tribalist cutthroats topples the Najibullah government, Afghanistan will become an imperialist dagger pointed at Soviet Central Asia. In his drive to appease Washington by abandoning Afghanistan, Moscow leader Mikhail Gorbachev is giving U.S. imperialism and its allies a launching pad for counterrevolution in the homeland of the socialist October Revolution. With their backs to the wall, the forces of social progress are facing a war to the death. Smash Washington's "holy warriors"!

The *mujahedin* call it *badal*, the code of revenge of the dominant Pushtun tribes. It means not just death but often torture, dismemberment and mutilation. Over the past several months, as Soviet troops abandoned one outpost after another, the CIA's "freedom fighters" meted out a taste of their barbarism. In November about 70 Afghan soldiers surrendered to the *mujahedin* at Torkham, on the Afghan side of the Khyber Pass. When government forces retook the outpost several days later, they found their comrades' bodies—mutilated and chopped into pieces—in wooden crates.

Reuters/Bettmann

Kabul, February 5: Members of Afghan women's militia face life-and-death struggle.

The U.S. and its NATO allies are doing everything they can to *set up* a bloodbath. Richard Murphy, a top State Department official under Reagan, predicts the fall of Kabul within a few months, and goes on, "there are very deep passions" that "will be turned against those who have been central to the regime." Last month the State Department sent a formal note to its embassies around the world instructing them to *deny visas to anyone* associated with the Afghan regime. Anticipating the *mujahedin* terrorists' laying waste to Kabul, and in order to sow panic, Washington and its European allies have closed their embassies.

Mingam/Gamma

Mujahedin hack up the body of man sentenced to death by mullahs.

The *Wall Street Journal* (12 January) gloats that "what the Afghans don't know about revenge isn't worth knowing." The victims of the *mujahedin's* bloodlust will by no means be limited to supporters of the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Even peasants whose only "crime" was not emigrating to Pakistan after 1979 are infidels in the eyes of these Islamic "holy warriors." The fall of Kabul and other Afghan cities would be followed by a massacre of the *entire* educated population, especially tens of thousands of women who escaped from *purdah* (seclusion) and cast off the *chadori* (the head-to-foot veil).

Even Western bourgeois journalists, particularly if they're women, are anxious about the hideous fate now threatening liberated Afghan women. Mary Williams Walsh reports in the *Wall Street Journal* (19 January):

> "The plight of Kabul's women is a poignant reminder that the West's vicarious victory over communist expansion here isn't without its ambiguities. In a backward country where the female peasantry still toils like medieval serfs, Kabuli women have managed to hold on to many 20th-century freedoms.... Instead of staying at home behind purdah walls, they emerge each day and work in offices, hospitals and schools."

Walsh contrasts this to the horrible condition of Afghan women in the refugee camps in Pakistan, reporting that "foreign doctors working among the refugee women tell gruesome tales of husbands leaving them to die, rather than permitting diagnosis by a male obstetrician"!

But the battle for Kabul does not look like it is going to be a walkover. The Afghan army is well supplied with Soviet MIG fighter-bombers and medium-range missiles. The government has distributed arms to the population, including young women, creating a 30,000-strong civilian militia. The PDPA regime, in the past given to murderous factional and cliquist infighting, appears committed to a united stand. "We must all fight now," declared Najibullah. Throughout the world every class-conscious worker, socialist and believer in human decency and the rights of man must materially aid the Afghan government against the CIA's Islamic cutthroats.

At stake in the battle for Afghanistan is far more than the fate of this hideously backward land. The armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 provided America's pretext for Cold War II. We proclaimed at the time "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" while most self-styled leftists around the world joined the imperialist campaign for Soviet troops out. Well, now the Soviet troops have been pulled out to appease U.S. imperialism. If the *mujahedin* succeed in butchering every leftist, teacher and unveiled woman in Afghanistan, their blood will be on the hands not only of the Bushes, Thatchers and Kohls, but also on their "left" camp followers.

Origins and Nature of the Afghan War

For decades Afghanistan's small number of modernizing intellectuals

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Gorbachev's Pullout Is a Betrayal

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

PDC: Class-Struggle Defense in Action

The past year has seen a rapid expansion of the PDC's activities. In Philadelphia and Atlanta the PDC initiated successful labor-centered mobilizations against fascist terror, giving thousands of trade unionists, blacks, student and civil rights activists firsthand experience of what class-struggle defense is all about. Together with the international Spartacist tendency we initiated an emergency worldwide campaign of protest against the mass murder of Iranian leftists and religious and national minorities. And we continue our work on behalf of the imprisoned victims of capitalist repression—the class-war prisoners of today.

* * *

Former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt continues to fight for his freedom. On December 8 the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco vacated its dismissal of Pratt's appeal last June on the technicality that it was filed a few days late. That three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees is only reconsidering the technical issue of whether to accept the late filing—still not daring to consider the substance of Pratt's appeal, which exposes the infamous FBI/COINTELPRO conspiracy that murdered dozens of his comrades and has kept him in jail for 19 years.

Interest in Pratt's case continues to grow. The current issue of *Covert-Action Information Bulletin* (Winter 1989) details the FBI's frame-up. The recently formed National Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners has petitioned the governor of California to parole Pratt to enable him to be their representative at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights meetings starting this month in Geneva, Switzerland. *International labor protest must be mobilized in defense of America's foremost class-war prisoner. Free Geronimo!*

WV Photo

Atlanta, January 21: 3,000 answer PDC call "Act Now! Stop the KKK!"

* * *

On January 10 Thomas Reed, head of the Alabama NAACP, and 13 black legislators were convicted on trespass charges for attempting to remove the Confederate flag from the Alabama state capitol last year. At the time Reed also was a member of the Alabama House of Representatives.

In letters to the governor and D.A., the Partisan Defense Committee protested the convictions and demanded that all charges be dismissed:

> "It is truly criminal that the Confederate flag of slavery still flies atop the Capitol—an outrageous provocation and insult to every black person, every decent person in Alabama. The Confederate flag is the banner of racist terror—the flag of the slaveowner's whip and KKK's years of lynching, burning and shooting. It remains the state flag of Alabama. On the centennial of the Confederacy's capture of Fort Sumter your state adopted this seditious banner of white supremacy as a protest against Supreme Court decisions against segregation. Its continued use confirms that today's 'new South' is just the same 'old South' of Bull Connor, George Wallace and Ross Barnett."

Drop the charges against Thomas Reed! Tear down the Confederate flag of slavery!

* * *

Joseph Ryan and Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Action candidates for San Francisco Board of Supervisors and Board of Education, face criminal prosecution for refusing to turn over the names of contributors to their fall 1988 election campaigns. In response, Socialist Action is challenging the disclosure demands in a lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. The PDC protested to the San Francisco District Attorney:

> "The candidates of Socialist Action have acted responsibly by refusing to comply with your police-state demand. Disclosure of the names of their supporters opens the door to harassment, victimizations and physical attack. The right of political association has no meaning whatsoever unless it includes the right to engage in political activity free of state interference. Stop the witchhunt of Ryan and Weinstein."

* * *

The fight against state repression goes on. The PDC is campaigning to save the life of MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. We just added MOVE member Alphonso "Mo" Africa to the class-war prisoners receiving stipends—22 prisoners on three continents.

International class-struggle defense costs money—lots of it. Though the 1988 Holiday Appeal for the class-war prisoners and their families successfully raised over $5,000, this was less than the $10,000 we aimed for. The PDC still owes over $20,000 for the November 5 Mobilization in Philadelphia. In addition to that, January's Atlanta demonstration cost us over $10,000.

The PDC looks forward to the continued support of *WV* readers in the coming year. We want your help to build a class-struggle defense organization the workers movement sees as its own—one that can mobilize masses of workers around the globe in defense of all victims of capitalist repression. This work is sustained by regular monthly contributions of our supporters. We need your help, *now!* Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send your donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

The Emancipation of Women of the Muslim East

The civil war in Afghanistan is the only war in modern history triggered over the question of women's rights. The liberation of women from the stifling grip of Islamic feudalist oppression is both a powerful force for and historic task of social revolution in the East. We reprint an excerpt from a 1926 account by veteran German Communist Clara Zetkin on the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution on Muslim women in Soviet Central Asia.

LENIN

In the Orient, the working women who passionately desire a transformation of social conditions that will lead to their liberation are beginning to stir and to act. The lowest of the low, who had been pushed into the deepest depths of social enslavement by traditions, laws and religious decrees, are rising. Diffident and wounded in body and soul, they are nevertheless rising steadily in order to achieve freedom and equality. Lenin correctly judged this event as having the greatest historical significance. He was always most sensitive to even the faintest stirrings of revolutionary energies and he evaluated them always within the framework of the general social transformation of this world. Even if the stirrings of the Oriental women masses appear only as faint lightning at this time, they are the harbinger of the approaching thunderstorm. They confirm the fact that the proletarian revolution will indeed turn out to be a world revolution in which even the last suppressed and enslaved individual will free himself by his own strength. The Muslim Women's Clubs in the Soviet Republics are not the tender breeding grounds for suffragette tendencies but the gathering places and schools for the revolutionary forces.

The Muslim Women's Club of Tiflis was founded by the Communist Party and is the special work of its women's division. It was founded in the knowledge that the establishment of the Soviet system had profoundly stirred the psyche of Muslim women. It symbolizes for them the transformation of their lives since Soviet laws know of no domination of men over women and of no prerogative of one sex over the other. Instead, this club proclaims the full equality of women in all social fields and proves that the Soviets are eager to realize this equality. These women demand passionately that they can realize their new legal status by participating in the transformation of society, building a new structure which will accommodate the talents of the working women.

—Clara Zetkin, *In the Liberated Caucasus* (1926)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 471 **17 February 1989**

Letter

A Correction

Berkeley, California
31 January 1989

Dear Comrade Editor:

Richard Fraser played an historic role as one of the early leaders in the struggle against the political degeneration that brought the SWP from revolutionary Trotskyism to its current brand of eccentric reformism. *Workers Vanguard* is doing a great service to the cause of socialism by reprinting the speeches and letters that were read at the January 8 memorial meeting held for comrade Fraser in Los Angeles.

At the meeting, Dave Cooper of Socialist Action spoke movingly of the many comrades, such as Dick Fraser and Jim Cannon, who have passed away after devoting years to the revolutionary movement. In this regard, Cooper also referred to his recently deceased former brother-in-law Max Geldman, a founding member of the SWP, and one of the eighteen Trotskyists who were imprisoned in 1944 for their heroic and principled opposition to the American imperialist war effort. In the transcript of Cooper's remarks, *WV* (No. 469, p. 9) confused Max Geldman with the renegade Max Shachtman, the SWP leader who defected from Trotskyism in 1940 under the pressure of petty bourgeois anti-Sovietism.

Revolutionary greetings,
Bob Z.

Young Spartacus

L.A. Student Walkouts Back Teachers' Demands

LOS ANGELES—In the last two weeks, a wave of student walkouts has swept L.A. high schools, largely in support of teachers' demands for higher salaries. School authorities watched in amazement, then called the LAPD and threatened arrests. Demonstrations have ranged from a few hundred to a few thousand students from some 50 high schools and junior highs in the L.A. Unified School District. Students listened on their Walkmen to hear which schools went out that day, and walked out before attendance was taken in homeroom. Not since mainly Hispanic students demonstrated against racist injustices in the L.A. schools in 1968 has there been such an outpouring of militant youth.

It doesn't take a high school diploma to understand that your teachers are overworked and underpaid. One student at Garfield High School, where 1,000 youth poured out of classrooms, captured the spirit: "It's Stand and Deliver, man." This high school is the home of Jaime Escalante, the self-sacrificing math teacher whose efforts to inspire barrio kids to overcome obstacles to academic achievement was popularized in the movie of the same name. The film itself is far from pro-union, as "superteachers" working themselves to death are presented as the solution to the problems of impoverished ghetto youth. Yet identification with their hard-working, underpaid teachers has rallied students to the union's cause.

The protests were sparked by the union's threat to withhold midyear grades, as part of a long-simmering salary dispute. On January 27, 4,300 students poured out of school, supporting the teachers' demands so they could get their official grades. The day before, 250 students converged on district headquarters. The *Herald Examiner* (27 January) reported, "Students—some in leather, some in tie-dye—chanted pro-teacher slogans like 'The boys got green/But they're too mean'." An attempt to split the students from the teachers has flopped—a parents meeting demanding the union "not hold the students hostage" attracted only 30 people.

Mike Sergieff/Herald Examiner

Belvedere Junior High School students hit the streets in solidarity with teachers, January 31.

The 22,000 members of UTLA (United Teachers Los Angeles) have been working without a contract for over a year. The teachers are demanding a 12 percent salary increase, as well as compensation for work they do for nothing, such as yard duty and parent/student conferences. The union has been carrying out a teacher boycott of all non-classroom duties, but its threat to withhold the midyear grades from the district was the spark that set off the student walkouts. Students were scared that their grades not being reported would hurt their chances of college admission, so the teachers issued "union report cards" which the state university system says it will accept. Now the district is threatening "no grades, no pay" if the teachers don't file grades by the time of the March monthly paycheck.

The next step ought to be a strike, the first in 19 years. The 1970 strike sparked walkouts of hundreds of radicalized students in support of the teachers. Under UTLA president Wayne Johnson, the union has gained a reputation for militancy, forcing a 43 percent increase in starting teachers' salaries over the last five years. But while Johnson denounced the district's threat as a "lockout," the union is saying publicly there will be no strike until it's "legal," i.e., after school gets out! Grotesquely, the UTLA has *opposed* the students' walkouts, telling students to "resist the understandable urge to demonstrate in support of their teachers" (*United Teacher*, 27 January).

L.A. has the second-largest school district in the nation, and one of the most overcrowded and underfunded. The school population is 56.8 percent Latino, 17 percent black, and 8.2 percent Asian, and has more students in bilingual programs than any other district in the U.S. Meanwhile, the LAPD has targeted minority youth in "anti-gang" roundups of *over 20,000* in a racist sweep worthy of apartheid South Africa.

In a background article on the student walkouts, the *Los Angeles Times* (6 February) wrote:

> "For three weeks, demonstrations have swept Los Angeles schools in a way that recalls the city's campus unrest of the '60s.... But this is not your father's sit-in."

The article was headlined "Career Concerns at Heart of 1980s Campus Protest." But the L.A. students, 82 percent of them minorities, are not a bunch of aspiring yuppies. Forty percent of the students don't make it to graduation day. They're fighting to get a decent education from a system that's been slashed to the bone and beyond. They're fighting for their future, so they won't be trapped serving fast food in East L.A. or South Central, or with no job at all.

The past year has seen a rise in political activism among junior high and high school students in the greater L.A. area. In mid-January, nearly 2,000 marched on the South African consulate, in a demonstration called by the Los Angeles Student Coalition, which has also organized aid to the homeless. These students, who were about nine when Reagan was elected, are coming out of the Reagan period, with its arrogant disregard for black life, deeply angry about racism at home and abroad.

Despite the tinsel-town message of *Stand and Deliver*, millions of black and Hispanic kids in this country can't "pull themselves up" out of the barrios and ghettos by good education and dedicated teachers alone. They're locked into the life of brutal oppression, unemployment and despair by the decaying racist capitalist *system*. It will take a socialist revolution to unlock the future for minority youth. Uniting students and teachers behind a solid teachers strike that shuts down the L.A. school system would deliver an awesome blow. ■

Young Republicans or Stormtroopers? Ed Meese or Heinrich Himmler?

UMass Amherst

FEBRUARY 10—Last night students attended the Spartacus Youth Club's Black History Month video showing at UMass Amherst on the November 5 Mobilization that stopped the race-terrorist KKK in Philadelphia. The meeting was the target of an organized attack by the ultrarightist *Minuteman*/Republican-Conservative Alliance crowd. Fired up at their own meeting billed as "Never Again—A Communist Student Government President," half a dozen of the "Minutemen" entered the socialist meeting. Intent on preventing any discussion of the labor-centered action that stopped their friends in the white sheets, they repeatedly disrupted the proceedings and were removed. In the hallway outside, several more right-wingers joined the provocation. Indicating the kind of "discussion" this type favors, one of them brandished a chair, screaming, "*I will kill you*."

The video showing drew an integrated group of students from Marxist and many other political persuasions, including members of the Radical Student Union, the student government and a reporter from the *Collegian*, who stood their ground against this premeditated attack. The "Minutemen" then resorted to calling on campus police to close down the meeting. They goaded campus security, telling them that the video featured a "convicted cop killer"—a reference to framed-up journalist and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther Party member who was sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. The cops did disperse the meeting, depriving the Spartacus Youth Club and interested students of their democratic rights. They went so far as to threaten Spartacist supporters with apartheid-style "banning orders." This is an outrage!

We always thought Young Republicans happily capitulated to greed and shady legal practices, and you can bet they were celebrating the victory of the Savings and Loans bailout of $50 billion—money stolen by the rich in this country from the working people. But is the role model of today's breed Ed Meese or Heinrich Himmler? The Republican-Conservative Alliance is a menace to all UMass students. They exist to incite and directly perpetrate violence against all who deviate from the conservative fold epitomized by their pinup, Ollie North.

Gay students on campus are up in arms over the *Minuteman*'s display of a revolting "word puzzle" filled with slurs against gays. The *Minuteman* crowd feeds off the racist frenzy of the mob violence directed at black students at Amherst. They have repeatedly attempted (and failed) to drive leftists off campus. In December 1987, they disrupted a speech by Communist Party (CP) leader Gus Hall, tried to make a "citizen's arrest," physically assaulted a CP member, and provoked cop intervention in the meeting. More recently they've pursued a blatantly anti-democratic campaign to unseat Jason Rabinowitz, a leader of the Young Communist League, from his elected position as co-president of the student body. In October 1987 they tried to bust up a Trotskyist Spartacus Youth Club forum. And now they've struck again.

While these detective punks are a long way from forcing their dreams of an American Reich down the throats of UMass students, their incitement to state repression of the left must be fought. Defenders of democratic rights, including the many Amherst students who rode to Philadelphia to lend a hand in stopping the Klan and Hitler-loving skinheads, can only redouble their efforts to defend black students, gays, reds and anyone else these sinister losers target. Stop the attacks on the Spartacus Youth Club! ■

Richard Fraser—Memorial to a Veteran American Trotskyist

We print below the final portion of the speeches and messages delivered to the memorial meeting for Dick Fraser held in Los Angeles on January 8. As we noted in the first segment (*WV* No. 469, 20 January), the friends and comrades of Dick's who came to the meeting spanned three generations of the communist movement. They invoked the traditions of the Western radicalism of the Wobblies, of the Russian Revolution, of the work of the American Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party of James P. Cannon to carry forward the hanner of Bolshevism in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the American Communist Party.

In his remarks, Spartacist League National Chairman Jim Robertson proposed holding a symposium dedicated to the life, work and central contributions of Richard S. Fraser to the Marxist movement, not only as a memorial to this veteran American Trotskyist but as an important part of our revolutionary history. For the latter-day SWP under Jack Barnes, all the remaining veterans of the old party had to be axed in order to wipe out any vestige of "Trotskyism," however warped and distorted. For us, preserving a continuity which goes back to Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party is a vital life line.

1913-1988

Message of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands and the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sections of the international Spartacist tendency

We share with you the loss of anti-racist fighter and historic American Trotskyist Richard Fraser. In January we also honor the "Three L's," Lenin, and Liebknecht and Luxemburg who were murdered 70 years ago this year. In so doing we pay tribute to all those, like Comrade Fraser, who died at their posts, fighting for a socialist future.

* * * * *

Dan
a friend and comrade of Dick's who knew him for many years

Before I make a few remarks about Dick, I feel deeply constrained to make some related comments. Several years ago, Dick became befriended, very deeply and very meaningfully, by the comrades of the Spartacist League and especially, although not exclusively, those in their Los Angeles group. Without this help that they gave him, Dick would not have been able to have maintained his life, more or less normal, within the constraints of his physical condition, living in his own apartment with his library, his correspondence, his telephone and his word processor. They took him to the hospital, they took him back from the hospital. They provided medical consultation. They helped him with his household arrangements.

Finally, four days before he died, when he made his last trip home from the hospital, they provided a 24-hour-a-day, three-shift guard at his house, helping him with his feeding apparatus, helping him with the difficult life that he was living then in his last hours and last days. They did this with no hope or any intent of any profit, or any political gain. They did it because it was the honorable thing to do. And they did it with considerable difficulty. I don't want to give away any trade secrets, but they're not a large group in this town. And these people have other lives to live, they have jobs, they have family, and they have other responsibilities. But with total loyalty and total devotion, they performed these duties. And I just felt I had to express this here.

Dick Fraser was a musician, a merchant seaman, an aircraft worker, a lumber worker, pattern maker, plastic mold maker, working-class. He never had a middle-class job in his whole life. He made his living as a worker and no other way. But more, Dick was a restless organizer, an inveterate propagandist, a "boss-hater" in the Wobbly tradition, and still more. He was a socialist and a worker-scholar in the finest tradition. You study, you learn, and you teach.

He studied the Reformation, gave a series of lectures in Los Angeles. He studied the colonial period of American history, and gave a series of lectures, perceptive, revealing. How the Indians taught the colonists to survive, gave them not only the technology but the communal social organization which was necessary to the continuance of their existence. He went to Seattle, organized a branch. Went to the south side of Los Angeles, organized a branch.

He studied about the rise and fall of the slave power in the United States and about the Reconstruction period. And he asked the question, how did the race relations in the United States today originate? What was their connection with the slave system and its aftermath? The Old Man [Trotsky] said, if you don't want to regard the issue of black liberation as a national question, then determine what it is. Dick struggled with that question. As before, he studied, then gave a series of lectures, in Los Angeles in 1953. The elaboration of this question became his life's work. He codified his thoughts in the resolution "Revolutionary Integration" in 1963 in Seattle. His work on this question has been republished and forms the programmatic basis of the Spartacist League and other sections of the Trotskyist movement today.

In later years, Dick turned back to the history of the slave power and the struggle against slavery, and has authored a book, in the form of abstracts. He also authored his autobiography, mainly a study of his long struggle with cancer and the aftereffects of the debilitating surgery which he underwent. "How I Came to Love My Carcinoma" is a tale of dark humor, pathos and tragedy.

Dick was a speaker and an educator, first and foremost. And to have been handicapped in his speech was the cruelest of blows. But to the last day of his life Dick remained optimistic, fretting over his illness but planning the continuation of his work on slavery. As little as four days before he died, he was discussing these issues.

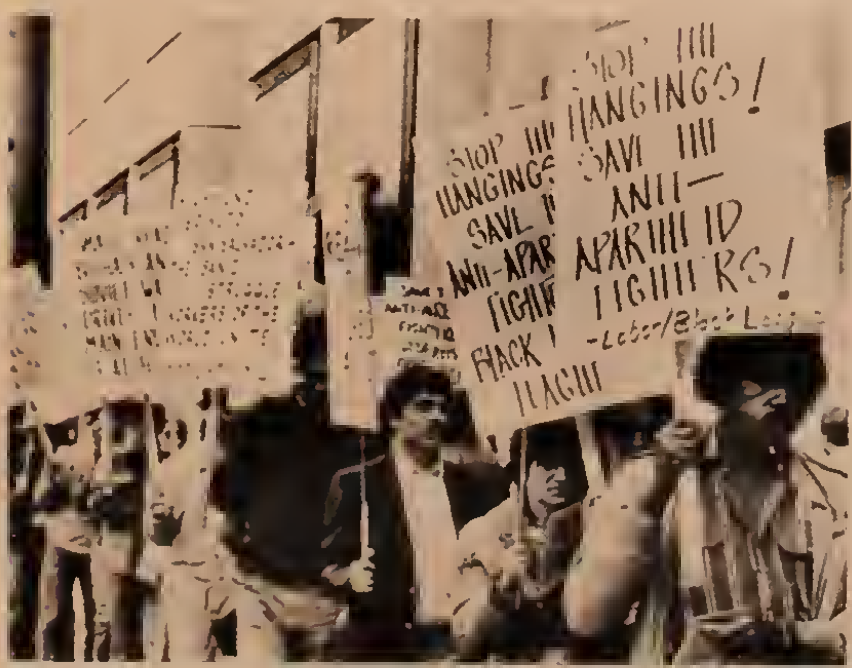
Well, there were other sides to Dick, personal sides, his undying love for his son Jonny, which he constantly expressed. The inventions, that by the patent laws of the United States were stolen by his employer, but were of considerable significance. His undying love of music and knowledge of it. You may not know it, he was even a little bit of a card player. We'll reserve those topics for informal discussion. We are left with the memory of a worker, a rebel, a restless organizer, speaker, worker-scholar. And we have to say good-bye to our old friend. The world's a poorer place without him.

* * * * *

Greetings to the memorial meeting from the Spartacist Group of Japan, dated 18 December 1988

We join you today in honoring the life of Richard S. Fraser, a "historic American Trotskyist" and a tenacious fighter for black liberation. Although few of us knew Comrade Fraser personally, we salute his years of struggle against the special oppression of blacks in North America and his unique contributions to a Marxist understanding of how to end it.

The black question is *the* question of the American revolution. Comrade Fraser's historic 1955 doc-



UPI

WV Photo

Dick Fraser's fight for revolutionary integrationism is carried forward in the work of the SL and Labor Black Leagues. Left: San Francisco, 1983. Right: Philadelphia, 5 November 1988.

WV Photo

Comrades at January 8 memorial meeting sing the Internationale in salute to Dick Fraser.

ument, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question," is a sharp refutation of black nationalism and all its variants in favor of revolutionary integrationism. This conception lives on today in our American comrades' work to build Labor Black Leagues in the major urban centers. Our most recent victory in stopping a fascist provocation in Philadelphia on 5 November 1988 was a powerful display of the black and red social components that will lead the third American revolution.

Richard Fraser's major work, centering on a Marxist perspective to end the vicious oppression of blacks in the U.S., has important ramifications internationally. Here in Japan, we seek to build a party that sees its workers revolution ending the centuries of women's oppression as well as the institutionalized discrimination against Koreans, Chinese, Japan's indigenous minorities, the Ainu and burakumin, and the Japanese bourgeoisie's newest victims, immigrant labor from the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

Dick Fraser's insistence that only a proletarian revolution can end the horrid plight of capitalism's oppressed minorities is an important component of the international Spartacist tendency's program today. From the other side of the Pacific we embrace our American comrades who have lost a "cherished friend and theoretical mentor."

* * * * *

Sam Hunt

a comrade of the international Spartacist tendency who sent the following letter

Dear comrades and friends,

Like all of you, I was saddened to hear about Dick Fraser's death. I am grateful that I knew Dick pretty well during the last years of his life. I first met Dick in a hospital room in Long Beach in 1981, but also spent a good deal of time with him when he was home and lucid as hell. I would often stop at Dick's apartment on my way home from work when I lived in L.A. He lived near Hollywood Park and the horse races that he loved. It was here that I received an education on life in the SWP in the 1940s and '50s. Trotskyist leaders, especially black leaders like C.L.R. James and Edgar Keemer, became far more than historical names.

The height of black recruitment to the American Trotskyist movement came during WW II when the Stalinists and social democrats betrayed the fight against Jim Crow. The SWP's courageous stand for black civil rights during the war had a profound impact on Dick who lived through these events. When the SWP veered on a black nationalist course Dick fought hard against this anti-Marxist stance and this culminated in his historic 1955 document. Dick's interest in this question was no idle intellectual venture but a lifelong commitment to black liberation.

The *Workers Vanguard* article about Richard's death importantly notes that his last political act was to endorse our Partisan Defense Committee rally to stop a KKK provocation in Philadelphia on November 5th. This is very special to me, as the day Dick endorsed our demonstration was also the last time I saw him alive. While weak and resting in bed, he was quite animated in his desire to get a full report on what was going on. He followed the events leading to the November 5th demonstration very carefully and in his last days the fire of class struggle still burned in his eyes. I had many disagreements with Dick over the years but our *WV* obituary underlined our bending the stick in the direction of our programmatic agreements. Dick's endorsement of our November 5th demonstration in Philadelphia epitomizes this agreement and I'm glad Dick died with his boots on.

In closing, I have to commend my comrades and friends in L.A. who worked tirelessly to prolong this valuable communist's life and I'm glad I could help this effort. I'm sorry I can't be with you today and must pay my respects from afar. Dick's exemplary struggle to overcome his debilitating physical ailments gives new meaning to the words courage and tenacity. Dick was a communist to the end and I'm going to miss his sense of humor and zest for life. He was my friend and I'll never forget him.

WV Photo

Display at memorial highlights Fraser's contributions to our movement.

* * * * *

Jim Robertson

National Chairman of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

Like comrade Frank Krasnowsky, I, too, would be happy to take about 30 minutes on the technicalities of the decomposition of the SWP until it ends up as a Barnesite organization. But I, too, am bound by the ten-minute limit.

I first ran into Dick Fraser about 31 years ago, and he was my last personal teacher. Frank has mentioned what happened in Seattle when you got around Dick Fraser. Well, I stayed at his house, so I got it day and night!

But it came at just the right time, because our theoretical mentors, the both of us, he of an earlier generation than me, had been formed out of the arguments that C.L.R. James, Jimmy Johnson that is, and E.R. McKinney had been having in the SWP and in the Shachtman Workers Party then. I could not understand how black nationalism could be analogous with a European national oppressed minority. And having broken with the Shachtmanites, and even before that, I knew that there was something terribly wrong, simply looking at the history and reality of American social relations, with the idea that a kind of militant reformism was going to eliminate the race question in America.

So I was really quite ready to run into comrade Fraser's presentation and historical foundation, that one can achieve the abolition of racial division in this country *only* through a profound, pervasive, far-going social revolution in which the working class comes to power. So I walked away quite thoroughly recruited. And with some, I think, continuing personal affection throughout the rest of those years between us.

This led me to think in preparing to talk here today, why Fraser? I can offer some elements, but I also have a suggestion, because it's rather soon and we only have some of his papers available. Perhaps on the first anniversary of his death we could have a symposium on his central political thought, its development, in the context of his life and his work. I will offer a few ideas about how it is that this particular man in a given set of circumstances could make what I consider to be a fundamental contribution to the program of Marxism, growing out of the particularities of the American racial relations rather than national relations.

I don't think that comrade Fraser could have done this work if he hadn't been a Trotskyist. Because if his head had been filled with ideas of "socialism in one country," or support for bourgeois political formations, which were characteristic of the other socialist groups, it would not have been possible. In a striking way, C.L.R. James had a great influence when he arrived in the United States in 1939, evoking also a reaction and a certain paralysis, theoretically, on the part of the SWP.

Then Fraser spent four or five years in the National Maritime Union. The SWP's cadres were concentrated in the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, which was completely racially exclusionary, unlike the National Maritime Union. And yet Dick was very prominent in the NMU. This contrast in the work of the two fractions obviously had to be a source of stimulation and thought.

Finally, I believe that he was a genuine native genius. And I think that somewhere in this matrix you will find the start of the process that took several years to percolate and really only came into fully rounded form in the early '50s. By the later '50s, beginning with the Little Rock crisis, when Eisenhower sent the troops to the South and the SWP said, Hail the American troops to the South, they're going to be the saviors—already a major political departure—I think that the first theoretical verification of Fraser's views had been obtained.

A few other remarks. Dick Fraser is supposed to have said, "One of the best things I ever did in my life was sit Jim Robertson down at a kitchen table and pound at him for a few nights." Well, it's funny, because I'd just said, across the country at the same time, "The last guy that ever convinced me of anything in an argument was Dick Fraser." That does not mean that program is finished. There's an exchange between Cannon and Shachtman to that effect. Cannon is supposed to have said, "We have a finished program," and Shachtman said, "Yeah, it's finished."

I believe that through time that program must change and develop, even though I believe that very little that is fundamental can change within the framework of capitalism since it took its essential shape in 1848. But I believe that comrade Fraser is one of those who found a particular set of conditions in the North American continent and made a Marxian, materialist analysis of it.

I would also like to note that comrade Fraser received, on arriving in L.A. after Seattle, in a pretty battle-fatigued condition, a great deal of fellowship from the NAM (New American Movement), later the DSA, and especially from Dorothy Healey, who helped him a great deal. And I believe that this understandably slowed down his *approchement* with the SL, although we had been in loose association with many disagreements for a long time, comrade Fraser even having attended our founding conference in 1966. See, I could take off now about the SWP, Tom Kerry and those guys and what they did, but I really don't have time for that.

Most of my other few remarks have already been picked up by others. I think that comrade Fraser found a great deal of satisfaction in offering guidance and advice, especially with the Labor Black Leagues sprouting around the country, and with our members and the younger comrades in general. All the rest of my

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What Row Over "Kristallnacht" Speech Shows

Dangerous Rise of German Nationalism

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 60, February/March 1989, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.*

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the West German state, its imperialist rulers want to throw their weight around. The German bourgeoisie is far from satisfied with the enormous wealth it is raking in through trade with West Europe and the gradual economic penetration of the East. Using the strong D-mark to put the arm on Washington over economic policy, Bonn also seeks to get its hands on nuclear weapons in the process of modernizing NATO's short-range nuclear missiles (while setting up a Franco/German brigade outside the NATO command). But if West German imperialism is no longer an "economic giant and political dwarf" (as Willy Brandt once said), its full emergence as a world power is blocked by a whole series of barriers.

In recent years, West Germany under Christian Democratic (CDU) chancellor Helmut Kohl has tried hard to gain international stature, yet repeatedly these attempts have backfired. Kohl got a slap in the face when he tried to crash the 40th anniversary celebration of the Western Allies' victory over Nazi Germany in World War II, held at the site of the Normandy invasion. To compensate for this rebuff, Kohl twisted Reagan's arm to visit the cemetery at Bitburg in 1985, where in the service of the anti-Soviet Cold War they saluted the SS Division "Das Reich." The obscene Bitburg visit was internationally condemned as a boot in the face of

Der Spiegel

Former speaker of West German parliament, Christian Democrat Philipp Jenninger.

Jewish survivors of the Holocaust and a mockery of the memory of millions of Jews murdered in Nazi death camps.

So last November, the Kohl regime sought to recoup after the Bitburg fiasco by holding a commemoration of the 50th anniversary of *Reichspogromnacht*—the night in 1938 when the Nazis unleashed a pogrom against the Jewish population throughout the Reich, burning synagogues and Jewish homes and businesses to the ground and subsequently deporting 30,000 Jews to the deadly concentration camps. But the speech by the CDU chairman of the West German parliament, Philipp Jenninger, produced an uproar across the political spectrum, from the Greens and Social Democrats (SPD) to Free Democrats (FDP) and Christian Dem-

Peter Thomann

West German Bundeswehr reintroduces Prussian tradition of public swearing-in of soldiers on 25th anniversary of NATO.

ocrats. Jenninger was reproached for "tastelessness," accused of being an anti-Semite and of "marching through history with mental jackboots."

Yet this was not a crypto-Nazi speech, *and the protests as much as the speech are an expression of a renascent but frustrated German nationalism.* They railed at Jenninger's graphic account of Nazi crimes and Hitler's popularity at the time. But his real crime in their eyes was to say publicly what the Thyssens and Krupps say privately, expressing fascination with the "victories" of the Third Reich. For Jenninger it is necessary to talk openly about Auschwitz in order to smooth the way for the German bourgeoisie's great-power ambitions, promising a German imperialism without genocide. Jenninger declares, "Next time, it's Mr. Nice Guy." But in the rest of the world, many expect the opposite.

West Germany today is too strong to be simply the loyal junior partner of American imperialism in Europe. But it is not strong enough to impose its will on Europe, West or East. For the rest of the world, especially Germany's most immediate neighbors, the memory of the tens of millions slaughtered in Hitler's onslaught is vividly alive to this day. Even the Reaganauts evoked the Auschwitz gas chambers to force Kohl to eat crow over an alleged chemical weapons plant built for Qaddafi. In order to present a "new face" to all those who remember the last time German imperialism ravished Europe, West Germany's rulers must indeed attempt to "master" the Nazi chapter of German history. But once again they failed, as the Jenninger fiasco no less than Bitburg reflects the dilemma of the German ruling class facing its past.

The question of the past is also the question of the future, as racism and frustrated revanchism feed upon each other, providing fertile soil for fascism. The CDU is being outflanked on its right, its electoral base eroded by fascist organizations like the Republikaner, led by former Waffen SS officer Schönhuber, with a dramatic showing in the Cold War "frontline city" of West Berlin under the slogan "Germany first." The neo-Nazi Deutsche Volksunion, financed by the Oetker trust, has sent out 28 million Bundespost-subsidized "*Drecksachen*" (printed filth), to every household in the country, with the slogan "First Germany, then Europe." The sinister growth of the Nazis and the appearance of violent skinhead gangs have produced a polarization in West German society, posing ever more sharply the need to mobilize the power of the industrial working class, including its strategic immigrant component, to crush these scum.

Green, Red & Black Uproar in the Bundestag

After the obscene spectacle of Bitburg, West German imperialism faces increasing tension between the drive to "morally rearm" its population for aggressive big-power politics and imperialist adventures and its diplomatic need to peddle the myth of a "new," "peace-loving" Reich (complete with its own nationalist "peace" movement). Chancellor Kohl has advertised himself as the first leader of the postwar generation, speaking of the "blessing of being born late"; he and his peers feel they have been compelled to stand in the corner long enough for the crimes of their fathers. But the Bonn politicians' attempt to dissipate the shadow of the Nazi past cast by Bitburg with a commemoration on the anniversary of the "Kristallnacht" pogroms showed that the German bourgeoisie is still encumbered with its history at every step.

From the outset, Kohl was dogged by failure. Thus the majority of the governing body of the Frankfurt Jewish community voted against the appearance of the federal chancellor in the West End synagogue on November 9. When Kohl spoke anyway, he was interrupted by heckling of "Bitburg!" and "You're lying!" and many walked out. Outside the Frankfurt Opera house where Kohl attended a memorial meeting that same day, there was a protest joined by supporters of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, carrying signs with the slogans "Workers Revolution Will Avenge Victims of the Holocaust!" and "Bitburg: Kohl in the Footsteps of the SS."

The following day, at a "commemorative hour" in the Bundestag, Speaker Jenninger wanted to deliver a major address. But by the time he finished, over 50 delegates from the Greens, SPD, FDP and some CDUers—over one-third of those present—had walked out of the room in protest. Jutta Oesterle-Schwerin, a Green Bundestag member of Israeli origin, accused Jenninger of

Der Spiegel

Nazi "Kristallnacht" pogrom, 1938: Baden-Baden synagogue set aflame by stormtroopers.

making Hitler into a great politician and demonstrating "that anti-Semitism is present in the hearts of many members of this house." Former Social Democratic chancellor Willy Brandt said it was a "dark day in German postwar history." SPD chairman Vogel complained about "stunning lack of sensitivity," and FDP deputy Lüder called the speech "unhearable." That night the CDU/CSU had Jenninger resign.

Fearing embarrassment abroad, the governing Christian Democrat/Free Democrat coalition was full of consternation. Even big-time swindler Count Otto von Lambsdorf (convicted in the Flick scandal and now back as FDP chief) said he had "the impression of a justification or partial justification of the worst events in modern German history." As in a low-grade comedy, suddenly the CDU and FDP appear in the clothes of committed anti-fascists. As for the Social Democrats, didn't they work willingly with old Nazis like Kiesinger, Carstens and Lübke during the time of "Grand Coalition" which first brought the SPD into office? The Greens, who used to count in their parliamentary fraction WW II Eastern Front general Bastian, called for Jenninger's resignation to restore the image of the successor state to the Third Reich.

Both Jenninger and Kohl in his West End synagogue speech were minding their manners, carefully using the term "Reichspogromnacht" instead of the Nazis' "Kristallnacht," and referring to "Jewish fellow citizens." But from the start Jenninger slipped into the racist distinction between "the Jews" and "us Germans." Federal president Weizsäcker, in his celebrated 1985 speech demolished the "vital lie of postwar Germany" (*Der Spiegel*) that Germans "didn't know" about the Holocaust. But for him as well as Kohl and Jenninger, *German Jews* simply don't and didn't exist, an especially noxious conception in light of the over half a million who had lived in Germany before Hitler's "final solution."

But Jenninger's speech could hardly be misunderstood as an apology for fascism. At the beginning of his talk he stated clearly that in the 1938 pogroms "the state made itself the organizer of the crime." The objections really came after he set out to explain why "the population was largely passive" which "corresponded to the attitude toward anti-Jewish actions and measures in previous years." It became pandemonium when he asked, speaking in the voice of "very many Germans" who thought, "And as far as the Jews were concerned: had they not in the past presumed to a role, as it was said then, to which they had no right? Must they not finally, for once, accept restrictions? Had they perhaps even deserved being put in their place?"

This *description* of the prevailing anti-Semitism in Hitler's Germany was taken as the corpus delicti proving Jenninger to be an anti-Semite. But whatever his problems in delivery and whatever his "real views," he did not give a crypto-Nazi speech. No Nazi would have quoted, as he did, the simultaneously moving and horrifying eyewitness account of an SS Einsatzgruppe carrying out a mass execution.

But then the Bundestag Speaker went way beyond the accepted ritual of official anti-Nazism. What the SPD described as Jenninger's "stunning lack of sensitivity" was when he spoke of "Hitler's political victory procession" during the early years in power. He listed: "Reincorporating the Saar, reintroducing general conscription, massive rearmament, concluding the German-British fleet agreement, occupation of the Rhineland, the Olympic Summer Games in Berlin, the '*Anschluß*' [annexation] of Austria and the 'Greater German Empire' and finally, only a few weeks before the November pogroms, the Munich Agreement, the breaking up of Czechoslovakia—the Versailles treaty was really now only a piece of paper and the German Reich had suddenly become the hegemonic power of the old Continent."

AP

Spartakist

Left: Bitburg, 1985—Kohl and Reagan in obscene salute to Nazi SS war dead. Right: German Trotskyists on anniversary of 1938 pogrom say "Workers revolution will avenge victims of Holocaust."

Jenninger's statement, "With the attack on the Soviet Union the possibility arose of combining the two: conquest of 'Lebensraum' in the East and the 'destruction of the Jewish race in Europe'," was the policy not only of "madman Hitler." General-Oberst von Fritsch, fired by Hitler as army chief of staff in 1938, had the same program. And the *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East) was not born with the writing of *Mein Kampf*: it is shared by *all* the representatives of German imperialism today, from the Ruhr industrialists to the social-patriotic SPD. And when Jenninger remarked, "The years from 1933 to 1938 are, even looking back from a distance and knowing what came next, still today an object of fascination ...almost without parallel in history," he was expressing real admiration. So does much of his audience—*in private*.

Der Spiegel

Parliamentary leaders of Greens want a "clean" German imperialism.

Jenninger quoted at length Himmler's infamous speech in 1943 which extolled participation in the extermination of the Jews as vital to building Nazi character. But as the Reichsführer SS said of these hideous crimes in his speech, "still we will never speak about that in public." Was Jenninger's crime to have said it at all? Historian Gordon Craig concluded, in a recent essay titled "Facing Up to the Nazis," that "It is quite possible that the reaction to Jenninger's speech was a sign that some at least of the parliamentarians are becoming fed up with being lectured about their country's past" (*New York Review of Books*, 2 February).

Whose "Collective Guilt"?

Jenninger's speech, like the *Historikerdebatte* (historians debate) of the last couple years, "is really about the future," as the London *Guardian* put it. He "did not minimize Auschwitz, he did not explain genocide with Bolshevism, but named German reasons," noted *Die Zeit*. It pointed out that both Jenninger and Kohl in their "*Pogromnacht*" speeches "turned away" from the "revisionist" historians and apologists for fascism like West Berlin professor Ernst Nolte, for whom the Nazis' genocide of the Jews only imitated the "Asiatic deed" of the Bolsheviks. While the bulk of the German bourgeoisie would prefer silence, and Nolte & Co. attempt to deny or "relativize" Nazi crimes, Jenninger called this "senseless.... Our past will not rest, nor will it disappear."

Jenninger's recipe for absolution: "to keep memory alive and to accept the past as part of our identity as Germans—this alone promises to us the elders as well as to the young deliverance from the burden of history." In a later speech, certainly *not* for international consumption, delivered to the clerical-reactionary "Catholic Student Union Arminia," he declared. "Some want the Germans to stand for all time in the position of the accused. But we must emerge from this condition" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 17-18 December 1988). Jenninger's line is that while all Germans share responsibility for history, "everyone must answer...the question of guilt himself": i.e., collective "responsibility" without guilt.

Nazi rule in Germany *was* supported by a large part of the population, and that was different from fascist Italy or imperial Japan. The Italian masses were passively, then actively hostile to Mussolini's regime. Mussolini was killed by Italian partisans and his corpse publicly exposed and desecrated in Milan. In Germany the defeat of the proletariat by the Nazis was not merely an episode, but a world-historic defeat. As Claudio Magnani of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat summarizes aptly: "...from the point of view of the revolutionary class consciousness of the German proletariat, it has not yet recovered from this defeat, 55 years after the moment in which Hitler took power" ("The Historical Balance Sheet of the Fourth International," *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, December 1988).

As a bourgeois nationalist, Jenninger, to paraphrase Kaiser Wilhelm on the outbreak of World War I, sees "no parties" or classes, "only Germans"...and only Germans who supported Hitler and the Holocaust. What the bourgeoisie does not say is that the German working class had to be beheaded and smashed as a precondition for the Nazi "final solution." In 1918-19, it used Social Democracy to drown the revolution in blood, assassinating Liebknecht and Luxemburg. What was lacking then was a formed Communist party. In 1923, the KPD let the most significant revolutionary opportunity that offered itself to German Communism pass by for lack of a determined party leadership.

The petty bourgeoisie, driven mad by economic crisis, shifted their hopes for salvation from the powerful but indecisively led proletariat to the "party of white-hot reaction," in Trotsky's vivid phrase. The Krupps and Flicks threw their millions behind Hitler, and after 1933 they more than recouped their investment. As we wrote last fall: "Nazism was the German bourgeoisie's last desperate recourse to rescue its own class rule before the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat.... The German bourgeoisie as a whole had united around exploiting anti-Semitism to revive Germany from its defeat in World War I" (see "Kristallnacht: Reign of Nazi Terror," *WV* No. 465, 18 November 1988).

To the terror of the Third Reich which atomized the workers movement must be added the terror and counter-revolutionary effects of the Western Allied invasion and occupation. American and British imperialists feared that the class-conscious German proletariat would rise from the ashes of the defeat of Hitler's Reich as it had from the

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Bureaucratic Mismanagement Undermines Soviet Planning

Armenian Earthquake Disaster

Last December's earthquake in Armenia, which left tens of thousands dead and hundreds of thousands homeless, was a human tragedy of immense proportions. For weeks, the attention of the world was riveted on Armenia, as volunteers from over 50 countries joined Soviet rescue workers of various nationalities in seeking to find and save those who remained buried beneath the rubble. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev broke off his visit to the United Nations in New York to return home and tour the devastated areas. What he found was shattering.

Spitak, a town of 30,000, had been leveled. In Leninakan, with a population of 290,000 the second largest city in Armenia, four out of five buildings were destroyed or heavily damaged; more than 120 high-rise apartment buildings had been reduced to rubble. The earthquake hit just minutes before schools and factories were to empty out for lunch, trapping schoolchildren and workers beneath collapsing walls and ceilings. In Leninakan's Lenin Square, coffins were stacked 12 high and 20 across. Nearly 25,000 bodies have been recovered, and estimates of the death toll range to 50,000 or more.

Novosti

Most devastating earthquake in Armenia's history: rescuers search through rubble for survivors.

Then, in late January, even as Soviet authorities were preparing plans for the enormous task of reconstruction, a second earthquake occurred in Tadzhikistan in Soviet Central Asia, killing more than 250 people. Beyond the enormous toll in human life, the impact of these natural disasters on the already troubled Soviet economy is staggering. Initial estimates of the cost of reconstruction exceed $25 billion, and the final figure may well be far higher.

The level of destruction far exceeded that in other recent quakes. Peter Yanev, a structural engineer from San Francisco who participated in a National Academy of Sciences study team sent to the quake zone in late December, compared what he saw with the 1985 Mexico earthquake: "Mexico City was shocking but the suffering was isolated. Spitak from the air must have looked like Hiroshima after the bomb dropped" (*Engineering News Record*, 12 January).

Amid all the suffering, Armenian nationalists pressed forward their separatist campaign with a frenzy (see box on facing page), while sections of the Western press tried to turn the tragedy into an anti-Communist morality play. The London *Economist* (17 December 1988) practically cheered that the Soviet population could now see "how poorly their country measures up to the standards of the outside world." However, it is a measure of the impact of Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness) that, by and large, Western press coverage was far more balanced, and contradictory.

If anything, the Soviet press was more caustic than its anti-Soviet imperialist counterparts. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* asked: "Where were the seismologists, the architects and the construction workers that drafted and built the houses that fell apart like matchboxes?" Gorbachev demanded: "Who is to blame for the fact that in the concrete blocks there is too little cement but more than enough sand?" *Pravda* wrote: "Practically everything constructed during the years of stagnation collapsed." The evening television news program *Vremya* denounced the rescue effort as inadequate and disorganized, where teams "cannot get hold of a simple pick."

Yet no less an anti-Soviet mouthpiece than the *New York Times* (16 December 1988) observed that "Although the Soviet press has sharply criticized Soviet inefficiencies and poor preparedness, foreigners interviewed here said the overall disorganization was no worse than normally expected in major disasters." While the most severe self-criticism is certainly in order, in this case *glasnost* was aimed at boosting Gorbachev's pursuit of "market socialism" and appeasement of U.S. imperialism, and at laying all the blame at the feet of his predecessor Brezhnev.

A natural disaster of this scale throws a sharp light on the economic system which is subjected to a wrenching physical test. What, if anything, does this say about the Soviet Union and its centralized, planned economy? Does it show, as *Time* magazine claimed, "much of the blame" is to be laid on "shoddy construction"? In an attempt to sort through the technical questions and how they might relate to Soviet political and economic policies, *Workers Vanguard* spoke to a number of experts in the field, including staff at *Engineering News Record* and Dr. Mihran S. Agbabian, chairman of the Civil Engineering department at the University of Southern California, who was part of the NAS team that went to Armenia.

Quake Destruction and Soviet Construction

Why was the devastation so horrendous? First, it must be understood that this earthquake was far worse than any ever expected or experienced in the region, which is seismically more like Utah than California. As Dr. Agbabian told *WV* before his departure, "historically they never had in that particular area an earthquake larger than magnitude 5.75 [on the Soviet MKS scale of 1 to 12]. And the records go as far back as the tenth century." The buildings in Armenia were designed to withstand an earthquake of magnitude 7 to 8, but the December quake was 10.5 at the epicenter—meaning the intensity of ground shaking was four times greater than the design limits and 16 times greater than any quake ever experienced in the region. "Even the good buildings would have come down in this earthquake," said Janice Tuchman, editor of the buildings department of *ENR*.

To what extent do building standards in the Soviet Union have provisions for seismic engineering, to withstand quakes? Dr. Agbabian explained that Soviet "design procedures are very much like ours." The Soviet *Standards and Regulations for Construction* includes a chapter specifically on "Construction in Seismically Active Regions." Building designs are also subjected to testing before construction. In fact, the Seismological Institute in Leninakan was in the process of testing a model of a building as the earthquake hit, a member of the NAS team related. The model building survived, the testing lab around it did not.

The idea behind seismic design is that new construction be able to withstand—with relatively little damage—the worst natural catastrophe likely to occur in that region within a reasonable period of time (known as the "return period"). For example, the dikes in Holland are designed for a storm that would occur once every 500 years; many flood control projects in the U.S. are designed for floods that might occur every 100 years. Needless to say, what the Pentagon considers a reasonable "return period" for its underground command bunkers is far greater than what a California real estate developer takes into account—and the cost of construction is accordingly far higher.

"The return period for buildings is certainly a much shorter period than the return period for, say, a nuclear power plant or a dam," Agbabian added, "because if they are damaged the consequences are much more catastrophic." As it happened, a nuclear power plant, now to be shut down, was located not far from the quake and survived unscathed. After returning from Armenia, Agbabian suggested that perhaps buildings in the region should have been designed to withstand more severe earthquakes, given the concentration of seismic fault lines. Of course, the study team stressed at their New York briefing on January 24 that their conclusions are preliminary until the evidence is thoroughly weighed.

What causes a building to collapse or be damaged in an earthquake is basically the buildup of lateral forces as the structure tries to resist the motion of the ground under it. Many of the high-rise apartments in Leninakan simply "pancaked," as columns gave way and the floors fell one atop another. The effect on a building is worsened if the frequency of the earthquake ground waves is near that of its natural frequency of vibration (at which it resonates, more or less like a tuning fork), making it vibrate or shake violently. This appears to have been the case with the nine-story apartment buildings predominant in Leninakan. However, some types of nine-story buildings collapsed wholesale while others did not.

Soviet Life

Soviet high-rise apartment complex in Arkhangelsk.

Some accounts in the West, like *Newsweek* (19 December 1988), claimed it was the fault of "Soviet construction techniques, particularly the widespread use of precast concrete slabs." Unlike in the U.S., where construction is overwhelmingly done on-site, most contemporary Soviet construction is prefabricated, or "industrialized." Standardized precast concrete slabs or box units are manufactured in the factory and then assembled at the site. But among the buildings which collapsed were many that were not prefab, and a number of the high-rise apartments which did not suffer were prefab.

Most of the high-rises that collapsed, according to NAS team member Loring A. Wyllie, had a concrete frame structure with beams and columns. The floors, walls and column segments were not connected together strongly enough to form a single force-resisting unit. So the columns gave way and the walls and floors fell out of the frame. To make matters worse, in many cases the flooring consisted of hollow-core concrete planks which broke up upon falling instead of leaving pockets of space between collapsed slabs where people trapped in the rubble could survive. Many of these buildings were built in the Brezhnev years, which is when Soviet factory-based construction expanded rapidly. Yet, another type of nine-story prefab building, in which the precast panels connect directly to each other to form load-bearing walls and floors, with reinforced joints at all panel edges, came through the quake with only hairline cracks.

Another factor contributing to the extent of destruction, explained NAS team geotechnical expert Thomas O'Rourke, was the soil condition in the region. Leninakan and Spitak are built on relatively deep deposits of alluvial soil, which contains ground water and tends to become very fluid under quake conditions. In contrast, "there was virtually no damage in the village of Akhurian, which is situated on shallow soil cover" only three miles from Leninakan. Kirovakan, about the same distance from the epicenter as Leninakan, suffered severe damage only in one part of the town which was built over a filled-in marsh. The most secure high-rise buildings, like New York's older skyscrapers, have their foundations set directly into bedrock.

After touring the quake zone, Dr. Agbabian suggested that the standard designs may have "cut it too close" in economizing on the use of materials in order to cut costs (particularly in the amount of reinforcing steel used). He also noted that Soviet engineers they had met were critical of quality control procedures and the general level of inspection. Stalinist bureaucratism certainly encourages a high degree of shoddy labor and corruption, including the siphoning-off of materials for the black market, but even more serious is the way it disorganizes the centralized distribution system. One NAS team member marveled at the amount of "field ingenuity" used in splicing column joints, the result of workers substituting for materials which do not arrive in the right amount at the right time and place. Unfortunately, this contributed to the failures.

AP

Gorbachev (foreground) tours disaster area.

Nationalist Venom Amid Human Tragedy

The Soviet troops in Armenia who assisted in the rescue effort were already in place when the quake hit, sent to quell the pogromist fratricide between Armenian nationalists (agitating for control of the mountainous Nagorno-Karabakh region) and the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan. In the face of the grim tragedy of the earthquake one could at least hope that the chauvinist agitation on both sides would be put aside, at least temporarily. But as Gorbachev toured the stricken areas, he was hounded by protesters demanding Nagorno-Karabakh and grotesquely insisting that Armenian children not be evacuated to other regions of the USSR for fear they would not be returned! Some Armenian nationalists even argued against accepting donations of blood from Azerbaijan. Gorbachev seized the moment to arrest the leaders of the nationalist Karabakh Committee.

Rumors abounded in the Armenian capital of Yerevan that Azerbaijanis had welcomed the earthquake as "Allah's punishment" against Armenians. Even so, many Azerbaijanis worked voluntary Saturday overtime to help the quake victims, and collections were taken at factory gates in Baku. An account in the London *Independent* (19 December 1988) of a street argument in Kirovakan captured the fact that not all Armenians had been so swept up by the nationalist bitterness as to forget the overwhelming natural disaster around them. When a young nationalist insisted, "we must not forget Nagorny Karabakh," a woman engineer who had lost 53 of her staff members shot back, "I'm sick of Nagorny Karabakh, let the people who want Nagorny Karabakh go and live there."

Under Gorbachev's *perestroika*, nationalist rivalries have resurfaced with a fury, while the most dangerous nationalism, that of the predominant Great Russian people, has taken the form of an ugly emergence of the anti-Semitic Nazi Pamyat organization. Ominously, Pamyat has sought to exacerbate racial divisions between Christian Armenians and Muslim Azerbaijanis, appearing at an Armenian church meeting in Moscow after the quake with a banner reading, "To the dead and murdered of Armenia, from the *Pamyat*." These disgusting recrudescences of the dark past must be swept away through a return to proletarian internationalism by the Soviet masses.

Mass Housing, Not Mass Homelessness

So there are problems in some Soviet prefab housing designs and in construction, as there are with any technological innovation. But why do the Soviets have so much prefabricated construction? Because, as is acknowledged even by capitalist governments, it is the most effective means to provide livable accommodations *for everyone*. And it is no accident that the USSR leads the world in industrialized construction. Central planning based on socialized property means that they can respond directly to the needs of the population, not the quest for higher profits—which in the capitalist world produces massive real-estate speculation, soaring rents, a glut of luxury housing, massive shortages for poor and working-class families, and millions of homeless.

The destruction wrought by World War II and the Nazi occupation left the USSR with a crippled economy, a severe labor shortage and 40 percent of its housing destroyed. Even a U.S. Department of Commerce document on "Industrialized Building in the Soviet Union" (1971) points to the "astonishing pace" of postwar reconstruction:

> "Rapid transition from a rural to an urban population coupled with war destruction called for Herculean efforts to 'build it now'—and the Soviets have done just that. The USSR has 'built it now' in great quantity. People who lived in cabins or dilapidated buildings without electricity or water in the 1940's moved into apartments sharing bathrooms and kitchens with other families in the 1950's. In the 1960's these same families have moved up to their own new private quarters."

Apartment sizes have continued to rise, and Soviet citizens generally pay well under 10 percent of their wages for rent and utilities combined.

According to Charles Abrams' *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World* (1964): "The U.S.S.R. has made great advances in prefabricated construction of apartment dwellings and has not only increased its housing investment in recent years but attained a higher rate of new housing construction than any other country for which statistics are available; this rate has risen from 7 per 1000 inhabitants in 1954 to 10.8 in 1957 and 14.4 in 1959. The assumption of responsibility for housing workers is no longer questioned, and the U.S.S.R. is trying to seal the housing breach with brick and mortar."

Nor was it simply a question of postwar reconstruction: capitalist West Germany in the same period had a housing construction rate of 11 units or less per thousand people. From 1945 to 1968, the U.S.—with a qualitatively stronger economic base and a much greater pool of skilled labor—produced some 30 million living units (or just over 6 per 1,000 inhabitants per year), of which well under a million were low-income public housing. The 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act estimated that a minimum of 26 million new units would have to be built by 1979 to ensure that every American family had adequate housing. It was estimated this would require an increase from $30 billion to $60 billion in the housing budget. Instead, during the 1980s, HUD's budget was slashed by 84 percent, from $33.4 billion to $5.5 billion.

Today the U.S. has some three million homeless living and dying on the streets. New York City alone has 60-90,000 homeless and on top of that an estimated 100,000 families who are the "hidden homeless," doubled and tripled up with other families. Over the last decade, the rate of new construction has fallen from 15,000 to 9,000 units—less than one-fourth the rate of Soviet urban housing construction. Of those New Yorkers who do have apartments, one out of four spends more than *half their gross income* on rent. Yet the number of NYC apartments renting for less than $300 per month plummeted between 1981 and 1987 from 1.1 million to 400,000 (*Newsday*, 22 January).

Nor does throwing construction open to the market make buildings safer. The very conception of a uniform building code cuts against the grain of capitalist "competition." One American earthquake consultant explained fatalistically, "Noncompliance with building codes in the United States is widespread. Make no mistake: catastrophes here and throughout the world are inevitable" (*New York Times*, 17 December 1988). In California, where there is probably the biggest concentration of expertise in seismic construction in the world, houses are built directly above the San Andreas Fault. And the ticky-tacky boxes of Suburbia U.S.A. are complemented by the decrepit, rat- and roach-infested firetraps that pass for apartments in most urban ghettos in the U.S.

Der Spiegel

Soviet Union pioneered in mass prefabricated construction.

For Central Planning Under Soviet Democracy!

In spite of the tremendous achievements of Soviet housing construction, there remains serious overcrowding. A 1986 government resolution mandated an ambitious program of accelerated housing construction so that all Soviet families will have separate apartments or private houses by the year 2000. But at the 19th Communist Party conference held last July, Gorbachev declared that in line with his market-oriented *perestroika* economic reforms the government is pushing for private ownership of publicly built apartments, aping the Tory Thatcher government in Britain. A letter writer to *Moscow News* (1 January) who supports this scheme nevertheless notes, "Who will be able to

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Germany...

(continued from page 7)

Kaiser's. Massive Allied bombing raids targeted the working-class districts of the big cities. An armed uprising at Buchenwald against the Nazi jailers was disarmed and the left-wing prisoners interned for many more months by their American "liberators." And the doctrine of "collective guilt" was minted to justify heavy-handed military occupation.

Meanwhile, for Stalin "collective guilt" was a program for stamping out any possibility of proletarian revolution in postwar Germany, in order to preserve his bureaucratic rule. The imperialist Allies, also fearing the spectre of workers revolution, for a brief period used this doctrine to justify their "de-Nazification" campaign, then used it for exonerating former Nazi officials to deploy them in the anti-Soviet Cold War and to build up West Germany as a NATO bulwark against the East. Marxists reject the concept of collective guilt as applied to the entire German nation because it covers over the class nature of fascism. It's the German *bourgeoisie* that is collectively guilty.

"Left" Nationalism and Revanchism

Repudiation of collective guilt can also be associated with reactionary, nationalist resentment against the victors of WW II, the Soviet Union as well as the U.S. One of the prominent spokesmen from the extreme right wing of the CDU is Alfred Dregger who stated in 1986, "the guilt is behind us," and called on "all Germans" to "step out from behind the shadow of Hitler." For him the scandal of Bitburg was an opportunity to stress his pride as a fighter on the Eastern Front in WW II. Dregger and his Stahlhelm (steel helmet) faction opposed holding the *Pogromnacht* commemoration at all. He wants to return to the old "glory days" by founding a new German Reich now. Ominously, after Jenninger's forced resignation, the first candidate Kohl came up with for his successor was precisely revanchist hardliner Dregger.

But German nationalism is not at all restricted to the right wing. Kurt Schumacher, the fiercely nationalistic leader of the SPD in the early postwar years, argued that the German people were just as much victims of Nazism (he himself was, being a former concentration camp inmate) as, say, the Poles or Czechs. Therefore, he stated, the Russians and Americans had no right to divide Germany. Schumacher, from his own, different, standpoint was no less complicit in building up a Fourth German Reich with the cadres of the Third; he even envisaged rehabilitation of the Waffen SS decades before Bitburg. And

Yevgeni Khaldei

Hammer and sickle flies over the Reichstag as Soviet Red Army liberates Berlin from Nazi terror regime, 30 April 1945.

John Heartfield

"The Meaning of the Hitler Salute": 1932 left-wing journal exposes German capitalists' support to Nazis.

it's no accident that the SPD originated Bonn's *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy): historically a national party with much of its social base located east of the Elbe, i.e., the present-day DDR, it was best-placed to spearhead the revanchist appetites of German imperialism toward what it still calls *Mitteldeutschland*... and beyond.

As for the Greens, in addition to clean air they want a "clean" German imperialism; bringing back all the *Dreck* from the Hitler era is only going to dirty it. The almost pathological reaction of the Greens to the Jenninger speech—they also didn't protest at Bitburg—is an expression of their often virulent nationalism. In the aftermath of the Jenninger affair, some West German newspapers wished the Bundestag had listened to the Greens beforehand when they wanted to invite the chairman of the central council of Jews in Germany, Heinz Galinsky, to speak on the *Pogromnacht* with the usual platitudes. For here these graduates of the New Left were speaking for important sectors of the West German ruling class.

Hermann Gremliza in *konkret* magazine (December 1988) was one of the few who tried to probe the reasons for the Greens' reaction to Jenninger: "What was rebelling on the left side of the house was the yearning not for truth and enlightenment...but for quasi-religious forms and rituals which free a reconciliation with 'this our state'... from the pain of a guilty conscience." Along with the Social Democrats and Liberals, the Greens have in the past preferred the lofty rhetoric of a von Weizsäcker (who praised the recent release of two SS mass murderers by the Netherlands government as an act of "conciliation").

Meanwhile, as "left" German nationalism overlaps with expressions of revanchism, a lot of disgusting crap is surfacing that shades over into outright fascism. Thus while Hitler-loving skinheads beat up and murder Turkish immigrants, "Redskin" gangs in West Berlin spew out anti-Soviet garbage and chant "Trotskyists out." One of the more repulsive examples came from the editorial offices of the pro-Green *Tageszeitung*, which "jokingly" described a crowded West Berlin disco as "*gaskammervoll*" (full as a gas chamber). A new "no-guilt" generation has arisen in West Germany—according to a survey by *Stern* after the Jenninger affair, those under 20 felt the least concerned about Germany's past.

The German Question and European Revolution

As a would-be ideologue for resurgent German imperialism, Jenninger declared, "We Germans wish to attain a clear understanding of our history and clear lessons on how to shape our present and future politically." Concerned about a lack of moral confidence on the part of German youth to act as a full-fledged imperialist power if the Hitler period is left in the closet, Jenninger says at the end of his speech:

> "On the foundations of our state and history it is necessary to found a new moral tradition which must prove itself in the human and moral sensitivity of our society.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

1919 Spartacus uprising (above) crushed by Social Democrats in service of capitalist reaction.

> "In foreign policy this means the duty of collective responsibility for peace, for actively making the world peaceful."

What was later presented as "ambiguousness" and "clumsiness" on Jenninger's part reflects the fundamental problems of German imperialism. The Bundestag Speaker's "fascination" with Hitler's imperialist "victories" of the '30s comes as no surprise. The Federal Republic declares itself the successor state to the Third Reich, constitutionally sworn to "restoring the Reich to the borders of 1937," which go far beyond the Oder-Neisse line to include parts of present-day Poland *and the USSR*. And more fundamentally, the revanchist German bourgeoisie has a major structural problem: the partition of the country into a capitalist West and a state in which capitalism has been expropriated in the East.

"Our history can't be divided into good and bad, and responsibility for the past can't be distributed according to the geographical arbitrariness of the postwar order," said Jenninger. Chancellor Kohl considers it "'absurd' to construe a contradiction between the goals of German reunification and the European unification" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19 January). The SPD, as well, wants to reserve the unconditional right for an imperialist reunification of Germany after the supposed "complete integration" of the European Common Market in 1992. But uniting Germany under capitalist rule would mean bloody counterrevolution to smash the DDR. And it would directly pose the spectre of world war; even its Western imperialist allies fear the domination of Europe by a Fourth Reich.

Meanwhile, the German bourgeoisie sees tremendous opportunities for economic penetration and social counterrevolution in Gorbachev's *perestroika* reforms for "market socialism" in the Soviet Union and East Europe, which fuel deep-going popular dissatisfaction and explosive nationalist strife. The Frankfurt bankers and Bonn politicians would like to use their "Swing" credits [for trade with East Germany] and D-mark loans to squeeze dry the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe like banana republics. But the socialized property forms of these states represent a barrier to capitalist penetration, a barrier that can only be smashed, to use Bismarck's phrase, with "blood and iron." And that brings the German bourgeoisie up against the enormous power of the Soviet degenerated workers state. It is this power that stays the hand of the imperialists.

By itself, without its NATO allies, West Germany is not now capable of a military foray eastward. This would require, to begin with, substantial expansion of its conventional capacities as well as acquiring strategic nuclear weapons (a venture already being tackled in its development of nuclear arms technology in South Africa). The Western imperialist allies acknowledged West Germany's growing military/economic power by naming former "defense" minister Wörner NATO general secretary. But NATO strategy calls, in the first instance, for fighting a "limited war" against Warsaw Pact forces *on German soil*. Even the most extreme West German Cold Warriors like Dregger don't look forward to this prospect. And large sections of the German population, who remember only too well the destruction of the last world war, are rightly afraid of nuclear annihilation.

That is why Jenninger speaks of "actively making the world peaceful." German capitalists today want to exploit the Slavs, not exterminate them. And the bourgeoisie's labor lieutenants of the SPD, the "fatherland defenders" of 1914, know their duty as the political organizers of counterrevolution in East Germany. The program of a neutral, reunified (capitalist) Germany is the main basis for attracting significant numbers of workers, petty-bourgeois intellectuals and elements of the bureaucracy in the DDR behind a "democratic" counterrevolution.

Proletarian internationalism is the only answer to the revanchism and nationalism that twice in this century have mobilized the masses for imperialist war, and the resulting devastation of Europe: this is the lesson of history. Gordon Craig recalled in his essay that the same Bundestag which walked out on Jenninger:

> "...gave a distinctly chilly reception to Professor Fritz Stern of Columbia University when he was invited to address it last year on the occasion of a commemoration of the East German

Fraser Memorial...

(continued from page 5)

notes are more of that polemical stuff that I think is historically important, but not now.

Finally, I would like to thank those who have prepared this memorial, who worked very hard and very well, and also the materials that have gone into the memorial display. A very good thing.

* * * * *

Ed Swabeck

A comrade of Dick's who worked with him in the SWP and its maritime work and, later, on Revolutionary Age

The first time I met Dick Fraser was in 1941, when I got to the coast again to try to ship out. Later on, on the East Coast, we—that is, Dick, I and many other Trotskyists—participated in a great general strike in maritime of 1946.

The Seafarers International Union objected to the buck-passing of the ship owners and the War Shipping Administration. This time the former, that is the ship owners, wanted to give in to postwar contractual improvement demands, but the latter, the War Shipping Administration, played hard cop.

The Manhattan Center meeting hall of the general strike committee of all the unions involved was decorated with huge banners, spread right across the damn hall, to greet the sailors and others from up and down the coast participating in this meeting. The banners said, "An injury to one is an injury to all! United we stand, divided we fall!" And another one, "For collective bargaining and against government interference!"

The strike of AF of L unions was general, all right, pulling the pin with the seamen and their unions, the longies—the longshoremen—tugboat, all maritime

WV Photo

Ed Swabeck recalls his comradeship with Dick Fraser during 1946 maritime general strike.

trades, and railroad men, and the Teamsters too. That coast was bottled up, particularly the island of Manhattan. At that time some of the sailors around said, boy, this is a revolutionary situation! Well, many of us thought, we don't know if we're going to take over the government like the days of the October Revolution and the Bolshevik October. But what we wanted to do, and what we did, and what was achieved, was to give the War Shipping Administration, the government's outfit, a swift kick in the ass.

The ILA [International Longshoremen's Association], Marine Firemen and SUP held the fort in the Pacific ports. The CIO unions, like the NMU, followed later, radical socialists of the rank and file, urging towards the Debs and Wobblyite ideal of revolution. And make no mistake, that was led by Trotskyists, such as Dick Fraser and like-minded rank-and-file Bolsheviks. And to carry—I think I got one in my pocket somewhere, that I dug up since I learned about this meeting—to carry that strike clearance card, the general strike clearance of 1946. I carried two of them, one from the CIO because we went, a lot of comrades went, after the AF of L was out on strike, went out to support in solidarity with the CIO unions. So Dick and I were a part of that scene, and I wanted to mention this as one of the big achievements of the Trotskyists' maritime fraction, comrades like Dick.

Later on, on the West Coast, Dick and Arne Swabeck, my father, collaborated in the struggle for a revolutionary workers party of the working class. We had our disagreements. I remember I had one with Dick about shipping, it was about how best to operate a ship, run an old liberty ship without popping the boilers and throwing the safety valves all over the place, while running the U-boat wolf packs down in the torpedo junction. Well, there were others. They were all settled through democratic centralism, as good comrades should. And I say this, that his passing therefore is to be deeply regretted.

I want to say one other thing. When Dick came around to the house a couple of times, I was playing music. And he says, "Damn it, have you got that stuff by that guy that plays 'The Lemon Tree'?" I say, "Oh, you mean Herb Alpert?" He says, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, with that 'Tijuana Taxi' and so forth." And I said "Sure, I'll play it." And he liked that. I don't know if he liked the music that we were playing before, that Brahms thing or I don't know what, sort of sleepy funereal kind of stuff. I know *damn well* he liked a rousing singing of the *Internationale*! The red, Bolshevik *Internationale*!

* * * * *

The memorial meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale. ■

Armenia...

(continued from page 9)

purchase a state apartment? Naturally, those who have money...." And what of those, like young workers' families, who don't?

Gorbachev wants to use the market to discipline both managers and workers. Inefficient operations will be punished, efficient operations will be rewarded. The whip of bankruptcy will supposedly force the reorganization of production. Today, financial speculation and profiteering are not merely condoned but encouraged. But if the concrete slabs had too much sand and too little cement before, how much cement will they have as managers scramble to make a profit? If on-site construction is presently slipshod, what will it be like when the work teams are cut in half to maximize productivity? If inspection is inadequate now, imagine what it will be like when every profiteering capitalist "cooperative" is going around greasing the palms of inspectors and foremen.

The power of a planned economy is perhaps nowhere as vividly demonstrated as in the response to a disaster. When something goes wrong, a decision can be taken and the full resources of the nationalized economy mobilized to achieve it. A year after the Chernobyl disaster, 90,000 of the people who had been evacuated had already been provided with new homes. When an earthquake virtually demolished Tashkent (with a population of 1.1 million) in 1966, a massive reconstruction program had the entire city rehoused in three years.

And mass housing does not have to mean poor quality and zero esthetics. Typically, a Kiev apartment complex for 40,000 people was designed to have 80 percent green space. With buildings grouped around nursery, kindergarten and schools, children do not have to cross busy thoroughfares. Soviet citizens are surveyed before major housing construction projects are undertaken. But they are not asked how big apartments should be, how they should be laid out or finished. The knowledge and technical know-how of construction workers, for example concerning safety features, is not tapped but spurned. In a society based on large-scale industrial production, decisions made by a bureaucratic hierarchy will necessarily be partial at best.

This can be seen by looking at any major project. Take the Aral basin irrigation project in Soviet Central Asia, a showcase both of the effectiveness of the planned economy and the capricious mismanagement of bureaucratic commandism. In the 1950s, the Soviet government decided to divert the waters of the two rivers feeding into the Aral Sea to facilitate production of water-intensive crops like cotton and rice. Agricultural production in the region has quadrupled since then. Yet failure to take account of the ecological effects has led to the creation of a salty desert over nearly half of what was once a fertile fishing area.

What to do? The bureaucracy proposed a colossal project to divert rivers now flowing into the Arctic. Ecological groups mobilized against this. How can this question be resolved? Certainly not through a market mechanism. One look at the environmental destruction being wrought by American capitalism answers that. To reach an intelligent resolution requires drawing technical specialists, residents of the region, the fishermen, the agricultural workers, into a wide-ranging debate resulting in a democratic decision. And if the decision doesn't work, constant monitoring by the producers themselves will spot imminent dangers and contribute to modifications *before* a disaster occurs. That is the essence of soviet democracy—and it will take a proletarian political revolution, ousting the bureaucracy, to get it.

The same applies on a broader scale. It is certainly true that hostile imperialist encirclement and an American arms drive aimed at achieving nuclear first-strike capability put enormous pressures on Soviet expenditures for domestic/consumer needs, including adequate materials like reinforcing steel for housing. But all the questions raised by construction of new housing—safety, design, where, when and how much—must be balanced against other domestic expenditures, development of weapons, aid to the impoverished Indochinese people, and other internationalist responsibilities like the intervention in Afghanistan which has now been betrayed. And they can only be resolved effectively when those who labor also decide.

Indeed, a centrally planned economy can only function effectively if it involves the *conscious* political control of the working masses. In an address to the First All-Russian Congress of Scientific Workers in 1923, Bolshevik leader and Minister of War Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "The harsh experience of these six years, with all its pluses and minuses, has shown one thing—at least to those who have not deliberately closed their eyes—that the stronger the workers' state becomes, the keener and more impatiently the toiling masses perceive our technical, scientific, and cultural backwardness and the more persistently they seek to overcome this backwardness, thereby creating a fundamental precondition for giving our scientific thought maximum scope in the more or less near future....
>
> "Socialist construction is in its very essence conscious, planned construction, combining—on a hitherto unprecedented scale—technology, science, and carefully thought-out social forms and methods of utilizing them."

The Soviet peoples have come a long way since the days of immiseration under the tsar's knout. But to go forward to a society in which everyone is well housed, in which food lines disappear, in which a socialist future is genuinely assured, requires an international division of labor based on worldwide socialist planning. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! For proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic usurpers! For international socialist revolution! ■

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uprising of June 17, 1953, and told his audience that the revolt had not been a demonstration in favor of reunification, as West German politicians were fond of saying, but rather a courageous demand for freedom and reform, and reminded them that 'undivided Germany brought unspeakable misfortune to other peoples and to itself,' a fact that no German could afford to forget'."

The June 17th rising was *not* pro-capitalist, as the German revanchists who have usurped it for their own reactionary purposes claim (and neither was it for Western-style "democracy" as Stern implies). On the contrary, East German workers initiated the struggle for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and erect genuine soviet democracy. June 17th showed the way to the *only* progressive solution to the German national question—through proletarian-internationalist revolutionary struggle. With the slogan, "Now clear out your crap in Bonn, we're cleaning house in Pankow," they called on their class brothers in the West to rip state power from the capitalists.

It was the Soviet Red Army which smashed Hitler fascism in 1945. For the workers of the world it was a victory when the red flag with the hammer and sickle was placed atop the Reichstag. And to get rid of the legacy of Nazism forever, it is necessary to sweep away the capitalist order which continues to breed nationalist and racist reaction. The leadership of a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution is ever more urgently needed, a party which fights for socialist revolution in the capitalist West and proletarian political revolution in the East, which would, as with the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, weld together the Russian and German revolutions.

As we wrote in *Spartakist* (No. 57) in May 1988, addressing militants of the Stalinist DKP and SEW:

> "Because they can only conceive of a capitalist reunification of Germany, they hand the national question over to the fascists. But the struggle for proletarian power poses the question of *revolutionary leadership*. And restoring the unity of the proletariat poses in this country the question of the *revolutionary reunification of Germany* as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. That is the program of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, which stands for unconditional defense of the USSR and DDR against imperialist attacks and internal counterrevolution."

Proletarian revolution will avenge the victims of Nazi terror! ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

have generally been pro-Soviet. When they looked across their northern border into Soviet Central Asia, they saw children who could read, women liberated from the veil, and a level of social and economic well-being centuries in advance of Afghanistan. As a result of Soviet central planning, living standards in Tashkent are as high as in Moscow.

In 1965 Afghan leftist circles formed the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The PDPA was a unique phenomenon in Afghanistan: a secular party not based on any tribal or ethnic group. It claimed adherence to Marxism-Leninism, and its structure was modeled after Stalin's bureaucratized Communist Party. However, its program was limited to moderate reforms to be carried out by a government of "workers, farmers, enlightened and progressive intellectuals, craftsmen, the petit bourgeoisie and national capitalists" (cited in Raja Anwar, *The Tragedy of Afghanistan* [1988]).

Labeled "Communist" by their opponents, the PDPA cadre were in fact modernizing petty-bourgeois nationalists more akin to Kemal Atatürk's Young Turks than to Lenin's Bolsheviks. The PDPA established three bases of support: the country's small urban intelligentsia (e.g., schoolteachers), students, and military officers (many of whom were trained in the Soviet Union). Almost immediately the party split into two factions, the Khalq (Masses) and Parcham (Banner). When Daud Khan ousted the king in 1973, Parcham leaders served as his advisers, while Khalq suggested "a government composed of a 'United Front' including the PDPA."

In April 1978 the Daud regime, prodded by the Western powers and the shah of Iran, moved to suppress the PDPA, arresting its principal leaders on charges of treason. But the party's supporters in the military effectively fought back and toppled Daud. The so-called "Saur Revolution" was in fact a left-wing military coup with considerable support among the urbanized population.

The PDPA found itself ruling a population of 15 million people, overwhelmingly rural and scattered in isolated river valleys. On the local level tribal chiefs shared power and land with some 300,000 Islamic mullahs, who made up a privileged landowning caste. Taking the country as a whole, there was about one industrial worker for every eight mullahs! The peasants were totally in thrall to the khans, who controlled the sources of credit, seed, fertilizer and, in this arid land, even water. Forget proletarian revolution—Afghanistan could not even sustain the kind of widespread peasant revolt experienced in medieval France, Russia and China.

Thus when the PDPA government attempted to institute a program of minimal democratic measures—land reform, elimination of the bride price for women, universal education for both sexes—it instantly outpaced the social forces to sustain them. The khans and mullahs, driven into a frenzy by such measures as teaching young girls to read, launched a reactionary *jihad* and began slaughtering teachers and PDPA activists.

The growing revolt received immediate support from the Pakistani regime of military dictator Zia ul-Haq, acting as quartermaster for the United States. Zia was continuing the policy of his predecessor, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had started arming the ultra-fundamentalist Islamic Party of Gulbaddin Hekmatyar in the early 1970s. The aim of the Pakistani ruling class (led now by Bhutto's daughter, after Zia's death last August) is the creation of a weak Islamic client state to its north.

At the same time, the PDPA regime was ripping itself apart through murderous factionalism and cliquism. Khalq leader Noor Mohammed Taraki was killed by his former protégé Habizullah Amin. Amin, in turn, was assassinated in the course of the Soviet intervention in December 1979 which installed Babrak Karmal, leader of the Parcham faction. Only five of the party leaders in April 1978 escaped being killed, imprisoned or exiled by their "comrades" over the next few years. An ever smaller group of modernizing intellectuals was being pitted against a mass reactionary revolt.

It was only the Soviet military intervention of December 1979 which opened the road to the liberation of the Afghan toiling masses. Although conducted halfheartedly, sending troops into Afghanistan was the one unambiguously decent and progressive act of the corrupt and conservative Brezhnev regime, going against the grain of the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." We wrote at the time:

> "There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army. In fact, although uncalled for militarily, a natural response on the part of the world's young leftists would be an enthusiastic desire to join an international brigade to fight the reactionary CIA-connected rebels."
>
> —"Hail Red Army!" *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80

We further raised the demand to extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples.

The Western press hoped and speculated that the Soviet troops, especially those from the traditionally Islamic regions of Central Asia, would become infected with the "liberating" message of the *mujahedin*. But Soviet soldiers sent into battle were told they were fulfilling their duty toward their Afghan brothers, and their experiences in the country convinced them of it. Most were appalled at the backwardness, poverty and hideous oppression they witnessed in a country so close to home. One Soviet Tadzhik soldier told a Western reporter in the early days of the war that "most of them were glad to go to help—it's a very backward country and we are neighbors, after all" (*New York Times*, 11 April 1980).

While Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan were generally proud to do their internationalist duty, the Kremlin bureaucracy did not send them there out of internationalist commitment. As we wrote a few months later:

> "Of course, the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin did not send 100,000 troops into Afghanistan to effect a social revolution, but simply to make secure an unstable, strategically placed client state.... It is possible the Kremlin could do a deal with the imperialists to withdraw, for example, in return for NATO's reversing its decision to deploy hundreds of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. That would be a real counterrevolutionary crime against the Afghan peoples."
>
> —"Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank," *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980

Imperialist Hue and Cry Over Afghan "Self-Determination"

For almost a decade the demand for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan has united the far right, liberals, social democrats and most self-styled radicals. The Democratic Carter administration used the Soviet intervention to officially declare Cold War II. Under Reagan, Congressional Democrats seized upon the issue of Afghanistan to demonstrate their anti-Communist credentials. Chary of Reagan's bellicose posture in Central America, where the U.S. risked being drawn into another *losing* military adventure like Vietnam, liberal Democrats were more than willing to pour money into Afghanistan, where U.S. proxies were *killing Russians without risking a single American life*. In 1985 the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives *tripled* Reagan's request for aid to the Afghan contras.

Just as support for the Afghan "freedom fighters" has united liberal Democrats with Reaganites, so it has united most of the American and West European left—social democrats, Eurocommunists, ex-New Left Maoists, "Third Campists"—with their imperialist rulers. Afghanistan and Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loved, have been two central issues defining which side you're on in Cold War II. Thus the hard pro-Moscow factions in the Eurocommunist parties were variously dubbed *afganos* (Spain), *kabulisti* (Italy) and "tankies" (Britain).

An Iranian woman leftist, Val Moghadam, drawing on the bitter experience of Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," expresses consternation that:

> "Left-wing support for the Mujahedeen has been especially strong in Europe, where activists from London to Stockholm have defended the putative national liberation struggle. One of the surprising features of this support has been the total neglect of the meaning of national liberation under an Islamic rubric for Afghan women. Since the Saur revolution (April 1978), and to some degree even prior to it, women have made incremental but important gains in education, employment and political participation. Indeed, it was precisely the reform programs launched by the PDPA government that provoked reaction....
>
> "By all accounts and indications a Mujahedeen-ruled Afghanistan would be more intolerant and repressive than the Islamic Republic of Iran and would

PDC: For Internationalist Military Support to Afghan Government!

We reprint below a letter from the Partisan Defense Committee to the government of Afghanistan, offering concrete support in the struggle against the murderous reactionary mujahedin. *The letter proposes organization of an international brigade to assist in defending the Afghan peoples against the CIA's feudalistic terrorists. When we spoke with representatives of the Afghan government about the letter, they thanked us for this initiative while indicating that they believe such a measure is not necessary to defend the country at this time.*

7 February 1989

To: Ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

With the withdrawal of the Soviet Army now completed, we join with you in fearing that elementary social progress is in grave danger in Afghanistan. The right of women to read, freedom from the veil, freedom from the tyranny of the mullahs and the landlords, the introduction of medical care and the right of all to an education—we are compelled to offer our aid before all this is drowned in blood. The Partisan Defense Committee hereby makes the urgent offer to organize an international brigade to fight to the death in defense of these rights in Afghanistan. Volunteers would of course operate under your control and direction.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle defense organization supported by militant Marxists worldwide, many associated with the international Spartacist tendency.

In making this offer, we pledge to handle all aspects of agitation, propaganda and recruitment necessary to amass forces and publicize the effort. These forces would be recruited internationally from among disaffected progressive youth, leftist militants, liberation fighters, and decent people who wish to prevent the destruction of any vestige of human progress achieved through struggle. We further pledge to provide transport to an appropriate transit point. International fighters would be expected to acquire equipment when in place.

From the Afghan government we would need air fare from a transit point to Kabul and, in the field, food and military direction.

Capitalist governments which hypocritically condemned the presence of the Red Army in Afghanistan are fleeing Kabul, aghast at the prospect of a full-scale civil war reaching that city. They abandon their embassies now in the hopes of returning after the victory of the feudalist mujahedin. This must not happen!

We hope most fervently that you will accept this offer of assistance proffered with a keen sense of internationalist duty. Please respond as soon as possible.

Smolan/Contact

Kabul parade greets Soviet troops arriving to back up left-nationalist PDPA regime, 1980.

Sobolev/TASS

Planeta Publishers

Liberation from the veil and literacy for women are at stake in Afghan war. Left: young girls on their way to school. Right: at Kabul University over half the students are women.

work fervently to undo the measures taken toward women's equality."
—*Against the Current*, November/December 1988

Moghadam asks how it is possible for leftists, including self-styled radical feminists, to support such a reactionary and barbaric movement. Her answer: "It can only be a misguided Third Worldism and fascination with any and all guerrilla warfare that prevents leftists from discerning reactionary movements." This explanation is wide of the mark. Practically no Western leftists support the guerrillas of the Nicaraguan contras or Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola. Moreover, some leftists (e.g., Tariq Ali) who joined the imperialist chorus for Soviet troops out initially *supported* the PDPA against the *mujahedin* revolt *before* the Soviet intervention.

Western leftist support for Washington's Afghan cutthroats (and also for Polish Solidarność) expresses anti-Soviet prejudices and the elevation of national independence as the highest political principle. Since 1917 when the Russian Revolution toppled capitalism in one-sixth of the globe, the imperialists' central aim has been to reverse the gains of October and restore capitalist exploitation in this bastion of workers power. That is why the entire apparatus of political indoctrination in the United States and West Europe is geared to producing hatred and fear of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

The standard line of Western imperialism and its left camp followers is that "Russia violated Afghan national self-determination." This charge doesn't even hold up on its own terms. Afghanistan is not a nation but a feudal-derived state composed of a mosaic of nationalities, ethnic and tribal groupings. Most of the rural population has never lived under the effective control of any central state power, but identifies exclusively with particular ethnic, tribal or linguistic groupings. In Afghanistan the term "Afghan" refers *only* to the Pushtuns, not to the Hazaras, Tadzhiks and other peoples.

Should the *mujahedin* topple the Kabul nationalist government, the two-sided civil war could well become a war of all against all. Already, Shi'ite groups are refusing to accept Sunni domination, and the rival *mujahedin* groups are threatening to kill one another. We can only hope they do so quickly and massively. Yet even if the country were a homogeneous nation, communists would support the Soviet Union's armed intervention. All talk of Afghan "national sovereignty" is but a cover to defend the class and caste privileges of the khans, mullahs, landlords and moneylenders. For Marxists, the furthering of *social revolution*, including the defense of the USSR against capitalist imperialism, stands higher than the bourgeois-democratic right of national self-determination.

Russia's Vietnam?

Ever since the 1979 Soviet intervention, the Western media has labeled Afghanistan "Russia's Vietnam," an insidious lie now taken up for its own reasons by the Gorbachev regime. In Vietnam the U.S. fought a genocidal war to stop a social revolution, and was defeated *on the battlefield*. The Soviet army fought to stop *counter*revolution which would turn back the clock by centuries, but never fought to win. From the outset the Kremlin tops kept open the option of withdrawal as a bargaining chip in dealing with Western imperialism. The U.S. sent 500,000 troops halfway around the world to Vietnam. The Soviet leaders sent just 100,000 troops across the border into Afghanistan.

Nonetheless, by 1984 the Soviet and PDPA forces had practically won the war. The CIA's "holy warriors" were shattered and demoralized. And the government's modest social reforms, although scaled back from even the moderate program first offered by the PDPA, were winning support in the countryside. One rebel leader stated: "The war has been deadlocked up until now, but we are beginning to lose the population.... If this continues, we may eventually lose the war" (*Chicago Tribune*, 16 November 1984).

Seeking to turn the tide, in early 1986 the U.S. began supplying the *mujahedin* with state-of-the-art Stinger missiles. Soon these shoulder-fired rockets were bringing down scores of Soviet and Afghan aircraft, including civilian airplanes. Soviet military aircraft were so crucial to the Afghan war only because the Kremlin was willing to commit but a *small fraction* of its five-million-strong armed forces. Even so, the Russians could have easily deployed available technology to defeat the "Stinger war," but they did not. And no serious effort was made to interdict the flow of U.S.-supplied weapons from Pakistan.

When Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he faced economic stagnation aggravated by the intensified military pressure from Reagan's America. His domestic program of market-oriented reforms (*perestroika*) was linked to a foreign policy of global appeasement. Gorbachev's most dramatic foreign policy initiative was to cut and run from Afghanistan.

To help set this up, the Kremlin strong-armed the PDPA regime into calling for "national reconciliation," i.e., a coalition government with sections of the *mujahedin*. In 1986 Afghan leader Karmal was dumped, apparently because he resisted the new turn. He was replaced by Najibullah, who at the beginning of 1987 declared a unilateral cease-fire while further scaling back progressive social reforms so as not to affront Islamic tradition. Calling for a coalition of the PDPA and *mujahedin* is somewhat like calling in the 1930s for a coalition of Nazis and Jewish leftists. The *mujahedin* want not only to kill every leftist in Afghanistan but to exterminate the *entire* educated urban population, whom they regard as infidels.

The Gorbachev regime appears willing to accept such a bloodbath if it is necessary to appease the Western powers. A historical parallel is Stalin's pulling the Red Army out of northern Iran in 1946, abandoning the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan under the Cold War pressure of U.S. imperialism. There followed a massacre of pro-Soviet Iranian leftists at the hands of the shah.

Downing/Newsweek

Bush and Reagan meet with Gorbachev last December. Kremlin leader pulls Soviet troops out of Afghanistan to appease U.S. imperialism.

Nickelsberg/Time

To prepare the Soviet people for the abandonment of Afghanistan, Kremlin officials and the Soviet media are parroting the imperialist lie that the Afghan intervention was wrong, that the lives of the 15,000 Soviet soldiers killed there were simply wasted, that Afghanistan is Russia's Vietnam. In a flippant "we wash our hands of the whole business" tone, the Communist Youth paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* reported what will happen when the Soviet commander, Lt. Gen. Boris Gromov, leaves Afghanistan:

> "He will cross without looking back. Then he will stop and make a speech, but only to himself. It will last one minute and seven seconds. It will not be written down or listened to."

Soviet veterans of the Afghan war are being treated like pariahs instead of heroes. In their fight for official recognition, these veterans (the *afghantsy*) deeply resent the comparison of their internationalist combat duty to Washington's drive to transform Southeast Asia into a moonscape. One veteran activist told the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* (7 March 1988): "Our sacrifices were not for nothing. We have after all brought there the achievements of the civilized world." Honor Soviet veterans of the war in Afghanistan!

Defeat Imperialism Through Communist Internationalism!

During the 19th century Afghanistan was a chessboard on which the "Great Game" between tsarist Russia and Great Britain was played out. But in 1917 the Bolshevik Revolution changed the rules of this "game." Imperialist machinations in the region now had as their ultimate goal the destruction of the Soviet workers state and the opening up of its vast territory for capitalist plunder.

After World War II Pakistan became the U.S.' main client in the region, but Washington never lost sight of Afghanistan's potential military value in a counterrevolutionary assault on the USSR. In the early 1960s the U.S. offered to build an airport at Kandahar for the Afghan king Zahir Shah. The Pentagon secretly planned to use it as a "'recovery base' where bombers could land after attacking Soviet targets in Siberia or Central Asia" (Henry Bradsher, *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union* [1983]).

U.S. imperialism wants to turn Afghanistan into not only a military forward point but also a conduit for anti-Communist agitation among the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia. A few years ago the most rabid of the *mujahedin* leaders, Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, declared: "If the Mujahideen continue to fight persistently, the day is not far when the occupied areas of Soviet Central Asia will also be liberated." It is ludicrous to think that the Central Asian population—freed from religious obscurantism and grinding oppression, and enjoying modern medical care, universal education and an incomparably higher standard of living—would want to link up with

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Irving Brown

"Mr. AFL-CIA" Drops Dead

On February 11 one of the most sinister figures on the American labor scene died. For over four decades Irving Brown personified the link between the rabidly anti-Communist American labor bureaucracy and the counterrevolutionary terrorists of the CIA. Through "labor" fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the CIA helped prepare bloody right-wing coups throughout Latin America—Guatemala 1954, Brazil 1964, Chile 1973. Irving Brown was "Mr. AFL-CIA." He was identified by Philip Agee, a former CIA operative in Latin America, as the "principal CIA agent for control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions" (*Inside the Company* [1975]).

Brown began his career in the 1930s as the No. 1 sidekick of Jay Lovestone, once Stalin's hatchet man in the American Communist Party. Lovestone/Brown became anti-Communist witch-hunters in the unions long before the Cold War and McCarthyism. When Lovestone was made head of the AFL's "Free Trade Union Committee" in 1944, Irving Brown became his main European operative. His mission: to sabotage the Communist-led labor movement. The accompanying red purge of American unions installed the anti-Communist, pro-capitalist bureaucracy which decades later presided over the "givebacks" which gutted much of labor's hard-won gains.

Already in the McCarthy years Brown's activities were revealed in an exposé by Hal Draper entitled, "Cloak-and-Dollar Man: Mr. Irving Brown of the AFL in Europe," published in *Labor Action* of 20 October 1952. Draper quoted articles in the French newspaper *Le Monde* detailing Brown's operations in France, where with the aid of U.S. dollars, fascist collaborators and Corsican gangsters he engineered a split in the Communist-led CGT union federation:

> "Being a realist, Mr. Irving Brown does not long hesitate, it is well known, about the choice of methods to struggle against communism.... In his speech on December 13, 1951 at the American Club in Brussels, he even gave France precise advice: abolish the CGT's right to trade-union representation; return to the ranks of free trade-unionism the activists who were purged for having given their support to the [Nazi-allied] Vichy regime."

Draper comments on the methods of this apostle of "free trade-unionism":

> "This frankly means 'anti-Communist terror,' and less frankly, terror backed by the benevolence of the government. The prime example in France... is that of the so-called Mediterranean Committee which is virtually a Brown creature. He had found his man, one Pierre Ferri-Pisani, among the Marseilles dockers—described flatteringly as a 'steely Corsican' by the [*Reader's*] *Digest*—and poured AFL money in to build it up."

Bettmann Archive

Irving Brown (right), with Italian union bureaucrat in 1950, plots Cold War against left wing of European workers movement.

Brown's "steely Corsican" put together goon squads in every French port to intimidate the CGT and unleashed a wave of terror that sent several CP leaders to the hospital.

Brown's close ties to the Corsican Mafia linked him to the drug-trafficking "French Connection." In 1973 Jack Anderson reported that Brown:

> "...befriended and housed France's notorious Maurice (Broken Head) Castellani and occasionally enters the twilight circle of other shadowy figures who operate the heroin pipeline to America.
>
> "Castellani, 49, is identified in a classified Justice Dept. document as one of 'the triumvirate leadership of the "Trois Canards" (Three Ducks), an underworld organization involved in numerous illicit financial enterprises, not least of which is narcotics'."
>
> —*New York Post*, 5 September 1973

CIA links with criminal syndicates are well known. In the early '60s the Company contracted Mafia hitman John Roselli to assassinate Castro. And more recently there is the CIA's notorious "Contra-cocaine connection."

In 1975 the Company dispatched Irving Brown to Portugal to stop the revolution which ousted the Caetano dictatorship. They tried to bust up the Communist-led union federation while CIA-funded mobs were burning CP offices. And in 1981 Mr. AFL-CIA was officially invited to attend the first national congress of Polish Solidarność, which thus openly signaled its counterrevolutionary appetites. Over the next few years, the "AFL-CIA" funneled millions of U.S. dollars to this company "union" for Wall Street and the Vatican.

With Irving Brown's death the Company has lost a valuable asset. Yet it's unfortunate he didn't live long enough for the workers of the world to bring him to justice. ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 13)

a reactionary Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

Nonetheless, Gorbachev's *perestroika* has fueled reactionary nationalist currents in the Caucasus and Baltic republics. And Central Asia is certainly not immune. Moscow's increasing reliance on market forces will tend to *favor* the more developed regions of European Russia, the Ukraine and Baltic republics. Under these conditions pan-Turkic nationalism in Islamic coloration could make headway in the Central Asian republics.

The Soviet Union is confronting a deepening political and economic crisis. The bureaucratic centralism of the Brezhnev era led to stagnation. Gorbachev's *perestroika* will generate unemployment, increasing inequalities and intensifying national animosities. Internationally, his policy of appeasement will only embolden the imperialist drive to roll back Soviet power and influence.

Afghanistan's modernizing intellectuals have viewed Soviet Central Asia, despite the enormous deformations of Stalinism, as representing social progress. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, Bolshevik Russia was viewed as beacon of the socialist future by workers and radical intellectuals around the world, including in the imperialist centers of North America and Europe. The Soviet Union can and must be restored to its rightful place as a bastion of international communism through proletarian political revolution against the treacherous Kremlin bureaucracy. ■

WV Photo

"Hail Red Army!" Spartacist contingent in 1980 Washington anti-draft demonstration confronts imperialist hysteria over Afghanistan.

Eastern...

(continued from page 16)

La Guardia Airport the company broke into the union office, carted off the union's files and drove the union office off company property.

Lorenzo is the archetypal corporate raider of the '80s, the model for Mr. Gekko in the movie *Wall Street*. Even the capitalist mouthpiece *Fortune* called him a "loose cannon"; Lorenzo responded by banning the magazine from his planes. Using a "leveraged buyout," Lorenzo paid for Eastern with "junk bonds," increasing the debt of his Texas Air holding company to over $5 billion. Lorenzo is sucking Eastern dry, selling off its most valuable assets to himself (in the form of Texas Air) for a pittance and raking in $365 million by the proposed sale of Eastern's moneymaking shuttle operation to New York real estate mogul Donald Trump.

Lorenzo is out for the workers' blood, demanding a whopping wage cut to "solve" the financial crisis he created. In *two years*, the workforce has been slashed by 12,000. Transferred Eastern workers are reportedly sleeping in airports after they finish their shift, unable to afford an apartment in their new city. Yet the airline owners are raking in millions. To hell with Lorenzo and the junk bond speculators! What airline workers, and all workers, need is some hard class struggle. And the battle against the "Darth Vader" corporate raiders will quickly become a political struggle in which labor must stand together against capital, its parties and its state.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Bryan's only consistent demand has been to put himself on the management "team." Last October he had a three-hour dinner with Lorenzo at a swank Houston restaurant, to discuss yet another "stock-for-wages swap and even perhaps giving Mr. Bryan a seat on the Texas Air board" (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 November 1988). Meanwhile Bryan has forbidden all strikes during the past couple of years of company attacks, even as Lorenzo has fired hundreds of union militants, including whole layers of shop stewards. Instead Bryan has been relying on endless maneuvering in the courts and government labor boards.

In its drive for ever more profits, Lorenzo's Eastern Airlines is spearheading the bosses' attack on the entire union movement. But hard class struggle now can break Lorenzo and open up a fight by labor and all the oppressed to reverse the brutal givebacks and grinding oppression of the Reagan years. The battle to defend the unions at Eastern must be linked to the fight for a revolutionary workers party which can rip American industry out of the hands of parasites like Lorenzo and build a socialist planned economy. *No more PATCOs! Defend the IAM—Shut down the airports!* ■

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Fired Machinists Local President:

"If We Don't Strike, Pack It In"

We print below excerpts of a *Workers Vanguard* interview with two officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), John DiPaola, president of IAM Local Lodge 1018 at La Guardia Airport in New York, and LeRoy Washington, chairman of IAM District 100, on January 26. DiPaola was recently fired by Eastern Airlines, part of a wave of firings by corporate raider Frank Lorenzo. And on February 7, 86 stewards and chief stewards in Miami were suspended—almost the entire shop committee!

Airline workers, and all of labor, have paid for the givebacks handed over by the AFL-CIO tops. As we said in "Eastern Unions: Fight or Die!" (*WV* No. 463, 21 October 1987), "it's the labor bureaucrats' alliance with the Democratic Party that has kept the unions from *fighting* the anti-labor offensive." When PATCO was smashed by Reagan, it was IAM chief "Wimpy" Winpisinger who ordered machinists to cross the air controllers' picket lines. And now Wimpy and Charles Bryan, president of IAM District 100, continue to preach reliance on Congress and the capitalist courts and labor boards.

Today, even many local union officials are getting increasingly fed up, as the union gets decimated at Eastern. The bosses' state is the *enemy* in the class war being waged against the airline unions. *Labor's gotta play hardball to win*—and that means *joint strike action* to shut the airports down and building picket lines that nobody crosses.

DiPaola: Right now we're getting our asses kicked in the labor movement. At La Guardia we had 12 stewards in sales and service, which are cargo handlers, cleaners, refuelers, and air freight people. In the past two years, we're down to approximately five. We got stewards who were there for 20 years, held the position of shop steward, and two years ago at an election, they came up and wouldn't even accept the nomination. We're dying slowly.

Washington: [At Kennedy airport] they have fired four shop stewards, one in maintenance and three in sales and services. They attempted to fire both of the chief stewards, like they did John. They've got this ongoing policy to get rid of any leadership in the union that they can.

WV: It's their policy to get rid of the union—at La Guardia three-quarters of the stewards have been fired. It seems to me the union is going to have to strike soon, if it's to defend its life. I don't see the preparations for it. What's the strategy?

Washington: I agree with what you're saying, that for the union's survival itself, the only recourse we've got is to flex our muscle by withholding our services, a strike. What I think needs to be done in that area is that we must take a stand collectively—not just Eastern, all transportation people in this country, especially in the IAM. Because what's happening at Eastern, if it's successful, will surely spill over to all other groups in transportation. That might very well mean a situation like the PATCO situation. But that's what it's going to require, because nobody is going to come to the rescue on a white horse, in my opinion, Congress, the government. We're gonna have to do it alone.

WV Photos

IAM officials LeRoy Washington (left) and John DiPaola.

DiPaola: We should've learned from the PATCO incident. We let it happen. If we don't strike, we might as well pack it in and get the hell out of there. Not only at Eastern Airlines, all organized labor. Until our leadership realizes that, we can't win. We thought we were going to go on strike, be released from the Railway Labor Act, last February. Then July 4 came and we're still here. And then Labor Day, then Thanksgiving, then Christmas is behind us. By delaying these tactics, not preparing our membership for a strike, I think it's the biggest mistake ever been made.

I'm telling you today what we should have done two years ago. Two years ago when we were strong, two years ago there were 13,500 Machinists in Eastern Airlines. Now we're down to a little over 8,000, and the assets are sold. The company's last proposal is nothing but a strike. If Frank Lorenzo is successful in cutting our wages by 40-50 percent—he already has 20 percent of the market counting Continental and Eastern—the other airlines can't compete with him.

If we have to strike, we have to strike; if we have to lose, we lose. People sacrificed in the 1920s and 1930s for what we have today. If we don't want to sacrifice today, our kids, our grandchildren will have no future. They'll all be working at minimum wage, there'll be two classes, rich and poor and that's it.

WV: One of the obvious lessons of PATCO is that the unions should have shut it down back then together.

Washington: Labor should have shut the country down. What happened was, the government, Reagan, made certain calls to certain key leadership in the 39 council [AFL-CIO Executive] and had a commitment from them before he fired those guys that they were not going to do anything. Winpisinger, who was one of the three of the 39, took the position that we must shut down the country. With the 39 council, it was 36 to three. That's the way the vote went. [AFL-CIO chief] Kirkland was one of the ones that made a decision not to do a damn thing. And I blame those people strongly.

Going back to the Eastern thing. We should have taken a position when Lorenzo came on board and started pushing around and terminating our people, we should have struck right then and there. That might put us in a position that we're violating the law, but let me tell you something—John said something earlier—people in the '20s and the '30s fought and they died, some of them died.

WV: Obviously things have gotten a lot worse in terms of day-to-day existence on the job, and I'm sure that's affected safety as well. I know pilots at Eastern have been forced to fly more hours per month. What is happening to the mechanics?

DiPaola: Forced overtime. They lay our people off, they fire them, they suspend union people. And then they force the people who are there to work—I'm talking mechanics working 24, 30, 36 hours steady. Straight, without punching out and going home. Without sleeping, because you can't sleep on the job. We have an attendance control program that is so ridiculous that if you're [out] four times for any reason, you're fired. We have a mechanic who came into work with a broken finger because he's afraid of losing his job.

I've been working for Eastern Airlines for 22 years. This little kid gives me a letter firing me. When I was working here he wasn't even born yet, and he's telling me my job. When Frank Lorenzo came on he said it flat out, put it in writing, Eastern Airlines is not a career job. It's a steppingstone. It's gonna be looked upon as a Burger King job.

Washington: John's point is critical for what's happening for the flying public. Ninety-eight percent of the people at Kennedy have already received discipline in the last year. They know that if they terminate you today it's gonna take three years to have a hearing.

WV: The law is stacked against you.

Washington: It is. We don't belong in the courts, fighting in the courts. Any one of the acts in the labor movement you can think about is the result of action taking place first, and then the law coming.

WV: Do you guys think the other unions will back you up and honor your picket lines?

Washington: First of all, it goes back to the 39 people who made the decision with PATCO. See, that's the problem with labor. The leadership in the unions today only look at their problem, if they have one. Corporate America has got together, sat at a table like this, determined that the unions are the enemy. And when we sit at the table, we decide Lorenzo is the enemy. Not just Lorenzo is the enemy, it's corporate America, and that's what we need to be fighting.

DiPaola: What management has done, they've done it at all the major airlines. Some contracts say you can't honor the local picket line—cannot—even though you're in the same union, have brothers in the same industry. I think it's a mistake by the union—they made a concession they never should have made. I think we had blindfolds on, to tell you the truth. If you violate that agreement, they go to court and get an injunction against you. But sometimes, the hell with it, let's face it. If we have to bring them to their knees, it has to be done.

WV: The Democrats posture as the "friends of labor," but what Lorenzo's got working for him is a bunch of Democratic Party types, Kennedy's staff, Joe Califano, Robert Strauss. The Democratic Party politicians pass as many laws against labor as the Republicans, it's been a Democratic Congress for years and years. So what I'm driving at is...

Washington: We need a labor party.

WV: . . .a workers party, an independent workers party.

DiPaola: I think everybody realizes, but nobody's doing anything about it. So we could sit back and look back on the past 15 years, look back on what happened to organized labor. Look back at PATCO where we screwed up. We're not making any adjustments. We're still following the same old stream, and there's nothing ahead but a disaster. Things are going to get worse before they get better. ■

Gerald Davis

Union-busters' deadly skies: Eastern has laid off thousands while those still on the job are forced to work 24 to 36 hours at a stretch.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Crucial Battle for All Labor

Showdown at Eastern Airlines

Union-Buster Lorenzo Demands 40 Percent Wage Cut

WV Photo

Fusco/Magnum

At Machinists convention in Atlanta last April, thousands march against corporate cannibal Lorenzo.

Over 8,000 ground support personnel, members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), are gearing up for a strike March 3 against corporate raider and labor-hater Frank Lorenzo's Eastern Airlines. But this is no ordinary contract battle. The destruction of the PATCO air controllers union in 1981 shaped the anti-labor era of boundless greed and union-busting in the Reagan years. Now, the Eastern-IAM confrontation is shaping up as a key test of the labor movement—and, frustrated after months of delaying tactics by the IAM tops, the ranks want to fight.

"This is an all-out war. This is for all the marbles," said Mickey O'Connell, president of Machinists Lodge 1894 at Kennedy airport in New York (*Newsday*, 8 February). Lorenzo is stepping up his provocations against the IAM, as he gets ready to impose a *40 percent wage cut* on March 3. What Lorenzo is out to do is *destroy any union representation* in his airline empire—Continental is already a non-union operation and now he aims at wiping out the unions at Eastern even if it means killing the airline. When 2,000 IAM workers at Miami airport walked out over forced overtime on February 7, Lorenzo gave a taste of the coming battle by suspending *1,000 workers and 86 stewards*—every union official on duty that day! Eastern has put a huge fence around its Miami facility and is stockpiling spare parts, while recruiting scabs in New York and Atlanta through Butler International—whose Butler Aviation subsidiary is organized by the IAM!

The other unions at Eastern—the Transportation Workers Union representing flight attendants and the Air Line Pilots Association—must hit the bricks with the Machinists. It's time for labor to draw its sword. *No more PATCOs!* Contracts covering over 100,000 workers in airlines and the aerospace industry expire this spring and fall—at American, United, Boeing, Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas. The labor movement must act *now* to defend the IAM and all unions, respecting picket lines at Eastern and *shutting down the airports!*

Make no mistake: a serious airline strike will be *class war*. If the key air hubs on the East Coast—New York, Atlanta, Miami—are tied up, there will be a direct *political* confrontation with the capitalist state. They'll come down like a ton of bricks with their cops and courts. Yet while Republicans and Democrats alike will be screaming for union blood, the social-democratic "labor statesmen" and their fake-militant supporters appeal for government intervention! It will take an army of labor wielding its numbers and its social power to win.

The IAM tops, led by president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger and District 100 president Charles Bryan, are reportedly "considering" whether to pull out all 90,000 IAM members in the airline industry and call secondary boycott strikes by 500,000 Machinists in rail and aerospace. Winpisinger and the AFL-CIO Executive Council have called a mass demonstration against Eastern in Miami on February 21. But behind the bluster is Wimpy's real strategy: to get George Bush to step in and have the Democratic Congress "save" Eastern by imposing a contract and forcing the IAM back to work for Lorenzo!

These are the gravediggers of PATCO, who condemned the "illegal" strike of the air controllers and ordered union members to cross their picket lines, while showboating with a useless consumer boycott. Now they are desperately trying to keep angry IAM members chained to the courts and labor boards. But the government's laws and labor boards are designed to *break* strikes and enforce union-busting by the likes of Lorenzo and Carl Icahn at TWA. Just ask pilots at Continental or flight attendants at TWA, whose strikes were broken while they were told to place their hopes in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state.

When the showdown comes, the future of every airline worker will be on the line—they should determine how the strike is run. There must be *elected strike committees*, responsible to the membership, which can be key in overcoming jurisdictional divisions and organizing *joint strike action* throughout the industry. Flood the airports with pickets—Teamsters, transit and rail unionists, unemployed and homeless—we all have a stake in the IAM's victory!

Capitalist Greed and Deadly Skies

The showdown at Eastern Airlines was triggered on February 2 when the National Mediation Board—which had been preventing both Lorenzo from imposing a takeaway contract and the union from striking in an attempt to mediate a "settlement" under the 1926 Railway Labor Act (RLA)—declared an impasse, meaning both sides would be free to act at the end of 30 days.

When the airlines were deregulated in 1978, profits were no longer guaranteed by government regulation—and the airlines declared war on the unions. As a result of "free competition" the five biggest airlines now control 70 percent of passenger traffic. Fares have skyrocketed. Safety has gone to hell. Planes are literally falling apart in the air, as the debt-ridden companies cannot afford to replace their aging aircraft. (The average Eastern plane today is over 15 years old.) A year ago, four courageous Eastern flight attendants were suspended when they defended passengers' lives by refusing to allow an ice-laden plane to take off in Denver.

The response of the IAM tops to Lorenzo's assault was to offer themselves as more efficient capitalist managers. A *Frontline* television documentary "The Battle for Eastern Airlines" (31 January) captures this corporatist policy. When Eastern faced a financial crisis in 1983, District 100 chief Bryan proposed wage cuts in exchange for a "progressive plan for sharing co-determination." In December 1983 he got his wish: then-company chairman Frank Borman, the former astronaut, took the IAM's concessions of an 18-22 percent wage cut (worth $292 million), speedup and work rule changes in exchange for giving the union 25 percent of Eastern stock and four seats on the board of directors. Bryan still describes it as "Camelot." But while Bryan got his seat, IAM members got the shaft.

When Eastern went back to the well in 1985 and demanded another 20 percent wage cut, Bryan offered 15 percent, if Borman was fired. Instead the board of directors sold the airline to Frank Lorenzo, the empire-building head of Texas Air Corporation. Bryan got the boot and was banned from setting foot on company property. At New York's

continued on page 14

WV Photo

When Reagan smashed PATCO in 1981 and put the union leaders in chains, Spartacists called on labor to "Shut Down the Airports!"

AP

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 472 3 March 1989

No More PATCOs! To Hell with the Labor Boards!

Machinists march against Lorenzo in Atlanta, April 1988.

WV Photos

IAM Lodge 1018 meeting, February 23.

Strike Eastern, Spread the Strike, Shut Down the Airports!

FEBRUARY 27—The International Association of Machinists (IAM) is preparing to go into battle at midnight, March 3, against labor-hater Frank Lorenzo and Eastern Airlines. Lorenzo has ordered wages slashed by *half*. His real aim is to destroy the union. The future of a key section of the organized labor movement is now on the line. That mouthpiece of American capitalism, the *New York Times*, editorialized that "Labor Threatens the President" and called on Bush to put an end to the "appeasement" of the unions at Eastern! Just as the Reagan years opened up with the campaign to "roll back" Communism and "roll back" the unions, today the ruling class wants to use the fight at Eastern to go after the entire labor movement. They are out to give the IAM the "PATCO treatment" and labor must make a stand: *All out with the IAM—Shut down the airports!*

The ranks of the IAM, who have been insulted, harassed and fired by Lorenzo and his arrogant yuppie managers since the corporate raider took over, are ready to fight. There are plenty of airline workers, fed up with two-tier wages and givebacks, who want to join them. But the labor tops, who fear class struggle like the plague, are preaching faith in "mediation" through Bush's labor boards and the Democrats in Congress, who are no friends of labor. The National Mediation Board has just asked Bush to impose another 60-day "cooling off" period; this will be more of the same slow death that has wiped out the jobs of thousands of Eastern workers. To win, Machinists and their allies must forge a new leadership in struggle, one that will use the workers' *social power* to take on Lorenzo, the bosses' politicians and the bosses' courts. *Don't bow to the labor boards—Strike big to win big!*

continued on page 8

Salman Rushdie Must Not Be Silenced!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League/U.S. on February 22.

Ayatollah Khomeini promises heaven and $5.2 million to the assassins of noted author Salman Rushdie as punishment for writing *The Satanic Verses*. Demonstrations of Islamic fanatics against the book in Pakistan and India killed eight. In New York Cardinal O'Connor chose Sunday morning mass to denounce *The Satanic Verses*. Three major U.S. bookstore chains controlling 2,400 outlets ordered the book off their shelves. Racist South Africa joined the Islamic world in banning the book altogether while French and West German publishers suspended their translations. "Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature," wrote Milton in his eloquent 17th-century defense of freedom of conscience and press, *Areopagitica*, "but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself."

Using the *jihad* against Rushdie, Iran's rulers manipulate passions in order to divert concern for the millions who died in the pointless war with Iraq, and from a shattered economy and endless repression. The Shi'ite theocracy launched its holy war against *The Satanic Verses* after executing thousands of leftists and other dissidents, seeking to drown every manifestation of social discontent in rivers of blood. The so-called "community of civilized nations" watched the mounting wall of corpses in total silence, while the *New York Times* applauded the "liberalization" of Iranian society. Khomeini's Iran is a foretaste of what a mujahedin victory would mean in Afghanistan, where the CIA-backed "freedom fighters" skin alive schoolteachers for teaching girls and women to read. Pursuing its policy of conciliation with the mullahs, the Afghan government just banned the book also!

But the exploitation of religious bigotry in the service of political tyranny is by no means the monopoly of the Islamic world. In the name of "national security" Nixon tried to suppress the *Pentagon Papers*; Thatcher attempted the same with *Spycatcher*. Crying "blasphemy," Christian fundamentalists together with assorted fascist scum have launched a crusade against Martin Scorcese's film *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Book-burners in white sheets and black robes have tried to ban Darwin and even *Goldilocks* from public and school libraries. Following Ed Meese's porn commission, the government uses RICO to prosecute the sale of books and videos with sexual content as "racketeering."

The German Jewish radical poet Heinrich Heine's apt warning is now poignantly displayed at the memorial to the victims of Hitler's Dachau concentration camp: "Once they burn books, they will end up burning people." To preserve a social system which had outlived its progressive mission even before the dawn of this century, the capitalist ruling classes are compelled to revive religious obscurantism, superstition and terror; the pogrom is industrialized, the Inquisition goes high tech, and Armageddon is nuclear. The defense of the social, scientific and cultural achievements of the Renaissance, the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions including the American Civil War, and the conquests of the proletarian October Revolution in Russia—from freedom of conscience to freedom from exploitation—is inseparable. In defense of the fundamental democratic rights and elemental human decency we demand: Let *The Satanic Verses* Be Read!

See article on page four.

S.F. Labor: Defend Greg Wiggins!

SAN FRANCISCO, February 24—The frame-up trial of black Muni bus driver Greg Wiggins ended its fourth day today with officer Eugene Yoshii on the witness stand, the third cop to testify. Last October, while Wiggins was driving his bus he was beaten viciously by four cops screaming racist insults. He is on trial now on trumped-up charges of battery on a police officer, resisting arrest and more. In addition to severe injuries to his neck, back and throat, Wiggins has a fractured hip that keeps him in constant pain.

As in the January 12 pretrial hearing, "inconsistencies" keep cropping up in the testimony of the cops. Their story stinks; it won't hold together because *they have too much to cover up*. Yoshii is the cop who's being sued by his former rookie partner, who says he raped her in March 1987. In his testimony Yoshii also admitted he shot an unarmed man in the face during an arrest last December. Yoshii revealed that some of the other cops present at that brutal shooting were the same ones involved in beating and arresting Wiggins.

For several months Wiggins' fellow drivers in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250-A have worked to get out the word about the frame-up. A leaflet calling for the membership to stand behind Wiggins was signed by 89 drivers last December and circulated in all the bus barns. Before the trial began, some 2,000 copies of a 10 February leaflet with an update on the case were distributed among the drivers, calling for "a big continuous show of union support to send a message to the court, the cops and the racist city officials from Agnos down, that *labor won't tolerate racist police terror!*"

WV Photo

Greg Wiggins (center, with cane) and supporters from TWU Local 250-A in front of the courthouse.

Each day in court Muni drivers in uniform have turned out, many coming for as much time as they can between split shifts. Their presence has not gone unnoticed: during jury selection the prosecutor asked one prospective juror if he would find the presence of 30 or 40 Muni drivers in the courtroom intimidating! TWU Local 250-A gave a trial update in the union newsletter of 23 February, saying, "The strong show of support & solidarity from our members is very much appreciated." The drivers are standing solid behind Greg because *they know these racist labor-hating cops*. Almost every driver has his own story of harassment or worse at their hands. Tito Torres, Wiggins' attorney, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (24 February), "They had no reason to even arrest him. They come in here like choirboys, as if they did nothing wrong."

The *Chronicle* article, headlined "Contradictory Versions of Assault Case Told," also referred to support for Wiggins from other unions. Telegrams and letters to the D.A. have been sent by officials from Bay Area unions including Machinists Local 739, Amalgamated Transit Local 1555 (BART workers), AFGE Local 1457 (Presidio workers), Teamsters Local 315 and more, responding to the Partisan Defense Committee's call for union solidarity on behalf of Wiggins. In New York, 107 transit workers from TWU Local 100 signed a letter to the SF district attorney demanding the charges be dropped. The Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense has called on the labor movement to defend Brother Wiggins. As the February LBL newsletter, distributed among Muni and other SF workers, says, "S.F. is a labor town! Let's use that strength to win a big victory for Greg Wiggins and all of us." ■

TROTSKY

Capitalist Offensive and Labor Revolt

LENIN

During the depths of the Great Depression in 1931, as the working class was taking it on the chin, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon insisted that American workers would again show their fighting capacity. Within three years workers in three cities had undertaken general strikes, launching what became the mightiest labor upsurge in American history. But that upsurge was ultimately channeled into the arms of the Democratic Party by the reformist misleaders of labor. Today, after a decade of wage-cutting and union-busting—notably the smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981—American workers are fed up. The key to victory in the upcoming battles lies in forging a revolutionary leadership in political opposition to the giveback bureaucrats and their reliance on the two capitalist parties of union-busting, war and racism.

Wage cutting began with the first manifestations of the crisis and has been proceeding ever since at a continually accelerated pace. For quite a while this practice was masked by denials and all kinds of subterfuges....

But now the process of beating down the living standards of the workers has reached a new stage. The figures on wage cuts are accumulating in such a volume that the facts can no longer be hidden or denied. And there is no point in it, for the exploiters, emboldened by the practical absence of labor resistance, have begun a real assault on the wage scales. They are coming out in the open with this policy....

Will the workers fight back? Will they take up the defensive struggle on a wide front within the year?... The figures alone take no account of the accumulation of grievance and discontent as yet unexpressed and therefore unspent. It is by no means assured that the new encroachments will pass unchallenged. On the contrary, they are more apt to bring matters to the combustion point.

The capitalists, bent on loading the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers, are preparing thereby the necessary conditions for a labor revolt. In this way they will convince the workers, as propaganda has been unable to convince them, that there is no way out but to fight. Under such conditions the prospect of a series of stormy battles, of which the American workers have many times shown themselves capable, is by no means unreasonable. In that event the communists would get a hearing the like of which has not been granted before.

—James P. Cannon, "The Capitalist Offensive" (July 1931)

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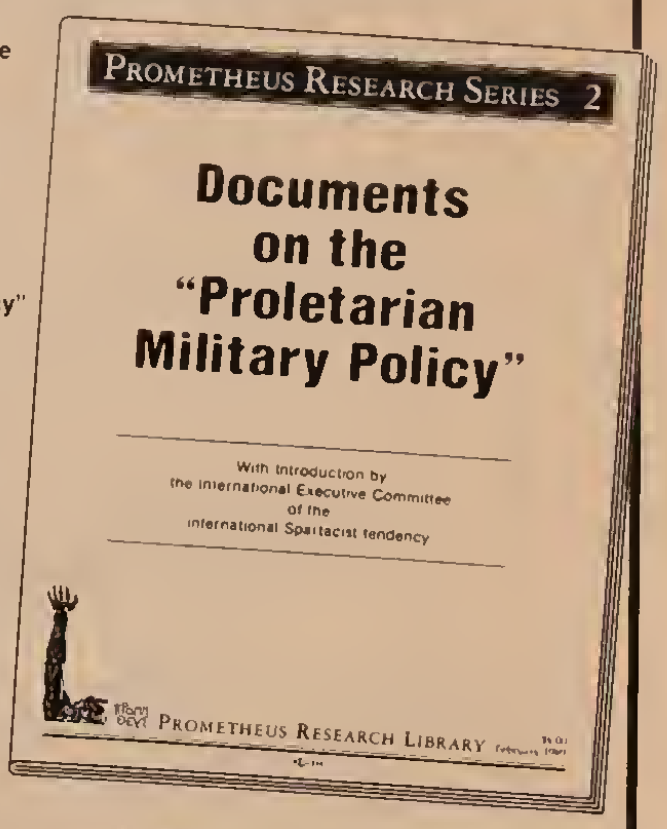

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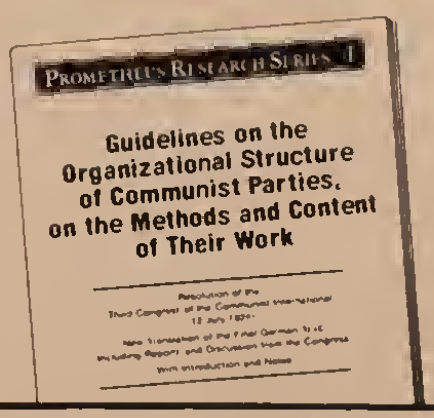

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Louisiana Racists Vote for KKK Terror

The election of "ex-" Nazi and KKKer David Duke to the Louisiana state legislature from the lily-white New Orleans suburb of Metairie last week is an invitation to racist terror by emboldened Klan nightriders, Nazi and skinhead scum and racist killer cops. While he now appears in three-piece suits instead of white sheets, Duke is still the fascist he always was. His phone number is the same as that of the local KKK chapter and he heads up the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," whose activities include selling tapes of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party.

Duke's run for office as a Republican is the deadly "natural child" of the bipartisan war on blacks and minorities in America as both capitalist parties scramble for the white racist vote. His campaign brought sanctimonious disavowals from Klan-endorsed ex-president Reagan as well as Bush campaign architect and now Republican Party chairman Lee Atwater, author of the infamous Willie Horton rape ads and former aide to Dixiecrat Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, one of the biggest opponents of civil rights in the South from the 1940s on.

The fascist Duke says that the difference between him and Atwater is that "David Duke has said openly and loudly what a lot of the other Republicans have not been willing to talk about on the campaign trail" (*New York Times*, 20 February). Indeed, Duke's lips were saying much the same thing as George Bush's, from "no new taxes" to attacking affirmative action programs.

New York Times

UPI/Bettmann

Fascist David Duke: as Nazi stormtrooper in 1970, organizing KKK anti-immigrant patrol on Mexican border in 1977.

WV Photos

Atlanta: Spartacists picketed KKKer Duke's radio talk in 1987 (left). Three thousand turn out in response to Partisan Defense Committee call for labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK, January 21 (right).

Duke's opponent, John Treen, was heavily backed as the "respectable" Republican candidate by the party tops, with staff and sound bites from Bush and Reagan. Who is Treen? According to longtime New Orleans civil rights activist Llewellyn Soniat, John Treen is a former member of the fascist States Rights Party, whose race-hate rag *Thunderbolt* sported swastikas and whose co-chairman was Birmingham church-bomber J.B. Stoner.

The Republicans have certainly been chasing after the Southern racist vote. But the Democrats are the classic party of Klan terror and Jim Crow segregation in the South, from the overthrow of black Reconstruction to "massive resistance" to school integration and up to today. Former "Imperial Wizard" Duke and ex-"Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger in California ran for office as KKK Democrats. And with its "Southern strategy" and "win back the Reagan Democrats" campaign, the Democratic Party engaged in an obscene competition for racist support in the '88 presidential campaign.

Moreover, many of the racist themes of Duke's campaign are part and parcel of the *bipartisan* war on minorities and the poor by the twin parties of property. The fascist Duke railed against the "threat" of the "rising underclass" with the "illegitimate welfare birthrate." But these longtime battle cries of the Reaganite right have been taken up by the Democrats as well, as Congress last fall overwhelmingly passed the genocidal "workfare" law which will cut off millions of single mothers on welfare and leave them on the streets to starve.

The ominous election of a KKKer in Louisiana has gotten nationwide publicity. Meanwhile, in Connecticut and elsewhere other "Klandidates" are appearing. In the 1920s, the Klan was able to elect hundreds of local officials as it grew to an estimated three to five *million* members. Along with the KKK's political clout came tar-and-featherings and lynchings of blacks, Jews and immigrants, and anti-union terror.

But the hooded fascists are widely despised. *Racist and fascist terror must be crushed in the egg, through mass mobilization of labor, minorities and all the fascists' intended victims!*

Once a Fascist, Always a Fascist

David Duke got his start as a swastika-clad Hitler-lover at Louisiana State University, where he was known as "The Nazi of L.S.U." In 1970 he disrupted a speech by noted civil rights lawyer William Kunstler at Tulane University, dressing as a stormtrooper and carrying a sign that read "Gas the Chicago 7" New Left radicals. Duke graduated in 1974 to become the slick, media-sharp "Imperial Wizard" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which grew rapidly, expanding from Louisiana into the rest of the South and into New York, Connecticut and California.

Duke attracted and then spun off Tom Metzger, who is now notorious for racist cable TV shows and as a guru for the Nazi-loving, violent skinheads organized by his son John. Duke also recruited Bill Wilkinson, who renounced Duke's "mod" cover, flaunting the Klan's racist violence. Duke's successor, Don Black, called a 27 November 1982 KKK march in Washington, D.C. But though the Klan had been given the green light by the White House, this provocation against black Washington was stopped by 5,000 blacks and unionists in a Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization.

Duke is also rabidly anti-immigrant. In 1977 he organized a "Klan Border Watch" in Southern California. When he ran as the Populist Party candidate for president last year, Duke presented a program to seal U.S. borders, railing that "the alien presence in this country affects the welfare system, the quality of education, the crime rate."

When Duke came to Atlanta to announce his presidential candidacy in June 1987, the Spartacist League organized a picket of a radio talk this fascist used as a platform for his "program" of genocide. SL supporters carried a sign proclaiming: "What Does Free Speech Mean for David Duke, Klaus Barbie, Charles Manson? Murder!" Make no mistake: Duke's magnolia-scented media message barely covers the stench of the gas ovens that are the stuff of his dreams.

Finish the Civil War—Smash Klan Terror!

The white-flight New Orleans suburb of Metairie that is sending Duke to the state house is in eastern Jefferson Parish, divided from integrated New Orleans by the 17th Street canal. "People here describe their district as though they were boasting of the purity of a bar of soap—99.6 percent white," noted the *Washington Post* (14 February). Jefferson Parish is infamous for its racist sheriff, Harry Lee (himself a Chinese American), who in 1986 ordered deputies to stop blacks traveling through the lily-white area. Metairie became notorious when it *erected a barrier* across a main artery connecting it to New Orleans to keep blacks out! This prompted the New Orleans black mayor to send a crew of city workers to tear it down.

Southern Louisiana is one of the most backward areas of the country, where sheriffs run their parishes (counties) like feudal fiefdoms, ruling over poor whites and blacks alike with an iron hand. Bible-thumping bigots chose Louisiana as the test case for state-mandated teaching of the religious obscurantist, anti-scientific doctrine of "creationism" in the public schools. In 1986 the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined as *amici curiae* ("friends of the court") in arguments before the Supreme Court against this attempt to fill the minds of schoolchildren with the superstitions and bigotry of the Dark Ages.

But there is another tradition in Louisiana, of black and labor power. The largest slave revolt in American history, inspired by the Haitian Revolution, took place there in 1811. Some of the first black troops to fight on the Union side in the Civil War were raised from the free black population of New Orleans. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, organized by a group of black veterans in Bogalusa and Jonesboro, used armed self-defense to protect CORE voter registration workers.

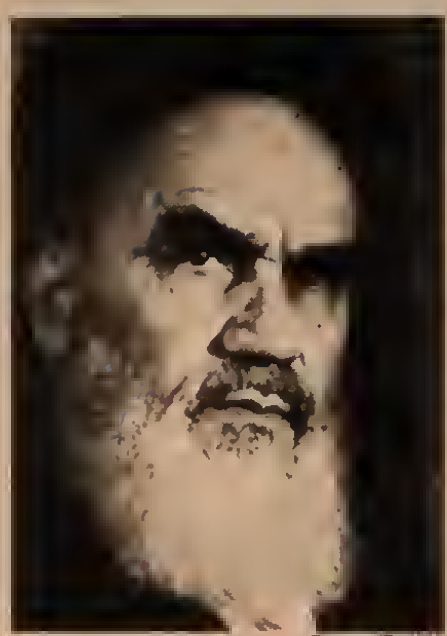
And while unions are weak in the "open shop" South, New Orleans longshoremen demonstrated integrated class unity in the militant wildcat strike of 1973. New Orleans dock workers will have a leading role to play in preventing Klan river rats emboldened by David Duke's election from terrorizing the streets of the Crescent City.

In Atlanta this January the Partisan Defense Committee together with the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization which brought out over 3,000 anti-Klan protesters in a militant, integrated demonstration under the banner "Act Now! Stop the KKK!" Only because 2,000 riot cops and National Guardsmen turned downtown Atlanta into an armed camp were the seven KKKers and skinhead thugs who showed up that day able to slither through town. As we wrote about Atlanta:

> "The January 21 labor/black mobilization can be a beacon for the black and working people of the Deep South, and for the oppressed throughout racist America. That giant, the power of labor, united in defense of its real interests, must uproot the fascist scourge once and for all through proletarian revolution."
>
> —*WV* No. 470, 3 February

Labor and black struggle, to finish the Civil War by smashing Klan terror and opening the road to workers revolution, must be the answer of New Orleans labor and blacks to David Duke and his nightriding buddies in and out of their white sheets! ■

Khomeini's Blood Terror Targets Author



Dejean/Sygma

Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini calls for assassination of author Salman Rushdie.

AP

Bloodthirsty Teheran mob (left) demands death to Satanic Verses author.

Censorship by Assassination

When Ayatollah Khomeini issued his decree of death against novelist Salman Rushdie and the Viking/Penguin publishers of his *Satanic Verses*, a shudder spread around the world. Here was the ultimate statement of theocratic totalitarianism: not only must the book be banned, but its author must be executed for the "crime" of having written it. It was a throwback to the days when heretics were burned at the stake and witches boiled in oil. As Rushdie's book was removed by the largest bookstore chains, suddenly the dark past of the Inquisition was no further away than B. Dalton's at the local mall. There it was, the benighted superstition of the Middle Ages in the middle of the Computer Age.

From the moment it was published last September, Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* drove Islamic fundamentalists around the world into a frenzy, leading to its banning by one government after another. In Rushdie's own country of Britain, protests and book-burnings swept through the sizable Muslim communities in the inner cities, as recounted in the article "Let *Satanic Verses* Be Read!" reprinted on the next page from *Workers Hammer* (February 1989), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. Then, on February 12, the furor became deadly as six people were killed in Islamabad, Pakistan when police fired into a crowd of thousands protesting publication of the book in the U.S. Fifteen more have since died in protests in Kashmir and Bombay in India.

On February 14, the Shi'ite theocracy's *wali faqih* (Supreme Leader) issued his edict to the world over Iranian radio, that Rushdie and "all those involved in its publication who were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death." Khomeini called on "all Muslims to execute them quickly wherever they are found so that no others dare to do such a thing." As though to underscore the seriousness of the threat, the regime executed 70 people that day for "drug smuggling." Assuring any assassin killed in the attempt that he "will be regarded as a martyr and will go directly to heaven," the ayatollah added a more earthly reward of $3 million for Rushdie's head ($1 million if the killer happened to be an infidel), which was then raised to $5.2 million.

Rushdie and his wife, the novelist Marianne Wiggins, immediately went into hiding. When Iranian president Khamenei offered to lift the death threat if Rushdie apologized, the writer issued a cautious statement expressing regret over distress the book had caused. The Iranian regime first accepted Rushdie's statement, then repudiated it later the same day. Even if Rushdie had become "the most pious man of time," the Imam declaimed, "it is incumbent on every Muslim... to send him to hell." Khamenei immediately fell into line, declaring: "an arrow has been shot toward its target." The Imam in Qum acted as if to confirm Rushdie's portrayal of the imam in *Satanic Verses* who declared history to be the work of the devil, and unleashed his fury against "the greatest of the lies—progress, science, rights."

The initial reaction in the imperialist West, whose governments habitually rant against "terrorism" whenever they want to terrorize some defenseless people, was breathtaking in its silence. Rushdie's friend and fellow writer Christopher Hitchens remarked caustically: "I observed that the normally vociferous 'anti-terrorist' lobby is unusually cautious in its choice of terms, and that the spokesmen for the godly are uncharacteristically silent." Hitchens also noted that the Jewish talk show host "Alan Berg was murdered in cold blood in Colorado by Nazi Christians for failing to shut up, and in this very decade in America there are book burners ready to muster" (*New York Times*, 17 February).

Rushdie's American tour was canceled. The country's largest book distributor, Waldenbooks, pulled *Satanic Verses* off the shelves, followed by the second largest, B. Dalton. Canada banned imports of the book with the line that it might be "hate material." The Spanish, French and West German publishers with translation rights decided to suspend publication. In England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the established church, called for extension of Britain's blasphemy laws to cover religions other than the Church of England—so that the next time a Rushdie comes along he can be nailed with the more "refined" methods of English jurisprudence.

On February 22 in New York, some 1,000 people, mostly writers, demonstrated outside the Iranian mission to the United Nations behind a banner of the National Writers Union quoting George Bernard Shaw: "Assassination Is the Extreme Form of Censorship." Speaking to an overflow crowd at a reading from Rushdie's book sponsored by PEN later that day, Leon Wieseltier, an editor at the *New Republic*, said: "Europe, too, was once a theocratic society that burned books and people. We know all about the debt that democracy owes to heresy.... It was blasphemy that made us free. Two cheers today for blasphemy." Indeed the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th-18th centuries were aimed at breaking the stranglehold of theocratic censorship over society and asserting the separation of church and state.

Liberalism and Chauvinism

Now that Khomeini has extended his writ to London and New York, dictating who is to read what, people around the world are shocked by the medieval brutality of his "Islamic republic." But when the mullahs first took power in 1979, their Islamic "revolution" was supported by most of the Western left, who hailed Khomeini's theocracy as "anti-imperialist" and denounced our slogan: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! Workers to power!" And from the fake-left to the pro-imperialist liberals of PEN, they all fell into step behind Carter's "human rights" outcry against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, where a gang of CIA-backed cutthroat *mujahedin* were carrying out Khomeini's program of torture and terror against Afghan women and leftists.

Even when the Iranian regime recently executed thousands of women, national minorities and leftist political prisoners in a massive blood purge, much of the bourgeois press maintained a stony silence and most of the Western left refused to lift a finger. In contrast, the Partisan Defense Committee and international Spartacist tendency organized an emergency worldwide campaign of protest demonstrations to demand: Stop the Executions! On February 22, the PDC and Spartacist League/U.S. issued a statement solidarizing with Rushdie (see page one). And we warned that outrage against Khomeini's death threat could fuel nativist backlash targeting all Muslims in America and Europe.

At the PEN reading from Rushdie's book in New York, Professor Edward Said, a member of the Palestine National Council who has himself in the past been targeted for assassination by ultra-Zionists, hailed *Satanic Verses* as "a deliberately transgressive work of nose-thumbing daring." Said also recalled that "Israel bans hundreds of books in occupied Palestinian territories, and Palestinian writers are jailed without trial; where are the protesting voices of Western writers and intellectuals?"

When Muslim counterdemonstrators at the UN protest waved signs reading "*Satanic Verses* Is Satanic," one of the "civil libertarian" types carrying a placard that said "Let Freedom Roar" shouted back "Deport them—Deport those who call for murder!" More-righteous-than-thou Western liberals

WV Photo

New York City, February 22: Writers protest book chains' suppression of Satanic Verses.

would do well to recall that there is nothing unique about Islamic intolerance. The Old Testament book of *Leviticus* decrees, "Whoever blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to the death." And the first code of law in the colony of Virginia in 1611 prescribed death for blaspheming Christianity and the Trinity. The original settlements were theocratic to the core—anyone who didn't agree with the supreme *faqih* of Plymouth colony had to leave, or else. Remember the Salem witch trials?

Of course, there have been some advances since then, such as are embodied in the Bill of Rights. By the time of the robber barons, John D. Rockefeller Sr. could go around saying "God gave me my money"—and nobody ever tried to get *him* for blasphemy. Even the Mormon church, which believes in blood atonement and comes as close as you can get under the U.S. Constitution to running a theocracy in Utah, doesn't execute people for blasphemy. But in 1978, when Larry Flynt ran a drawing in *Hustler* magazine of President Jimmy Carter's mother Lillian in the nude with Jesus Christ, he was threatened with jail and then shot by a white vigilante and almost killed while walking to court in a small Georgia town.

Afghanistan: Defeat Islamic Reaction!

The initial tepid reaction of the Western imperialist "democracies" to Khomeini's death edict against Rushdie was of a piece with their unperturbed silence over the recent bloodbath of political prisoners in Iran. U.S. president Bush finally declared that the order to kill the author was "deeply offensive"; State Department sources explained that anything more would serve the interests of those "who are using the book affair as a way of bringing a halt to the trend in recent months of Iran improving relations with the West" (*New York Times*, 22 February). The Common Market countries pulled their diplomats out of Iran when Khomeini made it clear that no "apology" would do. As Washington learned earlier (remember the Iran/contra fiasco) Khomeini is a fundamentalist zealot for whom "normal" state relations with infidels don't count for much.

The growth of Islamic fundamentalism in recent years is in no small measure a by-product of the billions of dollars lavished on the fanatically reactionary and anti-Communist Afghan "freedom fighters" and the billions more funneled to maintain Zia/Bhutto's Islamic regime in Pakistan as a staging area for the anti-Soviet insurgency in Afghanistan. A small taste of what Afghan women have in store, should the *mujahedin* win in the face of the Gorbachev regime's criminal withdrawal, was provided by a recent example in Teheran. When a woman interviewed on Teheran Radio had the audacity to say that the prophet Mohammed's daughter Fatima was not relevant as a role model because she lived 14 centuries ago, Khomeini decreed that she—and the program's producers—be shot.

WV Photo

New York City, January 19: Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist tendency called worldwide emergency protests against Khomeini's mass executions in Iran.

Consistent with its treacherous pullout from Afghanistan, the Gorbachev regime and its pro-*glasnost* intelligentsia have not even dared issue a verbal protest in defense of Salman Rushdie for fear of offending Khomeini. Meanwhile, the Kabul regime, which is now facing a fight to the death—while the life of every leftist and unveiled woman in the country is at stake—has actually banned *Satanic Verses* in its continuing suicidal attempt to appease the mullah cutthroats. The battle line for elementary freedoms and social progress against Islamic fundamentalism is today drawn in beleaguered Afghanistan. Those who back the feudalistic *mujahedin* "freedom fighters" would do well to remember that, next time they feel like reading a "heretical" novel, not to mention looking at *Playboy*.

Let Satanic Verses Be Read!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 104, February 1989, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

On 14 January, 1500 Muslim fanatics gathered in front of the town hall in Bradford, West Yorkshire and burnt copies of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. It grotesquely recalled the medieval Christian Inquisition and book-burning orgies of Hitler's stormtroopers. Confirming the controversial novel's characterisation of the fundamentalist motto "Burn the books and trust the Book," the protesters accused Rushdie's latest book of blasphemy. Leading them all was an unholy alliance of Bradford's Council of Mosques and prominent Labour Party councillors, including ex-mayor Mohammed Ajeeb. One book-burner vowed, "Our next move will be to ensure the book is banned in the whole world. If he [Rushdie] comes here, I tell you he will be dead" (*Independent*, 21 January). Another demonstration in London two weeks later brought out large numbers of Muslims—reportedly overwhelmingly male—to protest the book. This frenzy of Islamic fundamentalism could provoke a wider *racist backlash* engulfing fundamentalist and secular minorities alike. Down with religious obscurantism! Let *Satanic Verses* be read!

Published last September, *Satanic Verses* is largely a novel about the Asian immigrant's experience in "Mrs. Torture's" Britain. It strongly indicts all forms of bigotry—racial, sexual, religious—across the world. When it was first published the British tabloid press fulminated against Rushdie's attack on racism in Britain. Rushdie's unsparing attack on religious fanaticism and fundamentalism targets the Islamic variety—particularly the harsh religious and social sanctions for the oppression of women under the Sharia (laws). Born into an Indian Muslim family, Rushdie made a special study of Islamic history while at Cambridge University in the sixties. He won the 1981 Booker Prize with his widely acclaimed *Midnight's Children* and the 1988 Whitbread Fiction Prize with *Satanic Verses*. The latter novel was also nominated for the 1988 Booker Prize and was the eleven-to-eight favourite to win the £20,000 overall Whitbread Literary Prize for 1989 until a last-minute swing by the judges (who numbered among them Home Secretary Douglas Hurd) ensured the "public peace" and voted for someone less controversial.

Rushdie and his publishers Penguin/Viking have been deluged with threatening letters and phone calls. Several well-known "left" Labour MPs noted for their "constituency demagoguery"—including Tottenham's Bernie Grant and Bradford's Max Madden—are stoking this dangerous fire; piling in behind Lancashire Tory Ken Hargreave's early day motion deploring the publication of *Satanic Verses*, these Labourite censors are calling for the *extension* of the Victorian blasphemy laws to all religions. These laws were last resurrected in 1977 when the notorious Mary Whitehouse prosecuted *Gay News* for publishing James Kirkup's poem about Christ, "The Love That Dares to Speak Its Name." Meanwhile, the Koran-thumping crusaders talk of prosecuting Rushdie under the Public Order and Race Relations Acts. As the disgusted Rushdie bitterly observed, "Any old Act will do."

The anti-civilisation *jihad* by these Khomeiniites of the second mobilisation has already managed to cow quite a few nominally secularist establishments. Following threats of violence, Britain's largest bookstore chain W.H. Smith dived for cover, sweeping *Satanic Verses* off their Bradford shelves and in the process hinting at a "similar" purification of their other 400-odd outlets. However, the divine power of mammon prevailed and the devilish offender will stay on the shelves. British sales of the hardback alone, currently being reprinted, already exceed 42,000 copies; 50,000 are due to hit the U.S. market—despite bomb and assassination threats; and the paperback will not be out until later this year.

Rushdie's book is already banned in Pakistan, Malaysia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, [Persian] Gulf States, India and South Africa. The Islamic fanatics have vowed to get all Penguin books banned from Muslim countries if *Satanic Verses* is not withdrawn. When the Indian government banned the book in October Rushdie noted "This is about votes, not literature" (*India Today*, 31 October 1988). Indeed the Congress government of Rajiv Gandhi, threatened by even more communalist rivals, hopes to pick up the Muslim vote. At the same time the Congress Party vies with its communalist rivals by fomenting anti-Muslim and anti-Sikh Hindu communalism. The Gandhi family and Congress took the opportunity to get back at Rushdie for his irreverent and scathing allegorical reference to the Gandhi dynasty in his book, the 1981 Booker Prize winner, *Midnight's Children*. Similarly in Pakistan Islamic fundamentalists denounced his book, *Shame*, which dished out unkindly treatment to General Zia and the Bhuttos. The Congress of South African Writers was forced to withdraw its invitation to Rushdie to speak against apartheid, with sections of the Muslim population suicidally lining up with the butcher Botha to threaten Rushdie. The title of Rushdie's aborted lecture echoed the 19th-century German Jewish radical poet Heinrich Heine's apt warning, now poignantly displayed at the memorial to the victims of Hitler's Dachau concentration camp: "Once they burn books, they will end up burning people."

Rushdie admirably remains defiant: "They are not going to stop in a hurry, and so the struggle against them has to be continued. I am girding my loins for the fray" (*Sunday Times*, 22 January). The fundamentalists charge that Rushdie's book is pornographic and racist and insults their holy book, the Koran, as well as their prophet/founder Mohammed. The frequently Rabelaisian *Satanic Verses* derives its title from two verses said to have been originally accepted by Mohammed as god-given truth and later excised from the Koran by him, on the grounds that they were in fact inspired by the devil masquerading as the archangel Gabriel. To the mullahs' charges, Rushdie responds: "Intellectual dissent is neither pornographic nor racist. I have tried to give a secular, humanist vision of the birth of a great world religion."

We Marxist secular humanists welcome such visions. It is neither supposed pornography nor racism that really got the zealots' goat. As Rushdie pointed out:

> "Nowadays... a powerful tribe of clerics has taken over Islam. These are the contemporary Thought Police.... One may not discuss the growth of Islam as a historical phenomenon, as an ideology born out of its time. These are the

continued on page 9

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Young Spartacus

Right-Wing "Minutemen" Target Leftists, Blacks, Gay Students

Defend the Anti-Klan 3!

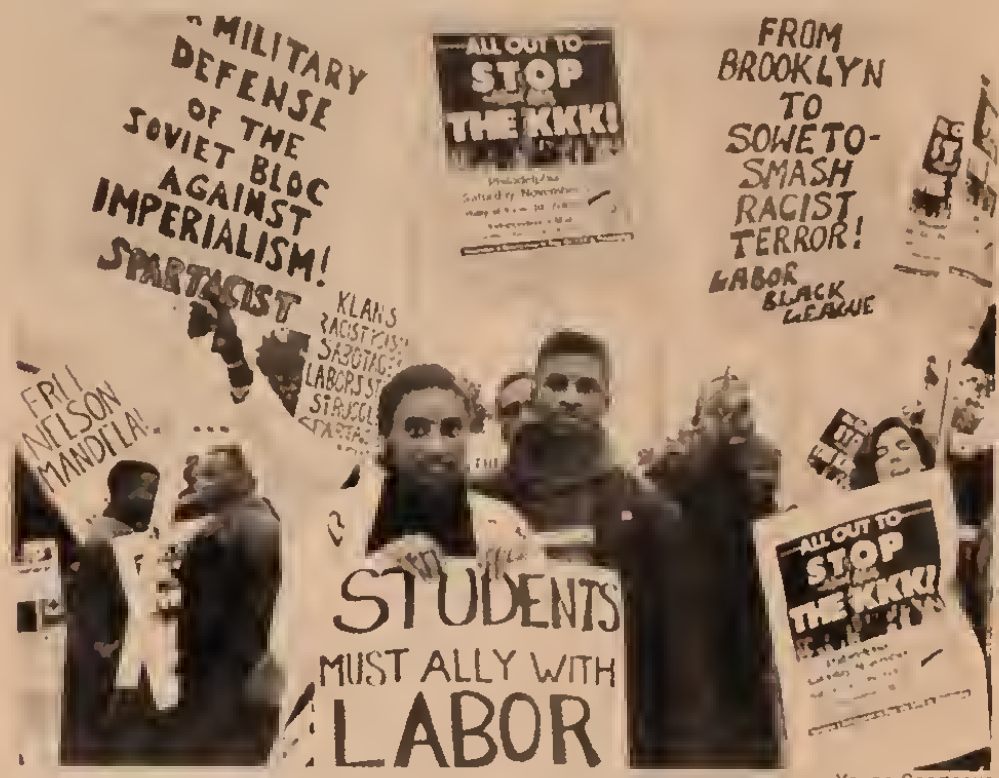
On February 9, an integrated political meeting of Amherst students became the target of a premeditated, violent assault by a gang of racist right-wingers. A dozen thugs from the College Republicans and Conservative Alliance (grouped around the *Minuteman*) attempted to bust up a Spartacus Youth Club public forum. The forum featured a video of the successful 5 November 1988 mobilization which stopped the KKK and skinhead fascists from rallying for white-supremacist genocide in Philadelphia. Enraged that their friends in white sheets were stopped by a united front of more than 1,000 trade unionists, black activists, gays, socialists and students, the "Minutemen" staged a provocation, attempting to censor anti-racist views through physical terror on the Amherst campus. They did not succeed, thanks to the determination of the Spartacus Youth Club members and others—including members of the Radical Student Union, the student government and a reporter from the *Collegian*—to defend this socialist meeting.

The *Minuteman* cabal admits their planned provocation, advertising that the Republican Club "only tolerates right of center views." Despite repeated warnings, they refused to abide by the democratic discussion rules of our meeting, physically attacked participants in the meeting and were removed. One of the thugs picked up a chair and shouted, "I'm going to kill you!" Then they called in the cops, who shut down the meeting. The "Minutemen" have now resorted to malicious prosecution, pressing false charges with sentences of up to ten years against the *victims*, three socialist anti-Klan activists, including a Hispanic SYC supporter they had previously threatened to hunt down with a "death squad." A defense committee has been formed for the Anti-Klan 3 who are themselves pressing charges of assault and battery against six of the violent racists: W. Greg Rothman, Paul McGonnigal, Doug Dratch, Ken Rudy, Brian Darling and Scott Kramer.

Even now these thugs continue to run amok. On February 21 College Republicans tried to bust up a student meeting in defense of the Anti-Klan 3—and again they failed. In a letter to the *Collegian*, five people, including members of the student government, the Radical Student Union and the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club, state: "Republican Club members came to the office and began screaming insults, maliciously banging on the door and windows, and attempting to photograph those attending the meeting...it was Ted Chambers [student government] who called the Campus Police, stating that the Republican Club members posed a clear and present threat to the safety of himself and everyone present." Quite a few people at Amherst have had it with taking abuse from these creeps.

The university administration has outrageously banned the Spartacus Youth Club from holding meetings or distributing literature in the campus center, carrying out through administrative fiat what the *Minuteman* thugs tried to achieve through physical violence. If you're a UMass student, the university has just squashed *your* right to politically associate with whomever you choose. We intend to muster every legal and political resource at our disposal to fight for our rights, and in so doing, will fight on behalf of everyone targeted by this right-wing terror squad at UMass.

The stage was set for the UMass campus brownshirts with the 1986 World Series race riot against black students. Since then, the *Minuteman* thugs have attacked black students, gays and leftists with impunity. This crew is characterized by psychotic, obsessive homophobia. These nuts feel their manhood sharply kneed with every advance by leftists and minorities. They rant against what they call "oppression studies" (any course that deals with women and blacks). They hail the Confederate flag of slavery. They published a "word puzzle" whose clues spelled out a death threat to Jay Festa, former president of the campus Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Alliance. Allied with the Christian fundamentalist "Students for America," they are violently opposed to abortion rights, like the "Right to Life" terrorists who bomb clinics coast to coast. "Never Again—A Communist Student Government President!" is the slogan of their ongoing vendetta against Jason Rabinowitz, the duly elected student body president who is also a member of the Communist Party's youth group, the Young Communist League (YCL).



Young Spartacus

Philadelphia, 5 November 1988: We stopped the Klan! Now UMass Amherst "Minutemen" try to bust up Spartacist meeting on this important anti-racist victory.

Enough! As one of the Anti-Klan 3, SYC supporter Tom Daley, says: "It's high time for a broad, political mobilization of all of their intended victims to drive these reactionary shock troops back under the rocks they crawled out from." No illusions in the university administration! Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan 3! Rescind the apartheid-style ban against the Spartacus Youth Club!

Peter Blakely

Right-wing shock troops on the home front: College Republicans demolish anti-apartheid shanties on the Dartmouth Green, laud killer contra scum in Nicaragua.

Wohl/Sygma

Not Just Campus Contras

The *Minuteman*/College Republicans/Conservative Alliance groove on politics by assassination as practiced by the international contra scum. W. Greg Rothman of the Conservative Alliance says of a courageous American volunteer in Nicaragua assassinated by contra terrorists: "Ben Linder was a communist killed by anti-communists—what's wrong with that?" (*Minuteman*, 8 September 1987). Rothman and his cronies sport the slogan, "I shot Ben Linder!" Violence is the political "program" they recruit to. The back page of the *Minuteman* (11 February 1988) features a full-page drawing of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega with a target superimposed on his face and the slogan: "Come join the *Minuteman* and take a shot at a communist."

Rothman is the Amherst liaison for the ultraright "Accuracy in Academia" (AIA), a nationwide network dedicated to McCarthyite purges of all radical and even liberal academics from the universities. With its parent group "Accuracy in Media," AIA is allied with the Moonies and the World Anti-Communist League, a global web of death squads and aging Nazis that "advise" and deliver extraparliamentary terror for right-wing regimes. AIA leader Les Csorba spent an all-expense-paid "vacation" in El Salvador on a search-and-destroy mission with the kill-crazy Atlacatl brigade. The *Minuteman*'s godfathers in the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA) have funded trips for young right-wing "journalists" to act as publicity men for the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, for Nicaraguan contra leader Edgar Chamorro and for Salvadoran ARENA death squads of "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson.

The *Minuteman* is one of a host of reactionary sheets funded by the IEA, a creature of William Simon and Irving Kristol, who was exposed as an "indirect" recipient of CIA monies. Formed in 1978, the IEA fuses ultrarightist youth with big business, channeling moolah from the labor-hating beer magnate Adolph Coors, Dow Chemical, Pfizer, Chase Manhattan Bank (to name just a few) to underwrite "newspapers" that function as ideological hit

UC Berkeley Protest

The University of California/Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club held a militant protest on February 23 outside the International House where Nazi propagandist David Irving was giving a fascist speech. Some 40 protesters picketed, chanting, "Remember Auschwitz! Smash Nazi scum!" and "Down with the hoods, off with the sheets—Sweep the Nazis off the streets!" Protesters carried signs including "David Irving Has Never Met a Nazi He Didn't Like!" One protester carried a sign which read "David Duke Makes Me Puke!" referring to the "former" KKK Grand Dragon who was recently elected as a Republican to the Louisiana legislature. Students from the campus Hillel Foundation and a Jewish fraternity also gathered in protest, some of them picking up our placards.

Three Bay Area TV channels covered the event and showed the footage on the 11 p.m. news that night. The 24 February *Daily Californian* quoted Spartacist League spokesman Martha Phillips: "The purpose of this demonstration is clear. David Irving is not an urbane professor, but a fascist.... He has been active in calling for fascist organization." The protest concluded with a short speech from Phillips, who said, "What is needed in America is a third American revolution, a workers revolution, and that is what will once and for all sweep the fascists off the streets!" We reprint below the leaflet distributed by the Spartacus Youth Club on campus.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club pickets fascist propagandist at University of California at Berkeley, February 23.

David Irving—Nazi Apologist

Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels called it the Big Lie. His disciple David Irving, who is speaking this evening at International House, is well practiced in this art. Hitler, he says, didn't know about the Holocaust, it was all Himmler's doing. And maybe it didn't even happen. While Irving poses as an urbane historian, he is closely associated with fascist outfits in Britain and the U.S. whose program is racist terror against Jews, blacks, Asians, Hispanics—in short, all "non-Aryans." The Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club calls on all students, working people and minorities to protest militantly against this apologist for fascist genocide.

Hitler innocent and ignorant of the Holocaust? The destruction of the Jews was *always* the stated goal of Nazism, spelled out clearly in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in the 1920s. When Nazi Germany started to lose World War II, the extermination of the European Jews became the substitute war aim. Hitler was a totalitarian dictator who knew the location of every military company on the Eastern Front. He was constantly giving tactical battlefield orders to his generals. Yet we are supposed to believe he was unaware of the massive mobilization to exterminate the Jews.

But, say David Irving and other Nazi apologists, Hitler never publicly talked or wrote about the Holocaust. Of course, he didn't. No less an authority than Heinrich Himmler insisted that the death camps must remain *secret*:

> "Among us it should be discussed completely openly, and nonetheless we shall *never* speak of it publicly.... I am speaking now of the evacuation of the Jews, the eradication of the Jewish people."

Yesterday the *Daily Cal* reported that Irving "is convinced that gas chambers never existed in the concentration camps because studies at the sites failed to find toxins there." That gas chambers *existed* in the concentration camps is attested to by someone who knew a hell of a lot more about them than David Irving, namely the commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Hoess:

> "I commanded Auschwitz until 1st December 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed there by gassing and burning, and at least another half-million succumbed to starvation and disease, making a total dead of about 3,000,000....
> "The 'final solution' of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all the Jews in Europe...."
> —quoted in Burton C. Andrus, *The Infamous at Nuremberg* (1969)

Hoess noted that at Treblinka, an earlier concentration camp, they used carbon monoxide. He didn't think this was "very efficient," so "when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B." Poison gases like carbon monoxide and Cyclon B *dissipate* rapidly into the air, which is why no traces of them were later found in the camp sites.

In fact, the first acts of the Holocaust did not involve gas chambers, but were mass shootings conducted by the Einsatzgruppen with the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The tens of thousands of bodies of victims at hundreds of locations, like Babi Yar in the Ukraine, were put there with bullets, lots of bullets, that don't evaporate like carbon monoxide and Cyclon B.

David Irving is not just an idiosyncratic historian, a loony right-wing professor. He is a fascist propagandist.

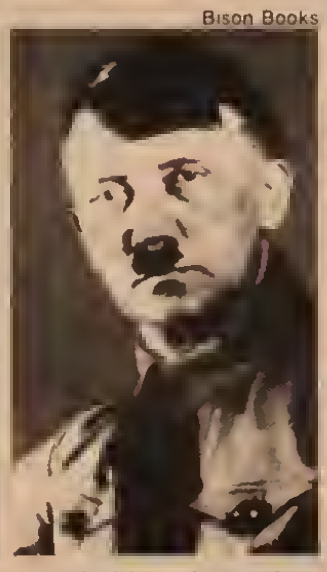
- In 1979 Irving addressed a meeting of the Clarendon Club about founding a new right-wing party in Britain. The audience consisted mainly of members of the fascist League of St. George.
- In 1981 Irving launched the Focus Policy Study Group. Its journal, *Focal Point*, carried advertisements for a wide range of racist and pro-Nazi groups.
- In 1983 Irving spoke to a meeting of activists of the fascist British National Party.
- The same year he was the star attraction at a conference of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) in Anaheim, California. This year again he was the main speaker for this Institute, which through its parent corporation is associated with outright Klan and Nazi propaganda. The main beliefs of the IHR are:
  - that the Jews and not Germany started the Second World War.
  - that Hitler was only an anti-communist defending European civilization against Bolshevism.
  - that the Holocaust is a hoax.
  - that the United States was dragged into the war by the Jews.

Joseph Goebbels once wrote that the Nazis could easily have been crushed in the mid-1920s when they were still weak. We must crush the likes of David Irving and his friends now, when they are still weak, before they have an opportunity to wreak another Holocaust, this time maybe a nuclear holocaust destroying all mankind.

Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club
23 February 1989

Universal Pictorial

Bison Books



Florea/Lile

Hitler look-alike David Irving (left) whitewashes Hitler's monstrous crimes. Slain victims in Nazi death camp at Nordhausen, 1945.

squads on the campuses. Their flagship journal is the infamous *Dartmouth Review*—a very upper-crust and deeply racist gang that acts like young preppie masters of the universe, donning their Brooks Brothers best to heave sledgehammers against occupied anti-apartheid shanties on the Dartmouth green. The *Minuteman* calls the *Dartmouth Review* crowd "our brothers to the north" and is cut from the very tattered end of the same cloth. The low IQ "southern brothers" at Amherst are more reminiscent of the dangerous backwoods idiots depicted in the film *Deliverance*. Their role models are run as front-page *Minuteman* pinups: especially Contragate criminal Ollie North.

"Neutralizing" political opponents through terror is the method these thugs would like to employ on the home front. They see the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth Club—with our forthright defense of the Soviet Union, our campaign to raise material aid for Nicaragua against the CIA's contras, our labor/black mobilizations against racist terror—as convenient "surrogates" to target. Unable to *convince* people of their views, the *Minuteman* cabal aims to *coerce* the student population through thuggery and endless legal harassment. They also resort to a method perfected by Goebbels: the Big Lie. In the March issue of the *Minuteman*, they retail the deadly lie that the "Sparticist [sic] League advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government."

A day in court might teach these thugs the meaning of the word libel. A similar violence-baiting slander was retailed by the *Minuteman*'s "Accuracy in Academia" cohorts—they were forced to prominently run a retraction of that smear. Given the *Minuteman*'s direct membership overlap with AIA, it is impossible that they don't know it. The point of the Big Lie however is not that it be true, but that it be repeated enough in the hope that someone will start believing it. Unfortunately for the campus contras at UMass, they have about as much credibility with the population as a Texas savings and loan.

YCL: Which Side Are You On?

The *Dartmouth Review* says, "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry" (*Nation*, 3 April 1982). These young Republicans call themselves "the New Right" but their style and program imitates the Third Reich whose stormtroopers turned German universities into fascist recruiting grounds in the '30s. People had better recall the words of Martin Niemöller:

> "First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

The campus contras have cut such a wide swath at UMass that a broad mobilization against them could be as popular as it is necessary. Many students and

continued on page 10

Eastern...

(continued from page 1)

After a decade of union-busting and bleeding the poor and working people of America, there is a lot of anger. For Teamsters targeted by the feds' RICO witchhunt, for the black population of Miami under the guns of the racist police, for all workers and minorities, the battle at Eastern is a chance to draw the line—and strike back. At the airports, every union—Machinists, Teamsters, Transport Workers, Flight Attendants—must seal off the fuel, the food, the buses and trains, everything. And that includes the Eastern Shuttle which mega-landlord Donald Trump is buying from Lorenzo. Machinists must paralyze IAM-organized aviation service outfits like Hudson-General and Butler Aviation which are recruiting scabs. The cowardly union tops will hide behind "no-strike clauses" and court injunctions—but any union leader who isn't willing to risk going to jail is in the wrong line of work.

Massive picket lines, including thousands of other unionists and the unemployed, must ring the hangars and terminals—*nobody crosses!* For the unions at Eastern it's fight or die—and we better stand with them. This is not a case of isolated, militant strikers like Local P-9 at Hormel, left to go it alone against the National Guard. From day one, labor action to shut down the key air transportation hubs on the East Coast will electrify workers across the country. It will also bring a response from the government, as in any major class battle—like the 1978 coal strike. Democrat Jimmy Carter repeatedly tried to break that strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions, but the miners tore them up. What happens at Eastern will shape upcoming labor fights, starting with the tens of thousands of airline and aerospace workers whose contracts expire in '89.

Gutting Safety, Gutting the Unions

Lorenzo and the other airline bosses personify unbridled capitalist greed. They threaten not only the livelihood of their workers but the very lives of their passengers. To cut costs, they are not only driving down wages but keeping old planes in the air, overworking pilots and generally degrading safety standards. As *Business Week* (16 January) put it recently: "Terrorism is scary. But the rattletrap U.S. air fleet is even scarier." Last week a gaping hole ripped open in the fuselage of a 19-year-old Boeing 747, and nine passengers on this United flight were sucked out over the Pacific to their death.

Frank "Darth Vader" Lorenzo is the most notorious union-busting cutthroat capitalist in the United States. When he took over Eastern in 1986, he was determined to smash the union, even if it meant destroying the company. Lorenzo is eager to provoke a Machinists strike because he expects that the full power of the capitalist state will be used to break it. Certainly the *Times* and other rabid labor-haters would like to see Bush deal with an airline Machinists strike the same way Reagan dealt with PATCO—court injunctions, police scabherding, the jailing of union officials. A strike at Eastern will be *class war*. The workers can defeat Lorenzo/Bush, but only if they use all of their weapons (e.g., secondary strikes) and fight with courage and determination. *Labor's gotta play hardball to win this one!*

Bob Kinmonth

The Machinist

Corporate raider Lorenzo (left) stares down pilots; now he's going all out to break Eastern unions. IAM chief Winpisinger (with Dukakis at right) pleads with Bush and Democrats to impose contract.

"A Fight for All Labor"

As the strike deadline approaches, Lorenzo has been running amok—firing and suspending hundreds of union members and stewards and recruiting scabs up and down the East Coast. In Miami, after workers wildcatted February 7 in a dramatic march off the base in protest over forced overtime, Eastern disciplined over 1,000 workers. IAM members have picketed the scab recruiting centers, and militantly protested when Lorenzo brought scabs onto the Miami base for training on the Washington's birthday holiday. One chief steward told *WV* that IAM members were itching to strike on the spot. And last week, thousands of Machinists and other unionists turned out for two lunchtime demonstrations at Miami airport.

In New York, workers in La Guardia IAM Lodge 1018 met on February 23 to plan strike activities. The local issued a leaflet "to all airline workers and all other workers" explaining that "Whether you are a mechanic at Butler Aviation, a cleaner at United Airlines or an unemployed worker you have a stake in the battle at Eastern." One Machinist reported that air freight facility truck drivers, members of the Teamsters union, have promised to honor IAM picket lines. The meeting adjourned to picket a nearby hotel, where Eastern has set up a scab recruiting office.

On February 24, the executive board of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 553, representing 7,000 Eastern flight attendants, voted to request "that each of its members not cross IAM picket lines." Local 553 president Mary Jane Barry said that "We realize if Lorenzo destroys the IAM workers' livelihood, we are his next target." Eastern flight attendants know all too well what another corporate raider, Carl Icahn, did to the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) at TWA. Hung out to dry while other unions, including the IAM, crossed their lines, three years later over 1,400 IFFA members still have not been recalled to work. It is crucial that TWU flight attendants be brought out in *joint strike action* with the IAM.

Lorenzo is counting on the pilots to scab, as they did in the last two IAM strikes against Eastern in 1958 and 1966 and repeatedly in strikes in the '80s. On February 14, the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) Master Executive Council met and voted that "it was in the pilots' best interest to respect the picket lines." But a week later, ALPA secretary-treasurer Rick Chapman said pilots will cross IAM picket lines "if they [Eastern management] make it worth our while" (*Washington Post*, 23 February). In exchange for a "fence agreement" with Lorenzo, "guaranteeing" the pilots' jobs, some of the ALPA tops are willing to stab the Machinists in the back. But playing hardball on the picket line can convince potential scabs that it wouldn't be smart. And if there are no fuelers and no mechanics, then any pilots who throw in their lot with Lorenzo can just sit on the runway with him.

In Miami, Eastern is counting on exploiting race, color and national divisions to crack the solid union hatred for Lorenzo. In this "contra capital," where Cuban immigrants are pitted against blacks born in the U.S., who are in turn set against Haitians, Eastern is hiring scabs for $3.85 per hour from among Nicaraguan refugees paroled from *la migra*'s holding pens in Texas. The integrated IAM local 702 at Eastern's Miami base has appealed to these recent immigrants on Spanish-language radio stations not to scab. The IAM must defend the right of foreign-born workers who have made it to this country to stay here. It is also crucial that labor fight for union-run training and apprenticeship programs to provide jobs for black youth, imprisoned in the Miami ghetto as they watch successive waves of immigrants pass them by. And strikers must convince potential strikebreakers that *scabbing is dangerous to your health.*

Wimpy's Trap

As Lorenzo has been sucking Eastern dry through various financial schemes which funnel cash into Continental Airlines and his Texas Air empire, the Machinists have been tied up in the courts and labor boards by IAM president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger and District 100 chairman Charles Bryan. All this time labor has been eating it at Eastern—thousands laid off, hundreds of the best union militants fired, and the remaining workers forced to work massive overtime under the observation of "security" cameras installed by management. Endless union appeals to the bosses' courts and labor boards have come to naught. In February, the courts ruled in favor of the company's "attendance control" harassment program and allowed forced overtime.

Now Winpisinger is blustering that he will call upon his 500,000-member union to carry out sympathy strikes at railroads and other airlines. President Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO executive board, taking time out from their winter meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, promised "the fullest possible support." The *New York Times* (24 February) quickly called Kirkland to order, saying he "threatens the public with...sympathy strikes against the railroads." Like a dog coming to heel, Kirkland sent the *Times* a cringing letter the next day, vowing "I did not say or even suggest that," and "I do not have, nor do I desire, that power" to call sympathy strikes.

The real strategy of the Winpisinger and Bryan "team," to pressure Bush to appoint an "emergency board" and have Congress impose a contract, is a strategy of *defeat*. The Democrats are among the staunchest Lorenzo backers, and they were the ones who drew up the government plan, later implemented by Reagan, to crush PATCO. But this hasn't stopped Winpisinger from sitting on the Democratic Party's National Committee. Both the partner parties of capitalism are enemies of the working class.

The road to betrayal of the IAM strike is already well paved. Kirkland was careful to promise only "the maximum degree of support that is *legally* possible" (our emphasis). As soon as some judge issues the inevitable injunction against sympathy strikes Wimpy will capitulate. He has already sent out the "Don't Fly Eastern" signs and bumper stickers, setting up strikers for a toothless consumer boycott, sinking the IAM just like they sunk PATCO. Machinist locals have been instructed to picket travel agents and downtown company offices. This is a *diversion* from the key task: *Shut down the airports!*

At Bal Harbour, Kirkland lavished praise on Elizabeth Dole, Bush's labor secretary: "I count her as a personal friend." Dole, who was Reagan's transportation secretary, helped make air travel what it is today. Adding insult to injury, when Kirkland made his "solidarity" appearance at the February 23 rally outside Eastern's Miami headquarters, a plane flew overhead trailing the banner "Eastern Airlines, official airline of the AFL-CIO." (Obscenely, the AFL-CIO tops contracted with Lorenzo's airline to fly them to Florida's beaches.)

Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies

The battle at Eastern has repercussions throughout corporate America, for the airline industry exemplifies American capitalism in the '80s—the Reagan years. Corporate raiders, fi-

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WV Photo

Oakland airport, August 1981: Spartacists join PATCO demonstration, demanding "Labor: Shut down the airports!"

nanced by junk bonds, have taken over and looted the airlines while smashing the unions, driving down wages and scrapping safety standards. It is no accident that the popular film *Wall Street* centers around a villainous corporate raider (Icahn? Lorenzo?) taking over an airline. But Machinists better not forget that it was under Borman's "Eastern family" that Charles Bryan forked over millions in givebacks to buy a seat on the board of directors.

Lorenzo controls the biggest airline operation in the Western world with total assets of $8 billion. Yet he himself owns *less than one percent* of the stock of this corporate empire centered on the Texas Air holding company. How does he do it? By borrowing. Lorenzo's airline empire owes $5.5 *billion* in debt. In 1987 the interest payments alone amounted to $600,000,000. This is *greater than the total revenue* of many large U.S. corporations, firms making up 20 percent of the top Fortune 500 list!

To pay off the junk bond holders, Lorenzo has attempted to drive down the wages of this highly skilled workforce to sweatshop levels. When he took over Continental in 1983, he declared bankruptcy, tore up all union contracts and cut wages nearly in half. When he bought Eastern in 1986, he declared "I don't meet with union leaders." Lorenzo "made no secret of his intentions: to slash labor costs using all available means," reported *Business Week* (11 July 1988). At the same time, he has looted Eastern—selling off its assets dirt cheap, charging exorbitant fees for so-called services provided by Texas Air and Continental.

Driving down costs in the debt-laden airlines industry also means *driving down safety standards*. And even the rest of the American capitalist class is becoming nervous about that. After all, their relatives, friends and executives do fly on commercial airlines. They don't all use private or company planes. Last fall, the *Wall Street Journal* (19 September 1988), no less, ran an article titled, "Some Airlines Narrow Their Safety Margins, Seeking to Cut Costs." The *Journal* exposed all manner of dangerous conditions and practices—an aging fleet of planes, constantly switching pilots from one model to another, cutting back on pilot training. The article quoted one pilot for Lorenzo's Continental Airlines: "Years ago, the airlines were expected to do better than the minimum standards. Now, the attitude is, 'As long as it's legal....'"

But while the capitalist class may worry about deteriorating airline safety, they stand behind Lorenzo 100 percent in his war against labor.

Bust the Union-Busters!

In the *New York Times* 24 February editorial, "Labor Threatens the President," the ruling-class mouthpiece calls for breaking the IAM:

> "Mr. Reagan stood firm against a strike by air traffic controllers that could have grounded civil aviation. The question now is whether Mr. Bush will stand up with equal courage....
> "The cost of appeasement could be enormous."

The *Times* added, "Mr. Kirkland is probably bluffing."

The ruling class has thrown down the gauntlet. They want to see if labor's bluffing, so let's show them some real power—shut down the airports! To win, the Eastern strikers must forge a new leadership with the determination and strategy to fight. The strike must be taken out of the hands of Kirkland and Winpisinger through *elected strike committees* which must appeal to all the airline unions. The battle against Lorenzo must be extended into an industrywide strike, fighting for a single union of all airline workers—pilots, Machinists, flight attendants, air traffic controllers, ramp servicemen—with standard wage and benefits scales across the industry.

At stake in this strike in a key section of American industry is the right of organized labor to exist. The defense of a half century of union gains, and the opening up of a future cleansed of corporate parasites like Lorenzo, requires the forging of a class-struggle leadership. While Winpisinger, who calls himself a "seat-of-the-pants socialist," looks to the Democratic Party in Congress to impose a contract, what we need is a fighting *workers party* to unite labor and its allies to impose the interests of those whose labor produces the enormous profits that the Lorenzos and Icahns and their bankers are looting.

No more PATCOs! Victory to the IAM! Shut down the airports! ■

Rushdie...

(continued from page 5)

> taboos against which 'The Satanic Verses' has transgressed (these and one other; I also tried to write about the place of women in Islamic society, and in the Koran)."
> —*Observer*, 22 January

Epitomised by the horrible conditions under Khomeini's Islamic regime in Iran and those which the CIA-backed Afghan "freedom fighters" wish to impose, Islamic fundamentalism reserves special horrors for women. From the stifling and dehumanising *chador* (veil) to the pervasive and humiliating segregation in society (*purdah*) advocated by Islamic fundamentalists, a key question dividing communists and the elders of the mosques is the liberation of women from such barbaric subjugation.

Ominously the white racists and anti-immigrant fascists in Britain might well see a chance to peddle genocidal poison against all Asians in the aftermath of the Muslim fanatics' drive. In a letter to the *Guardian* (22 January) one Dipak Nandy writes:

> "The reaction of the Muslim community to Satanic Verses is a profound strategic error. Britain in 1989 is an intolerant, illiberal society anyway. By joining forces with those who have made it so, Muslims in Britain seem to be, with unbelievable naivety, forging the conditions in which their own right to exist and practise their faith will be extinguished.
> "I write as one who grew up as a boy amidst the communal massacres which accompanied the partition of India and for whom the ugly, unacceptable face of religion—and particularly of religious fundamentalism—is etched in memories of dead, disfigured bodies littering the streets—and of screams in the night."

The bourgeois mouthpieces have already waxed mealy-mouthed about the glorious "British traditions" of "tolerance" and "democracy," trying to bury the long history of state censorship. Oscar Wilde was jailed for openly defying official bourgeois sexual hypocrisy, D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was banned for decades. Recently the frenzied attempts to ban *Spycatcher* have been joined by the blanket ban on Sinn Fein and even the musical group Pogues' song about the demonstrably innocent Birmingham Six. Fortunately, the reactionary Christian clericals in this country couldn't deprive people of the right to see the movie, *The Last Temptation of Christ*. But fascists linked with Catholic fundamentalism were able to terrorise theatres throughout France from screening the movie in various areas outside Paris. The ruling class in this country has a long tradition of class-biased hypocrisy backed up with state sanctions. Imitating the worst characteristics of the bourgeois rulers are the weepy liberals and "leftists" who think that Paul Simon's *Graceland* album ought to be banned and his concerts picketed because he worked with South African black musicians or that Jim Allen's anti-Zionist *Perdition* should not be allowed to play.

Less sanctimonious are the right-wing forces busying themselves on the ground, preparing the way for a racist backlash. Anthony Murphy, chairman of Bradford South Conservative Club, is distributing leaflets calling for an end to all immigration: "I don't think you could impose sterilisation, but we must educate them. The indigenous population see the take-over as a recipe for disaster" (*Independent*, 21 January).

The sheer disproportion in the relationship of forces between the white Christian majority and the Muslims would suggest that Islamic fundamentalist frenzy is contrary to the objective interests of the Muslim communities as well as other minorities. The fundamentalists are centred in the mosques of the most deprived inner-city areas such as Bradford and East London. In this vile racist society the mosque offers some pie-in-the-sky solace to the community's most oppressed. Faced with unemployment or toiling in the satanic mills of Bradford—not to mention the sweatshops run by the petty capitalists who are the mullahs' closest supporters—some of the oppressed Asian Muslims are driven back into the arms of the most reactionary elements of their traditional society.

Asadour Guzelian

Bradford, England: Muslim fundamentalists torch Salman Rushdie's book.

There is an established church in this country and ominous moves to further erode secular education threaten everyone. The Tories' Education Reform attacks the educational rights of all working people and is a particular affront to minorities. The government is insisting that religious education in schools be implemented and that it be essentially Christian. This has fuelled the Islamic fundamentalists' drive to establish single-sex schools for girls and force young women into *purdah*. The growing pressure for separate (and single-sex) schools coming from a small but loud bunch of Muslim fanatics only plays into the hands of white segregationist outfits like the Parental Alliance for Choice in Education in Dewsbury. These people do not seem to know what country they, and their followers, live in. We demand free secular education for all, including the teaching of minority languages such as Bengali and Urdu. Keep the mullahs, nuns, priests and above all the reverends of the established Anglican church out of the schools!

Of the party that presided over the British-engineered partition bloodbath in India, the racist Labour Party that brought you virginity tests for Asian women seeking immigration to Britain, Rushdie notes "the true conservatives of Britain are now the Labour party" and that "It is very sad to see this alliance of the left and the mullahs, for heaven's sake" (*Sunday Times*, 22 January). Indeed, Labour's "party of the people" talk is a pro-capitalist fraud—from its longstanding bloc with the Catholic church in places like Glasgow based on protecting religious schools, to the Gypsy bans in Islington to Bernie Grant's appeal to the Victorian values of the blasphemy laws. Britain needs a revolutionary Bolshevik party, a true tribune of the oppressed, built by splitting the Labour Party in the struggle for socialist revolution. Having thus gotten rid of all the old crap, we can then enjoy *Satanic Verses* in peace. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

revolution, pose the struggle in broader terms. The liberation of the Central American masses requires a fight for workers revolution throughout the region, extending to the Mexican proletariat and above all waging sharp class struggle in the heart of Yankee imperialism.

Civil War Escalates

The front-runner in the Salvadoran presidential election is Alfredo (Freddy) Cristiani, the Georgetown-educated millionaire coffee baron and industrialist. Cristiani was chosen to present a cleaned-up image of ARENA, made infamous by D'Aubuisson, the former head of Army intelligence who personally ordered the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. Yet Cristiani complains about a "human-rights psychosis" crippling the war against leftist guerrillas. In the *Frontline* (14 June 1988) TV program on "Our Forgotten War," the ARENA standard-bearer was asked:

> **Frontline:** What country in Latin America would you point to as the sort of system that you think would work for El Salvador?
> **Alfredo Cristiani:** Chile.

The independent Salvador Human Rights Commission reported on December 29 that 1,741 civilians were killed in El Salvador in the first eleven months of 1988.

Ironically, the Arias "peace plan" has meant a resurgence of death squad terror. After the U.S. Congress made a fuss about "human rights," they cut down on the mass killings for fear of losing U.S. dollars. They figured the urban population was sufficiently terrorized anyway. But under the Esquipulas agreements, the government is supposed to allow at least the appearance of a political opposition. The military was furious that FDR leaders Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora were allowed to return, and that Ungo is running in the presidential elections on the Convergencia Democrática ticket. So with the leftist opposition active in the streets and with guerrilla actions multiplying in the heart of San Salvador, the right has responded by revving up its Murder Inc.

After the defeat of the leftist rebels' "Final Offensive" in 1981, it was militarily pretty quiet in the capital even as fighting was heavy in the countryside. But in the last year the FMLN has brought the war to San Salvador. *Newsday* (16 January) writes that "San Salvador...has taken on the trappings of an armed camp.... Heavily armed troops now man roadblocks throughout the city, and most days low flying helicopters buzz residential zones." The most spectacular of the FMLN's strikes was the broad daylight attack on the Ministry of Defense and General Staff headquarters in the middle of San Salvador on December 23. It was the first-ever assault on the army high command in eight years of civil war and put 14 high officials out of action. The FMLN used imaginative tactics, launching explosives over the 20-foot-high wall of the compound by use of a catapult.

Earlier, on December 20, urban commandos of the FMLN exploded two car bombs in front of the headquarters of the Air Force at Ilopango, on the outskirts of the capital. On December 5, they launched an attack on the headquarters of the Third Infantry Brigade and the elite Arce Battalion in San Miguel. Before that, on November 1, the FMLN "welcomed" incoming army chief of staff René Emilio Ponce with an attack on National Guard headquarters which destroyed half the installation. And on September 13, an FMLN attack hit the heavily fortified El Paraiso military barracks in Chalatenango for the third time in five years, causing hundreds of casualties.

Most recently, on February 21, the rebels staged an attack in San Salvador on the headquarters of the 4,000-man First Brigade, the country's most important military installation. Simultaneously the rebels attacked an army engineering base at Zacatecoluca. A U.S. "adviser" stationed at the base reported to the U.S. Military Group commanders in the capital: "The shit's hitting the fan pretty bad out here.... I'm bailing out of here. I'm getting out of here...."

While full-time guerrilla forces have been reduced because of the government's control of the air, meaning that mass attacks must take place at night, the areas under FMLN control have expanded to a third of the country. And in the urban areas, the FMLN has organized militias and "insurrectional detachments" which they claim now number 40,000 men, women and youths. "The rebels are showing they're the only order in many parts of the country," a Salvadoran analyst said.

But now a new group of officers have taken power in the military—the *tandona*, the "big class" of 1966, whose leader is Colonel René Emilio Ponce, the new Army chief of staff. These gung ho field officers argue that they are getting whipped on the battlefield because of restrictions imposed by civilian politicians and the U.S. strategy of "low-intensity conflict." Ponce wants to "dry up the sea" by "draining" the peasants out of areas where the guerrillas operate. Instead of "low-intensity conflict," the *tandona* advocates the strategy of "total war." One of their godfathers in ARENA told a human rights delegation that in order to win the war it will be necessary to kill perhaps 100,000 people. "We could do it in 10 years or in one year.... I would prefer to get it over within one year."

Death squad murder on the rise: Air force paratroopers (right), another victim found on road (below).

Photos: Hinterlang/J.B. Pictures

War of the Mayors

One of the FMLN's most effective tactics in establishing dual power in the countryside has been to issue threats to the local mayors, telling them to resign or be executed. As of February it was reported that over 50 mayors have resigned, and an equal number have fled to the departmental capitals, so that there are no functioning local authorities in one-third of El Salvador. Even the mayor of Usulután, El Salvador's third-largest city, resigned. Mayor Marta Gómez de Meléndez of Cojutepeque, who is the head of ARENA in Cuscatlán department, was the 45th mayor to quit. After receiving a letter from the FMLN ordering her to quit in 72 hours or "face popular justice," Gómez read her resignation on national TV:

> "The army promised to protect me, but those soldiers can't even protect themselves, can't even shoot straight. How could they protect me?... If I had soldiers walking behind me, the people would say, 'There goes Dona Marta and her death squad'."

Newsday (16 January) quoted a Western military adviser as saying, "It is a brilliant strategy destroying government attempts to deliver goods and services to the people." But there has been an outcry from liberals, "human rights" groups in the U.S. and even Rubén Zamora of the FDR, who claims that by killing or threatening "civilians" the guerrillas are violating the Geneva Convention on warfare. To begin with, the mayors are hardly "civilians." In this civil war situation, they are local representatives of the bloody regime which has killed more than 70,000 Salvadorans. They were selected in gunpoint "elections" in which no leftists could run. And the eight mayors who were killed by the guerrillas last year were all members of ARENA, the fascistic party of the death squads.

Moreover, the mayors are directly in the pay of U.S. AID, as an integral part of the CIA's Vietnam-style "counterinsurgency" program. Each municipality now receives $55,000 for projects under the control of the mayors. Among these projects promoted by the mayors to "win the hearts and minds" of villagers are the paramilitary patrols known as "civil defense," some of the most notorious killers in the rural areas. El Salvador correspondent Chris Norton quoted from a study done for the U.S. embassy on the AID "Municipalities" program:

> "'It is often overlooked that Municipalities in Action is a counterinsurgency strategy,' says the study. 'Indeed, we will argue that in El Salvador it is the most effective counterinsurgency strategy.'
> "But in forcing the mass resignations of the country's mayors, the guerrillas have undercut the program, frustrating the government's ability to project itself in the countryside, especially in the most trouble-plagued zones where the government most needed to assert its presence."
> —*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 January

Yes, the guerrillas' "war of the mayors" is based on terror. But in a civil war, in which the government forces spread indiscriminate terror through bombings, massacres and death squad assassinations, revolutionary struggle may require such tactics. Leon Trotsky, the organizer of the Bolshevik Red Army, wrote in *Terrorism and Communism*

Amherst...

(continued from page 7)

organizations have responded positively to our appeal for support to defend the Anti-Klan 3, recognizing an opportunity to defeat their own enemies and defend themselves. But not the Young Communist League. On February 22, College Republicans were admitted to a publicly advertised YCL event featuring a *People's Daily World* columnist, but the YCL *called the cops* against Spartacus Youth Club members who stood outside the meeting distributing *Workers Vanguard* and a press release about the attack on our comrades. Was it the YCL the next night who called campus cops again to stop SYC supporters from distributing literature outside a talk by Chip Berlet on the danger of the far right on American campuses? The *Minuteman* (March 1989) even peddles a violence-baiting slander from the YCL to justify the right-wing assault on the Spartacus Youth Club's anti-Klan meeting!

Well, Stalin tried a pact with Hitler too, and that didn't work out so well. The YCL's shameful sectarianism will backfire against them. Stalinist reformism renders the YCL incapable of politically fighting repression. In order to prove its loyalty to the ruling class during World War II, the Communist Party (CP) hailed the prosecution of the Smith Act against its first victims, the American Trotskyists, only to discover later that the Smith Act became the centerpiece of the government's Cold War witchhunt against the CP itself. In contrast, we Trotskyists stand firmly in the tradition of *non-sectarian, united-front defense* of every victimized member of the workers movement, regardless of our political disagreements. Last year, we went to bat for the CP when they were attacked by the same *Minuteman* crowd at Amherst (see "Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting," *Workers Vanguard*, 1 January 1988) and we defend the right of the reformist Rabinowitz to take office.

Like the Wobblies used to say: *An injury to one is an injury to all! Put the "Minutemen" on the run! Defend the Anti-Klan 3!* ■

WHAT YOU CAN DO

By prosecuting three Spartacus Youth Club supporters who defended an anti-racist meeting against a premeditated violent assault, the *Minuteman* crowd hopes for a court declaration of open season against leftists, black activists, gays, fighters for women's rights, defenders of civil liberties. Don't let them get away with it!

Defense of the Anti-Klan 3 is in the urgent interest of everyone targeted by the *Minuteman* thugs. Send letters demanding the dropping of charges against the Anti-Klan 3 to: Clerk of the Court, Northampton District Court, 15 Gothic St., Northampton, MA 01060. Send letters demanding that UMass rescind the ban against the Spartacus Youth Club to: Office of the Chancellor, 374 Whitmore Building, UMass Amherst, Amherst, MA 01003. Pack the Northampton District Court March 23 in solidarity with the Anti-Klan 3!

Court battles are costly. Please help—send a check to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

(1920), his polemic against the Kautskyites who denounced the Bolsheviks' "red terror," necessary to defend the young Soviet power in the Civil War against the tsarist White Guards and the expeditionary forces of 14 imperialist armies:

> "War, like revolution, is founded upon intimidation. A victorious war, generally speaking, destroys only an insignificant part of the conquered army, intimidating the remainder and breaking their will. The revolution works in the same way: it kills individuals and intimidates thousands."

Class War In San Salvador

Not only is the war in the countryside going badly for the government, San Salvador is seething with protest. In an article titled "Things Fall Apart: Trouble Ahead in El Salvador" (*World Policy Journal*, Winter 1988-89), Morris Blachman and Kenneth Sharpe note that there is "an increase in strikes, marches, petitions, demonstrations, and land takeovers" and an explosion of "protests and demonstrations by federations or confederations of unions and other organizations to demand that the government lift decrees restricting union activity and political rights, end disappearances and jailings of members and undertake a dialogue with the FDR-FMLN to end the war."

A year ago in March, 50,000 government employees held work stoppages demanding higher pay and an end to the war. When the head of the UNTS (National Unity of Salvadoran Workers), Humberto Centeno, was seized and severely beaten by government troops, he was quickly freed as militant workers marched through the capital and emergency protests were launched internationally (including by the Partisan Defense Committee). Then the day after a bomb ripped UNTS offices, 60,000 workers, peasants, students and professionals marched on May Day in the face of a massive army presence. On July 21, after a three-week power workers strike which blacked out much of the country, 20,000 workers protested a new strikebreaking "emergency law."

As mobilizations of the workers and poor mounted, even "moderate" sectors of the Salvadoran ruling class began to worry about things getting out of hand. So in August the Catholic church sponsored a "National Debate" which attracted more than 60 organizations, mainly unions, and all political parties except ARENA. The "debate" approved a platform calling for a "political solution" to the war and a "government of national consensus." When the Organization of American States came to San Salvador in mid-November, 70,000 people came out for a "peace" march called by the organizers of the National Debate. But a "national consensus" in this deeply class-divided society and a negotiated peace to end the war in El Salvador, which has already lasted three times as long as the Spanish Civil War, is utterly utopian. The choice in Salvador is revolution or death.

For a Trotskyist Party!

In "The Guns of Salvador," *Times*man LeMoyne writes of the "class-saturated war that Marxist rebel leaders date not from 1979 but from 1932," the first communist-led insurrection in the Americas. The insurrectionary forces were headed by Farabundo Marti, an admirer of Trotsky and internationalist to the core, who broke with the courageous Nicaraguan guerrilla Augusto Sandino over the latter's nationalism. The uprising was drowned in blood as the government slaughtered 30,000 peasants and workers, haughtily rejecting offers of aid from U.S. and Canadian warships which stood by offshore. The outlook of the Salvadoran oligarchy, the famous Fourteen Families, and its army was expressed by one Colonel Marcelino Galdamez, who declared:

> "Communism is like a tree shaken by the wind. The moving tree causes the seeds to fall; the same wind carries the seed to other places. The seed falls on fertile soil. To be done with Communism it is necessary to make the ground sterile."
>
> —quoted in Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza* (1971)

This is the same view as that of a Colonel René Emilio Ponce, who today speaks of "drying up the sea" in which the guerrillas move, of an ARENA which calls for "total war," only this time with 100,000 dead. And the nationalist FDR-FMLN want to negotiate a "political solution" leaving state power in the hands of this bloodthirsty bourgeoisie and their military guard dogs! At the moment when leftist rebels are hitting government forces hard, week after week, even in their previously secure redoubts, the FMLN general command announces that "the offensive launched by our forces...doesn't contradict our will for a political solution to the conflict" (*Venceremos*, November 1988).

FMLN comandante Fermán Cienfuegos declares, "It's an offensive aimed at negotiation" (*Chicago Tribune*, 6 December 1988). And the rebel leaders are going all out to show what "reasonable" negotiating partners they are. In an interview with the Mexican daily *La Jornada* (13 November 1988), another FMLN comandante, Leonel González, outlined a "Salvadoran model" seeking the "modernization of capitalism," a project which only the "most backward" elements of the oligarchy could oppose. And in an interview specially directed at the Bush administration, the FMLN's top military leader, Joaquin Villalobos, pledges that they "represent no danger to the United States" and would "avoid confrontation with the United States" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1989).

This program for negotiating their "incorporation" into the present Salvadoran political system is directly counterposed to an insurrection and to the revolutionary change for which the insurgent masses have been fighting. The FDR-FMLN leaders are acting as firemen, consciously seeking to damp social struggle. Thus Villalobos tells Washington, "With this proposal the FMLN is making a final effort to prevent a social explosion." Leonel González warns that the Salvadoran working class and poor are a "'powder keg' which could be set off without the will of any specific political force, including the FMLN." The guerrilla comandantes are trying to repeat the role they played during the last pre-insurrectionary situation a decade ago, as a brake on revolutionary mobilization.

In 1979-80, hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran working people took to the streets to repudiate the "human rights" junta, installed with the blessing of the Democratic Carter administration, which gunned down strikers and blocked even minimal democratic reforms. Three general strikes shut down the country. The moment cried out for a revolutionary party to place itself at the head of the mass uprising and lead it in a struggle for workers power. But the petty-bourgeois nationalist leftists like Villalobos refused to call for insurrection until they could get bourgeois support for a popular front tying the Salvadoran masses to their exploiters. And when they called for the January 1981 general offensive, urban insurrection failed because the masses had been abandoned and defeated.

Today once again the possibility for insurrection is posed in El Salvador. After years of civil war, government terror, starvation wages and 50 percent unemployment, plus an earthquake that left hundreds of thousands homeless: with a third of the country in guerrilla hands, a divided regime led by a dying president, the ultrarightists growing and a new administration in Washington which has not defined its policy in Central America—*now is a moment of decision, the time to strike for power*. But the petty-bourgeois nationalist/reformist leaders are doing everything possible to avoid this. As we wrote earlier in "Workers Revolution vs. the Guerrilla Road," (*WV* No. 325, 11 March 1983), the "guerrilla road *could not* lead to socialist revolution... because it is not based on the mobilization of the revolutionary class, the proletariat":

> "What is needed is above all a communist vanguard to lead it at the head of the urban and rural masses, to carry out a proletarian insurrection establishing a workers and peasants government and extending the revolution internationally. That can only be a Trotskyist party following the road of October 1917, the road of permanent revolution." ■

Bocxe/Sipa

"Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson and coffee baron "Freddy" Cristiani, two faces of fascistic ARENA party.

AFP

Venceremos

FMLN leaders Ana Guadalupe Martinez and Salvador Samayoa in Mexico City (left), guerrilla detachment (right). "Peace" plan with death squad regime spells bloody murder for Salvadoran masses.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Workers Revolution! No Negotiated Sellout!

Ricardo Ortega
Defiant Salvadoran workers protest strikebreaking law, arrest of union leader.

Hinterlang/J B Pictures
Duarte (at left) with some of his officers—their regime is tottering.

El Salvador: Moment of Decision

Under Ronald Reagan, Central America was declared to be no longer the back yard but the "front yard" of U.S. imperialism. This was where his first Secretary of State, General Haig, vowed within days of taking office to "draw the line" against Communism. It was supposed to be an easy win on home turf, undoing the "Vietnam syndrome" and setting the U.S. on the road to toppling the "evil empire" headquartered in Moscow. But it didn't turn out that way. The CIA's contras were beaten by the besieged left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. And in El Salvador, Washington's Christian Democratic regime is going down the tubes with Duarte dying of cancer, his party split by internal feuds and battered by leftist guerrillas as fascistic rightists gain strength.

Now George Bush is facing his first foreign policy test as the "forgotten war" in El Salvador heats up. This was supposed to be Washington's model "democracy." They replaced the junta with a civilian façade to disguise army rule. They held five elections in seven years, albeit at gunpoint and paid for by the Americans. This was a laboratory for "low-intensity conflict," the Pentagon's latest counterinsurgency fad. The army was quintupled in size to 60,000 men, supplied with all the weaponry, helicopters and planes they could handle. And yet, by last spring a report from four U.S. Army colonels concluded, "By most estimates, the war in El Salvador is stuck. Unhappily, the U.S. finds itself stuck with the war." A few months later a State Department official declared dismally, "Things are going to hell in a handbasket down there."

It's all coming to a head with the presidential elections, scheduled for March 19, which the party of the death squads, the National Republican Alliance (ARENA) led by notorious killer Roberto D'Aubuisson, is expected to win. Since last September, the leftist rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have been on an offensive that has pounded the army throughout the country. Guerrillas have landed blows against every major government military objective in the country, including the HQ of the joint chiefs of staff. "They're driving the Army absolutely crazy," said a Western military specialist. "The rebel attacks are making the Armed Forces run from one end of the country to the other like chickens with their heads cut off" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1988).

Yet at the same time the FMLN has been escalating its offers to give up battlefield gains at the bargaining table in the name of a mythical negotiated settlement of this bitter civil war. In January they caused a stir by offering to take part in elections without "power sharing," so long as the vote was postponed by six months. In February, this was followed up with an offer to call off the war and respect the election results if the armed forces are pared down to 12,000, the level they were at eight years ago. Duarte first denounced the FMLN offer, but after the U.S. twisted his arm, on February 26 the Salvadoran president went on TV offering a cease-fire and postponement of the vote. We warn: if the guerrillas should lay down their arms in any such negotiated sellout of the struggle, it would be fatal for the Salvadoran masses.

In a wrap-up article on his stint in Central America, titled "The Guns of Salvador," the *New York Times*' yuppie contra symp James LeMoyne writes that if the guerrilla proposal comes to naught, "some [rebel] commanders are reported to support a Tet-style offensive to break American and Government morale" (*New York Times Magazine*, 5 February). Indeed, the FMLN's year-end balance sheet highlights the "explosion of the war in the cities, where a popular insurrection is brewing." And the guerrilla front's latest offensive is named "The Whole People to Prepare the Insurrection!" Yet such an uprising would be popular-frontist in character, to install a reform *bourgeois* regime, rather than a *proletarian* revolution led by the combative Salvadoran workers.

As petty-bourgeois *nationalists*, the FMLN guerrillas and their popular-front allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) see no alternative to seeking "peace" with the U.S. Before them is the example of Sandinista Nicaragua, ravaged by nearly a decade of contra war and economic strangulation orchestrated from Washington. And now that Gorbachev is turning his back on Third World struggles from Afghanistan to southern Africa, they see no prospect for Soviet aid to an embattled Salvadoran revolution. But Trotskyists, fighting on the proletarian *internationalist* program of permanent

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AP/Wide World
San Salvador, 23 December 1988—FMLN commandos' dramatic daylight attack on joint chiefs of staff HQ shook army brass.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 473 17 March 1989

Spread the Eastern Strike – Shut Down the Airports!

MARCH 14—The battle lines have been drawn in the most important strike this country has seen in years. As midnight approached on Friday, March 3, pickets went up at airports across the country. The 9,300 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) finally had their chance to strike back at Eastern chief Frank Lorenzo, who has tried to destroy every union in his Texas Air empire.

At New York's La Guardia Airport, one striker declared: "The war started at 12:01 a.m." In Atlanta, Eastern's biggest hub, 1,500 Machinists, pilots and flight attendants chanted the countdown to midnight and began their picketing. At the airline's Miami base, IAM members massed outside the gate, chanting "Strike! Strike!" A contingent of Haitian refugees marched to the Miami IAM hall chanting "Hey, hey, Eastern—Lorenzo must go!"

The strike at Eastern is solid, as pilots and flight attendants stand side by side with Machinists on the picket lines. But this strike cannot be won at Eastern *alone*. Key to winning is the understanding that bowing to the bosses' injunctions and labor boards is slow *death* for the strike. But AFL-CIO president Kirkland and IAM president Winpisinger are down on their knees in front of the labor-hating judges, while workers across the country await the word to extend the strike! The stranglehold of the AFL-CIO tops must be broken.

Arrayed against the IAM is not only billionaire Lorenzo, but the whole machinery of the bosses' state—from George Bush, to Congress, to the courts and labor boards. Reagan crushed the PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981; now Bush wants to begin his administration by inflicting a humiliating defeat on the labor movement.

Lorenzo has already filed for bankruptcy, opening the way to transfer Eastern's lucrative routes and planes to his non-union Continental operation or sell them to other airlines. The IAM tops' only answer is to line up with Eastern's creditors in bankruptcy court, where the judge can rip up union contracts at will to ensure Eastern's "survival." Airline workers have to ensure the survival of their jobs and union organization *throughout the industry*, and that means using their economic power against *all* the airline bosses.

Rip Up the Injunctions!

Spink/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Atlanta: Machinists strike shuts down Eastern—the most important labor battle in the U.S. in years.

Millions of working people and minorities, the downtrodden and oppressed, look to the strikers to turn around years of givebacks and vicious attacks. The IAM and other Eastern unions must not be left to fight alone—this is a battle labor must not lose!

No more PATCOs! Spread the strike—starting with mass picketing at Continental! All airline unions must go out now—shut down the airports! For a national airline strike!

"They Want a War and They're Going to Get a War"

Eastern Airlines demanded the Machinists take up to a 56 percent wage cut, and the arrogant Lorenzo was counting on pilots and flight attendants to scab—the way all too many airline strikes have been knifed in the back. Using the language the imperialist bullies normally reserve for Third World "terrorists," Bush's transportation secretary, Samuel Skinner, declared, "if labor wants, as is apparently the case, to hold the American economy hostage...rest assured that this administration will do its level best to ensure that this country never faces such a peril again" (Cable News Network, 3 March).

The capitalist press geared up for the showdown. The *Wall Street Journal* recalled the smashing of PATCO and gloated that strikes are at an all-time low. The *Atlanta Constitution* bragged Lorenzo was "Dirty Harry with his pistol cocked," waiting for the IAM to "make his day." But this time the wage-cutting bastard ran into a solid front of unions at Eastern who know that if the IAM goes down to defeat, they're next.

The Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 553 executive board issued a call for all 5,900 Eastern flight attendants to stay out—"whether or not an actual picket line is up at your base." At the March 3 Local 553 meeting in Miami, an invited Continental flight attendant spoke powerfully to anyone thinking of crawling back to work:

> "Crossing a picket line is not like calling home to tell your mom that you're going to have a baby. You do it alone, you sneak in, you don't call your friends. And in many areas you're alone for the rest of your life."

On March 3, the eve of the strike, Machinists were locked out at airports from Miami to Boston, as Eastern claimed there was a "plot" to deploy the emergency chutes on every plane on the ground. In Miami, home to half the Eastern IAM members, an army of company security guards and management ejected union members from the base. Meanwhile the bosses' state marshaled its forces behind Lorenzo: "The cops are scheduled for overtime. The tow trucks are waiting. The riot troops are on call" (*Miami Herald*, 2 March). Angry workers gathered at the IAM lodge, many dressed in black T-shirts with a skull-and-crossbones and the slogan "Scabs Will Pay."

Friday night, 3,000 Machinists and

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Airlines and American Capitalism

Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies

SEE PAGE EIGHT

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Defend Abortion Rights!

There's an all-out assault on abortion rights in this country, as the Operation Rescue bigots blockade clinics and terrorize patients and staff. These "Right to Lifers" are the biggest advocates of the Jim Crow death penalty and have been a spearhead of racist reaction in the Reagan years. Now these clinic bombers and anti-woman creeps, with Bush's blessing, are bidding to have their reactionary agenda adopted by the Supreme Court, whose review of a Missouri anti-abortion law could lead to the overturn of the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationwide.

As defenders of abortion rights prepare to march in Washington on April 9, militants can draw inspiration from the 25-year history of Bill Baird, a pioneer in the struggle for abortion rights. Baird set up this country's first free birth control counseling and abortion clinic. His 1972 Supreme Court battle (*Baird v. Eisenstadt*) laid the constitutional foundation for the right to privacy on which *Roe v. Wade* is based. In a recent interview (*Women and Revolution* No. 36, Spring 1989) Baird said:

> "When we won in 1973 I predicted that if we didn't fight back we would lose the abortion law.... For the next six or seven years I alone stood outside every 'Right to Life' convention with a picket sign because I could see they were marshaling the troops for this counter-offensive.... We've allowed them to build this tremendous, monumental ground of support as moralists, when they really are thugs.... I'm asking people to become not a spectator to the cause of freedom, but a participant, and to realize that they can make a difference."

Ten years ago, Baird's Long Island clinic was burned to the ground by a reactionary religious nut. He has faced eight arrests, death threats and enormous court costs. Last month, the Partisan Defense Committee sent Baird a donation to assist him in defending his clinic. We urge you to send donations to: Parents' Aid Society, 131 Fulton Avenue, Suite 306, Hempstead, NY 11550.

* * *

Defend the Anti-Klan 3!

Chanting "UMass students, take a stand! Stop the thugs from the *Minuteman*!" up to 200 students demonstrated in front of the Student Union at Amherst on March 13. Fed up with being on the receiving end of harassment and assaults by a gang of racist, right-wing thugs grouped around the *Minuteman* newspaper, the students came out to a speak-out organized by the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) to build support for the "Anti-Klan 3," victims of a violent rightist provocation.

On February 9 a dozen of the campus brownshirts violently attacked participants at an SYC video showing of the November 5 Philadelphia anti-Klan mobilization (see *WV* No. 472, 3 March). The "Minutemen" are pressing false and malicious charges of assault and battery, with penalties of up to ten years, against the three Spartacist supporters. The Anti-Klan 3 and others who defended the meeting have filed counter-charges against six of the "Minutemen."

The March 13 rally galvanized some of the many targeted by the "Minutemen" to take a united stand against them. Allan Ditmore of the Radical Student Union said: "These people have gotten away with too much for too long. They attacked the Spartacist video—I was there. They attacked people, pushed and shoved and tried to trap people in the room....These people should be expelled and hopefully they will be." Owen Broadhurst of the Central America Solidarity Association told the rally: "They use violence against people. We know that they used violence against Ted Chambers when he was distributing the *Liberator* [a student publication that exposed the *Minuteman*'s links to Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi fascists]. They used death threats to get Jay Festa [a former student senator and ex-president of the Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Alliance] to resign."

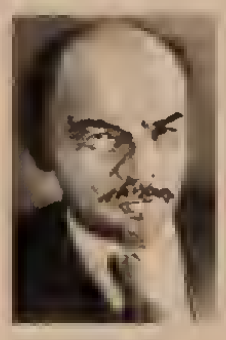
Reggie Fouché, a black student senator, reported how the *Minuteman* crowd's candidate for senate denounced all Third World students as "garbage." Members of the black Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity joined the marshals squad defending the rally. About a dozen "Minutemen" waving American flags threatened protesters and tried to break up the rally but failed miserably. One black woman challenged them: "Where are your white sheets today?" The crowd roared its approval as some demonstrators torched copies of the *Minuteman*. One of the Anti-Klan 3, Tom Daley, concluded the rally by calling on everyone to "Pack the Northampton District Court on Thursday, March 23rd! That's when our case will be heard. These stormtroopers would like the court to declare open season against all of us: blacks, Hispanics, gays, socialists. Don't let them get away with it!"

Send letters demanding the dropping of charges against the Anti-Klan 3 to: Clerk of the Court, Northampton District Court, 15 Gothic St., Northampton, MA 01060. The Spartacus Youth Club has been "banned" from use of facilities in the UMass campus center. Send letters protesting the ban to: Office of the Chancellor, 374 Whitmore Building, UMass Amherst, MA 01003. Court battles are costly—send a check to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. For a subscription to the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* send a donation of $5 or more ($1 for a single copy) to the same address. ■

TROTSKY

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

On 8 March 1917, International Women's Day, a massive strike begun by women textile workers was the spark that ignited the Russian Revolution. The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 brought gains for women in all areas of public and private life—gains unheard of in the "advanced" countries under capitalist rule. For us today, as for Lenin's Bolsheviks, the fight for women's liberation is an integral part of the fight for proletarian revolution.



LENIN

The Soviet government is the first and only government in the world to have completely abolished all the old, despicable bourgeois laws which placed women in a position of inferiority to men, which placed men in a privileged position, for example, in respect of marital rights and of children. The Soviet government, the government of the working people, is the first and only government in the world to have abolished all the privileges of men in property questions, privileges which the laws on marriage and the family in all bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, still preserve.

Wherever there are landowners, capitalists and merchants, women cannot be the equal of men even before the law.

Where there are no landowners, capitalists or merchants, and where the government of the working people is building a new life without these exploiters, men and women are equal before the law.

But that is not enough.

Equality before the law is not necessarily equality in fact.

We want the working woman to be the equal of the working man not only before the law but in actual fact. For this working women must take an increasing part in the administration of socialised enterprises and in the administration of the state....

The proletariat cannot achieve complete liberty until it has won complete liberty for women.

—V.I. Lenin, "To the Working Women" (February 1920)

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No. 473 **17 March 1989**

Emergency Appeal

Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

America's only political prisoner on death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been denied his appeal to have his death sentence overturned by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Mumia's appeal had also demanded a new trial. The March 6 high court decision ignored a multitude of fair trial violations and refused to consider the political motivations which were central in prosecuting Mumia and getting him sentenced to death.

"As a former Black Panther Party spokesman and an outspoken MOVE supporter, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for over 20 years," said PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein in a press release. At the time of his arrest, Jamal was president of the Association of Black Journalists in Philadelphia. He earned the cops' undying hatred especially for his sympathetic interviews with imprisoned MOVE members after the 1978 cop siege. "It is this history which made him the target of a deadly state vendetta," Wolkenstein said.

Mumia was framed up in the killing of a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. At the 1982 sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued for the death sentence by claiming that Jamal's having been a member of the Black Panther Party showed he was a committed cop-killer. The jury was assured that the death penalty would never be carried out, that Jamal would have "appeal after appeal." For years the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had held in other cases that this obviously false argument mandated automatic reversal of the death sentence upon review. But in its March 6 decision the court ignored its own precedent in its push to silence Mumia by execution.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about. It exposes not only the arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but also the inherent racism of its application. Mumia was targeted because of what he wrote and said, because of who he is: a radical black man who became known as "the voice of the voiceless." At his trial Mumia was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury of eleven whites, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding 12 prospective black jurors simply on the prosecution's request.

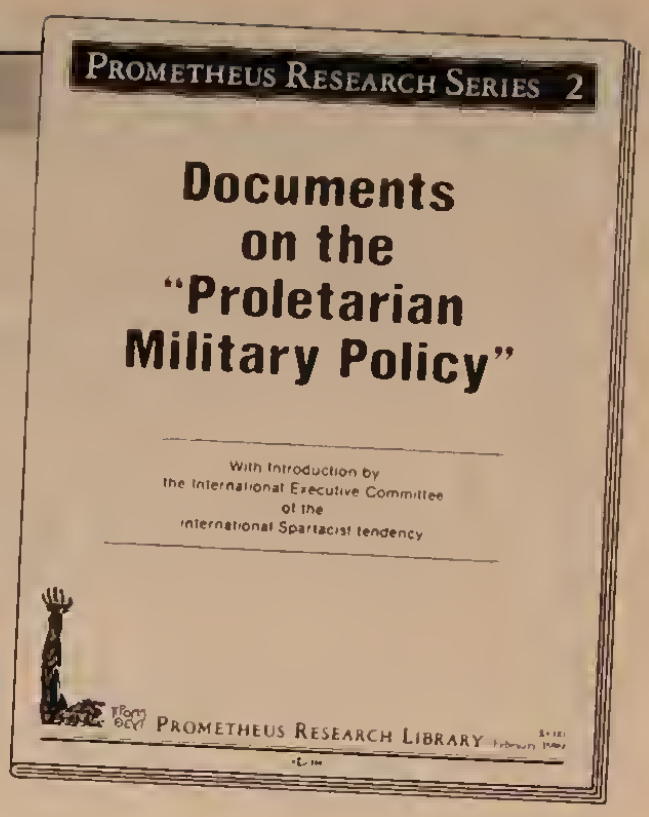
no credit

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980.

Jamal's appeal was supported by *amici curiae* (friends of the court) briefs from the ACLU and National Conference of Black Lawyers. Ron Dellums, now chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal" in a letter last November. Thousands of people around the nation have petitioned the governor to demand "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die," as part of a campaign initiated by the PDC. This campaign now takes on even greater urgency. Telegrams and letters should be sent now to the governor at: Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. For petitions and other information, please contact the PDC. ■

Prometheus Library Issues Second Research Bulletin

World War II and the "Proletarian Military Policy"



A selection of documents from World War II Trotskyist groups in the U.S., Britain and France.

The Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S., published in February the second in its *Prometheus Research Series*, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'." This 101-page bulletin includes documentary material from World War II Trotskyist groups in the United States, Britain and France, as well as an introduction which is a major programmatic statement of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the international Spartacist tendency, "Trotskyist Policies on the Second Imperialist War—Then and In Hindsight."

The "Proletarian Military Policy" (PMP), a series of demands centering on the call for trade-union control of military training, was first raised by Leon Trotsky early in 1940 and adopted by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in a September 1940 resolution. The Spartacist tendency has long seen the "Proletarian Military Policy" as a major factor disorienting the Trotskyist movement in the early years of WW II. In "Genesis of Pabloism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972) and in more detail in a pedagogical article written around the same time in the youth press of the Spartacist League, "Proletarian Military Policy" (*Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter* No. 13, August-September 1972, reprinted in the new bulletin), we have argued that the demand for trade-union "control" of military training for the bourgeois army is at best utopian—and in the midst of an escalating interimperialist war it necessarily carries a social-patriotic thrust.

The PMP was in large part a misdirected attempt to take advantage of the anti-fascist sentiments of the proletarian masses in the Allied imperialist countries faced with invasion and occupation by Hitler's army. As such it carried a not-so-implicit Anglo-American bias (no one ever raised the demand for trade-union control of military training for Hitler's Wehrmacht) and it entailed a willful blindness to the racist imperialist war in the Pacific. For the most part the PMP was shelved in practice by those sections of the Trotskyist movement that had adopted it (not coincidentally the British and American) when it became clear that Hitler's military power was waning in 1943. Since that point, the PMP has largely been a historical question for those claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, but the Spartacist tendency has always sought to draw a balance sheet on the question in order that the theoretical unclarity which lay behind the adoption of the PMP by the revolutionary SWP of the 1940s not provide an opening for future programmatic departures.

An article by Pierre Broué in *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* No. 23 (September 1985), "Trotsky and the Trotskyists Confront World War Two," was the catalyst for the comrades of the IEC to review the question of the PMP. An IEC meeting in Paris in the fall of 1985 provided the occasion for a discussion on the subject of the Trotskyists during WW II. An account of that discussion by comrade Pierre Vert was published in *Spartacist* (English edition) No. 38-39, Summer 1986 (Vert's article is also included in the new bulletin). The IEC voted at its 1985 meeting to endorse Trotsky's 1934 manifesto, "War and the Fourth International."

Vert's *Spartacist* article noted that the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, published by the Institut Léon Trotsky—a group of intellectuals associated with Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI, formerly the OCI)—is "probably the most provocative publication in the world today for archival and historical research on the Trotskyist movement." Broué is in the process of editing a multi-volume French-language edition of Trotsky's *Oeuvres* (Works). A significant increase in the available documentary record of the Trotskyist movement resulted from the opening of the formerly closed section of the Trotsky archives at Harvard University in 1980, as well as the discovery in 1987 of substantial new Trotsky papers in the archives of Boris I. Nicolaevsky at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. This material, much of it not in Pathfinder's English-language *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series, has enriched not only the more recent volumes of the *Oeuvres*, but also the *Cahiers*, and provided a documentary basis for Broué's just-published (in France) biography of Trotsky.

Trotsky's essential writings on World War II and the PMP have, however, long been available in the Pathfinder series. In addition, the relevant articles and speeches by SWP leader James P. Cannon are also available (a bibliography of directly relevant works by Cannon and Trotsky is included in the bulletin). "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" adds to the currently in-print documentary record by reprinting not only the SWP's September 1940 Resolution, but also the sharp polemics of the (then) left-centrist Max Shachtman against it. The inexorable political logic of Shachtman's defection from the Fourth International at the war's outset, precipitated by his capitulation to petty-bourgeois anti-Communism in the wake of the Hitler-Stalin pact, took 18 years to fully play itself out. By 1951 Shachtman was advocating his own anti-Soviet version of the "Proletarian Military Policy"—the transformation of the Korean War into a "democratic" war against Stalinism! But in 1940 and 1941, Shachtman could still write an effective polemic against the revisionism on the nature of the state which was inherent in the PMP.

The Wartime Trotskyist Movement

The Fourth International was founded in 1938 in the shadow of the Munich crisis and in the midst of a Stalinist campaign of assassination which devastated the cadres of the Trotskyist administrative center in Europe. With the onset of the world war, international coordination and communication among the Trotskyist movement internationally became spotty to nonexistent. An emergency conference was held in New York in May 1940. It adopted a Manifesto on the war, written by Trotsky, which included the demand for trade-union control of military training. This section of the Manifesto provoked much controversy where it was received in Europe, and the Belgian section refused to include it when they published the Manifesto. The SWP's September Resolution was even more controversial, especially in Britain. "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" reprints three counterposed resolutions on the PMP from the fusion conference of British Trotskyists in March 1944, which resulted in the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party. In addition, the bulletin publishes English translations of two documents opposing the PMP from an April 1941 internal bulletin of the French Committees for the Fourth International.

Our bulletin introduction, "Trotskyist Policies on the Second World War—Then and In Hindsight," makes use of some of the wealth of documentary and memoir material from the wartime Trotskyist movement which has been published in the last decade in the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* and elsewhere. While the introduction to *Cahiers* No. 23 invited further contributions toward a continuing discussion on the subject of the Trotskyists in World War II, *Cahiers* No. 28 (December 1986) carried a statement by Broué which haughtily refused to reply to Pierre Vert's *Spartacist* article. (Broué objected to our observation that his central thesis —that the European Trotskyists failed by refusing to enter a "mass movement based on national and social resistance," i.e., the Stalinist- and bourgeois-led Resistance—bears some relationship to the present-day reformist and liquidationist policies of the Lambert group.)

Recently the discussion on the Trotskyists in WW II has been continued in the pages of *Revolutionary History*, a collaborative multi-tendency archival journal published by Socialist Platform in Britain. *Revolutionary History* devoted its third issue (dated Autumn 1988) to the wartime Trotskyists, publishing an article by Sam Levy, entitled "The Proletarian Military Policy Revisited," as well as two valuable articles previously available only in French, one of them initially published in *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*. The forthcoming issue of *Revolutionary History* (No. 4) will include even more material, some of it never published before in any language. In particular the issue will contain an article on the Dutch Committee of Revolutionary Marxists (Wim Bot, "Generals Without Troops: Dutch Trotskyism During the Occupation") which our IEC found particularly useful in reviewing the work and perspectives of the small Trotskyist nuclei which functioned in Europe during the war. Our bulletin, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'," is dedicated to the memory of the wartime leader of the Dutch Trotskyists, Piet van 't Hart, and to those who fought alongside him during the German occupation of Holland.

War and Revolution

In its introduction, the IEC critically analyzes the fragmentary writings of Trotsky on the PMP, pointing out that Trotsky's use of the post-February 1917 Russian Bolshevik experience in elaborating the PMP was quite misleading. Proletarian "control" of any aspect of the bourgeois army is only possible as a brief episode in a revolutionary situation (e.g., Russia after the overthrow of the tsar). A situation of dual power did not exist in any imperialist country in 1940. When seen in the light of the earlier positions and work of the Trotskyist movement, in particular the seminal 1934 document "War and the Fourth International," the PMP represented a real, if ephemeral, programmatic departure. Unfortunately, the dispute was not resolved at the end of the war.

The IEC's introduction also points out that Trotsky was right to foresee that the war would bring in its wake a tremendous revolutionary wave, especially in the colonies, posing the possibility of proletarian seizures of power in a whole series of countries. If the Trotskyists were unable to put themselves at the head of the discontented and war-weary masses, this was due to the extreme weakness of their forces, and to the effectiveness of the imperialist countermeasures. At war's end, a combination of Stalinist betrayal and often savage bourgeois repression effectively strangled the possibility of proletarian

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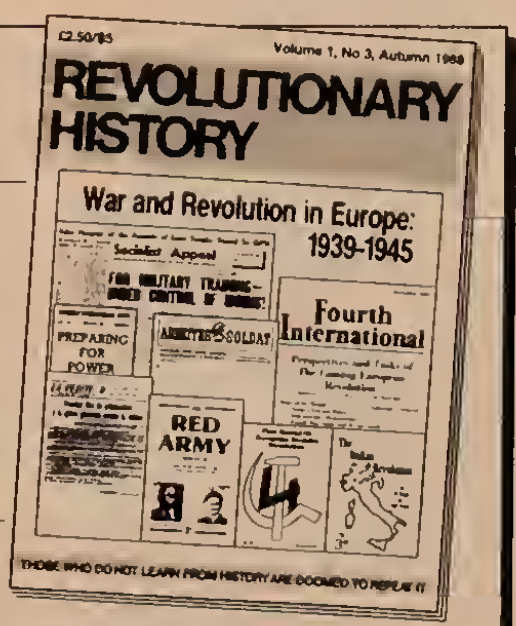

Soviet Workers Must Act—Crush Pamyat!

Fascist Cancer in Gorbachev's Russia

When the nativist Russian fascists of Pamyat staged openly anti-Semitic demonstrations in the heart of Leningrad last summer, it sent shock waves throughout Soviet society (see "Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!" *WV* No. 461, 23 September 1988). Unchallenged by active mass opposition and protected by a section of the Soviet bureaucracy, Pamyat has grown ever bolder. It seized on the campaigning for the March 26 elections to the newly created Congress of People's Deputies as a springboard to flaunt its terror tactics and spew its violent anti-Semitism and Great Russian chauvinism. Intended as a showcase of "democratization" under Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness), the election campaign has been marked by public nominating meetings which in many districts have turned into mass free-for-all debates lasting into the night. But not where Pamyat appeared.

Pamyat targeted Moscow's Sverdlovsk precinct, one of the most publicized campaigns in the country, where the nomination was being contested by Vitaly Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*, a flagship of Gorbachev's program of political and economic "restructuring" (*perestroika*). Pamyat succeeded in forcing Korotich off the ballot, and on February 19 in Moscow, hundreds turned out to a demonstration called by "informal patriotic organizations" to celebrate Pamyat's victory. One speaker wore a sweatshirt reading, "Down with the occupation by Jewish nationalists," and led the crowd in chants of "Hang Korotich! Hang Korotich!" "You can see the work of our hand," boasted a Pamyat member, ominously adding, "and you will see it more."

The residents of Sverdlovsk got a direct and frightening look at the work of Pamyat's hand. As some 700 people crowded into a Moscow auditorium on the night of January 9, they were confronted with a well-organized squad of more than 50 Pamyat thugs. People entering the meeting were told, "go back—we know your address," and threatened that if they voted for Korotich "they'd be in a bad way" (*Ogonyok*, 14 January). Inside the hall, Pamyat started screaming "Long live the Russian people" and "There's no room for the friends of Jews on Russian soil." Brandishing yellow Stars of David blackened over by crosses and a banner reading, "No trust in the leader of the yellow (Jewish) press," they yelled at the podium: "Korotich, you Jew, give back your silver coins."

Ogonyok quoted a horrified eyewitness: "Looking at the activity of the well-organized hooligans from the 'Pamyat' society, at how they shouted, whistled, stamped their feet, threw out foul words, offensive slogans, I automatically thought: what does this remind me of?" She answered herself by pointing to Hitler's 1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch: "That's how the thugs from the Munich beer halls got started." Korotich, who is not Jewish, later recalled: "I grew up in the Ukraine and I've seen Nazis in my life, and this was not much better."

That's what the "Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat" is: Russian Nazis! They agitate for an anti-Semitic Final Solution; they strut around in black shirts and black jackboots; they hark back to the prerevolutionary Black Hundreds, pogromist gangs organized by the tsarist secret police to terrorize the Jewish ghettos. But their direct inspiration is more recent and even more murderous than that. These rabidly anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinists may be ambivalent about Hitler, because while they think Hitler did a good thing for Germany—by exterminating all the Jews—they hate the Germans as well. But they are nativist Hitlerites on Russian soil, a spearhead of fascist counterrevolution within the Soviet degenerated workers state. Recently, war memorials in Murmansk have been defaced with swastikas, and Russian youth have been seen wearing swastikas. Pamyat führer Dmitri Vasiliev claims to have 20,000 members in Moscow and support in 30 other Russian cities. And they have been growing ominously.

However, the potential forces for crushing Pamyat are far greater. Despite decades of Stalinist nationalism, a deep reservoir of internationalism was inherent in the foundation of the Soviet state. Pamyat is a threat to all the non-Russian nationalities and to the very survival of the Soviet Union as a multinational state. Moscow and other major urban centers are deeply integrated; Jews today are not confined to the Pale of Settlement as they were under the tsars, but are an integral part of Soviet cultural, economic and political life (like Moshe Milshtein, a leader of Soviet army intelligence). There is a high rate of intermarriage between Jews and ethnic Russians, between Russians and non-Russian nationalities. Former Soviet leader and head of the KGB Yuri Andropov, for example, had a Jewish grandmother.

It is not insignificant that one of the best-selling books in the Soviet Union today is *Children of the Arbat*, a powerful novel attacking the Stalin era, written by the Jewish writer Anatoli Rybakov (though Rybakov's book is still outsold by several works by Russian nationalists). One of the principal motivations for the founding of the Federation of Socialist Clubs two years ago was, in fact, opposition to Pamyat. But Pamyat is not going to be stopped by an opposition confined simply to literary denunciations. In *Ogonyok*'s account of the January 9 Pamyat attack, one V. Chernov expresses dismay that a small handful of *organized* fascists was permitted to break up and terrorize a meeting of *unorganized* hundreds.

The main force for crushing Pamyat does not lie with the Soviet intelligentsia, which has rallied in its bulk behind Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms." Just as it was the Marxist-led workers who successfully defended the Jewish ghettos and workers' districts against the tsarist Black Hundreds prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, so today it is the multinational Soviet working people who have both the power and the vital interest to sweep away the Pamyat fascists. In particular, many of the tens of thousands of returned Soviet veterans who fought against reactionary cutthroats in Afghanistan believe they were carrying out their "internationalist duty" there, and can and must be mobilized against the Great Russian chauvinists of Pamyat.

Signs say "Pamyat will win," "Yes to nationalism and patriotism" and "No to rootless cosmopolitanism" (above). Pamyat fascists disrupt Moscow election meetings in January (right).

Ogonyok Photos

Victims of 1903 Kishinev massacre (below left)—Pamyat seeks to carry forward anti-Semitic terror of tsarist Black Hundreds. Another of Pamyat's forebears: Russian fascist general Vlasov collaborated with Nazi invaders (below right).

David Mowshowitch

World Publishing

Amid the explosive rise of nationalist movements among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the most dangerous nationalism of all remains that of the dominant Russian people. In its repudiation of the Bolshevik program of international socialist revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy opened the door to all the old crap of the tsarist prison house of peoples, glorifying social backwardness and Great Russian chauvinism. If the working people of Russia take it upon themselves to wipe out the Russian Nazis it will send a message that would be heard from the Caucasus to the Baltic. *Soviet workers must act! Crush Pamyat!*

The "Memory" of Tsarist Pogromism

Yet these Nazis find protection under the wing of a section of the bureaucracy

opposed to Gorbachev's "reforms," while the Gorbachevites tolerate and amnesty Pamyat by denying it is fascist. When Pamyat marched through Moscow's Red Square two years ago and demanded a meeting with Korotich's ideological soulmate, then Moscow party head Boris Yeltsin, Yeltsin invited them in for a two-hour discussion and praised their "patriotism for our motherland." Today Yeltsin says: "Pamyat began as something interesting and then turned evil." Pamyat began by thinly covering its rabid anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinism with a veneer of "patriotic" concern with the preservation of old monuments and churches.

The Russian Orthodox church was the organizing center of pogroms and counterrevolution; this is the "memory" (*pamyat* in Russian) these fascists claim, and it is being officially encouraged. The *New York Times* (22 February) reported on a church "concert" in Moscow on February 16 "where more than 3,000 people celebrated God and pre-revolutionary Russia" and the most enthusiastic applause of the evening came when writer Konstantin Kovalev hailed the old anthem, "God Save the Tsar." The *Times* commented: "Under Mr. Gorbachev, the state has set out to win over at least some of the Russian patriots with greater religious freedom and promises to restore neglected Russian monuments...." Last April, Gorbachev met with the Russian Orthodox Holy Synod in Moscow, the first time a Soviet leader had met with the church hierarchy since Stalin in 1943! The government's official celebration in June of the church's 1,000th anniversary lucled Russian nationalist obscurantism.

The last decade has seen the sharp growth of a chauvinist "Russophile" movement shot through with anti-Semitism. Many writers associated with the "Village Prose" school, which idolizes the backwardness of Russian village life, push the traditional Black Hundreds line of "Beat the Yids!" They include prominent and best-selling writers like Valentin Rasputin, Vasily Belov and Viktor Astafyev (who rails against the "seething pus of Jewish superintellectual arrogance"). A recent Pamyat manifesto claims support for *perestroika*, but "à la Rasputin," not "à la Korotich."

The conflicting currents which have emerged under *glasnost*, and now tear away within the Stalinist bureaucracy and Soviet society generally, were reflected in the two demonstrations which took place in Moscow on the anniversary of Stalin's death on March 5. While the semi-official Memorial society attracted thousands to a protest honoring the victims of Stalin's terror, Pamyat laid a wreath at Stalin's grave—and then rallied at a monument to the tsarist soldiers who "liberated" Bulgaria from Turkish rule in 1878. While Memorial raises funds to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's terror, Pamyat raises funds to erect a monument to Tsar Nicholas II. In a street encounter on March 5, a Pamyat supporter argued, "Russia has been in existence for at least a thousand years. We've never had a democracy before... we can only be strong if we have a strong leader. Democracy means disorder." A supporter of Memorial could only reply, "But America is strong and it is a democracy" (*Washington Post*, 6 March).

The intellectuals and technocrats who are the base for Gorbachev's *perestroika* seek to appease and emulate Western imperialism. Their opponents capitalize on popular disgust with the prospect of a return to pervasive profiteering and mass unemployment, to hark back to the days of "order" under Stalin and to a "Greater Russia" in which the Jews, Armenians and other non-Russian nationalities who are particularly prominent in Gorbachev's entourage "knew their place." Last November Moscow was the scene of a formerly unthinkable public symposium on Trotsky, where the relatives of

YIVO Institute

Bolshevik Revolution purged Russia of Black Hundreds reaction. Jewish workers' self-defense unit in Odessa, April 1918.

Old Bolsheviks like Joffe, Piatnitsky and Antonov-Ovseenko recalled the Stalin terror and the heroism of the Left Opposition. But the symposium itself became the scene of a gruesome display of Jew-baiting by Pamyat supporters who, as *Le Monde* (22 November 1988) reported, "wanted it known that this Trotsky was just one of those Jews who invented the revolution to kill Mother Russia." What is missing on all sides in the debates raging within the Soviet Union today is precisely the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, who swept away the dark oppression of the tsarist "fatherland" and its Orthodox church which Pamyat wants to reinstate.

Protectors at the Top

For the moment at least, Pamyat appeals to and serves the interests of those elements of the bureaucracy opposed to Gorbachev's liberalization and the "new permissiveness." It is an open secret that a section of the Leningrad party leadership promotes Pamyat, which first emerged in 1979 under the wing of the powerful Ministry of Aviation Industry and, according to the paper *Sobesednik*, numbers an army general among its members (*Washington Post*, 19 February). At the time of last summer's demonstrations in Leningrad "a mob of fascist thugs from the Pamyat society" was seen with a poster reading "Greetings to Nina Andreyeva! Hurrah!" (*Moscow News*, 11 September 1988). The "Nina Andreyeva letter," reputedly masterminded by Gorbachev's chief opponent in the leadership, the now demoted Yegor Ligachev, denounced the "excesses" of *glasnost* and particularly the attacks on Stalin.

Pamyat's vendetta against Korotich coincided with a campaign against him by anti-Gorbachev elements in the literary establishment. Korotich was subjected to vicious attack at a December meeting of the Russian Writers Union, headed by "conservatives" Sergei Mikhailkov and Yuri Bondarev. When *Ogonyok* responded with an open letter accusing Bondarev of working against *perestroika*, Korotich's opponents, including Rasputin and film director Sergei Bondarchuk, got a broadside published on the back page of *Pravda* which warned: "History is being unprecedentedly distorted, social achievements of the people are being revised, and cultural values are being vulgarised..." (London *Guardian*, 19 January).

On January 23, the magazines *Moskva*, *Molodaya Gvardiya* and *Roman-Gazeta*, which pander to the crudest Russian nationalism, sponsored a meeting in Moscow which was effectively a rally against *Ogonyok*. According to an account in *Moscow News* (12 February) by liberal poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, "the hall was decorated with the slogan 'The Pamyat Movement Will Win' and a red banner on which the hammer and sickle was replaced with St. George the Victorious...[who] in the hands of the Black Hundreds was a symbol of pogroms." Another Pamyat banner read "No to Rootless Cosmopolitans"—evoking Stalin's anti-Semitic purges of the late '40s and early '50s. The deputy editor of *Molodaya Gvardiya*, an official Komsomol (Communist Youth) publication, inflamed the crowd by reciting statistics on the preponderance of Jews in Soviet literature and education.

"I remembered," wrote Yevtushenko, a "gathering on Hitler's birthday a few years ago in Pushkin Square." In 1982, a handful of Russian Nazis showed up in Moscow's Pushkin Square to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday; they were immediately pounced on by hundreds of students and young sports fans. Yet while Yevtushenko denounces Pamyat for its anti-Semitism, this "poet of the possible" warns against "breaking up the organization by force using self-appointed 'limbs of the law'" and tries to compete for the nationalist banner with "those who wish to monopolize Russian patriotism."

Der Spiegel

Gorbachev with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Pimen. Kremlin bureaucracy conciliates religious obscurantism for its own nationalist reasons.

Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!

What to do about Pamyat has become a burning issue. Last summer, *Izvestia* published and gave its support to an appeal by 59 Leningrad academics demanding the arrest of Pamyat's leaders. At the same time, *Moscow News* carried a denunciatory report of Pamyat's Leningrad rallies by writer Valery Voskoboinikov. Voskoboinikov and his family received a number of telephoned death threats, as the "Leningrad Council of the National Patriotic Front" distributed a hit list including his name, while other leaflets signed "Pamyat Fathers" called for the methods of "partisan war" against opponents. In response *Moscow News* (30 October 1988) called on the authorities to prosecute Pamyat for violating Soviet laws which ban racist agitation. After several months of "investigation," the Leningrad procurator (district attorney) exonerated the fascists of advocating violence and extremism. Pamyat's demonstrations had official permission from the highest Leningrad authorities in the first place and took

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Der Spiegel

Gorbachev in Estonia, 1987. Market-oriented perestroika intensifies national antagonisms within the Soviet Union.

Pamyat...

(continued from page 5)

place under the gaze of the police, who harassed or arrested only *anti-Pamyat* protesters.

Having experienced a taste of relatively open public debate in the last few years, many Soviet citizens are undoubtedly fearful that any action by the bureaucracy against Pamyat will be turned against them. A letter to *Moscow News* (13 November 1988) by Leningrad journalist Anna Osipova recognized that "if today Pamyat representatives are put away, tomorrow I may be put away." But Osipova took issue with editor Yegor Yakovlev, a leading Gorbachevite, for justifying official tolerance of Pamyat as part of *glasnost* and insisted, "Non-resistance to evil is the most fertile soil for it."

Under a healthy dictatorship of the proletariat, like the Bolshevik power under Lenin and Trotsky, the social conditions which generate the likes of Pamyat would not exist, and any fascist scum that did emerge would be immediately suppressed. But the Stalinist bureaucracy fears independent action by the proletariat far more than it does Pamyat. The nationalist bureaucracy cannot be entrusted with suppressing Pamyat, but massive and determined demonstrations by the Soviet working people can and must eliminate this

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In anti-Semitic poster, White Russian counterrevolutionaries depict Trotsky as ogre of the Kremlin.

nativist Hitlerite menace, presenting the authorities with an accomplished fact. At the time of the Pamyat provocations in Leningrad last summer, we wrote:

> "For every one of these Pamyat fascists, there are tens and hundreds of fascist-hating workers, students, veterans and youth in military service who would eagerly come out to the Rumyantsevsky Garden on a Thursday to teach the Russian Nazis a lesson. Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Leningraders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to *burn Nazi swastika flags* in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat?...
>
> "What is necessary now is an aggressive mobilization organized as widely as possible—from below, independently of the authorities—in Leningrad, to ensure the greatest preponderance in the relationship of forces against the dangerous Pamyat fascist fanatics. People from many different political persuasions can join together in *action* to smash Pamyat."

When the American fascist Ku Klux Klan tried to stage a race-hate provocation in Philadelphia last November 5, TASS (6 November 1988) correctly reported that a "massive anti-racist demonstration took place on the site of the planned" fascist demonstration, but it falsely claimed that the demonstration "demanded the passage of federal legislation making the KKK illegal." It is a reformist notion pursued by the American Communist Party, whose idea of communism is to pressure the capitalist Democratic Party, that the racist American ruling class can be persuaded to "ban the Klan." It was the Marxist Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, which initiated this successful united-front action—centered on the power of the working class—to *stop the Klan*, and revolutionaries were key to building it. The CP wanted nothing to do with it (though it subsequently participated in the PDC-initiated action against Klansman David Duke in Chicago).

For Leninist Internationalism!

With its embrace of the hoary traditions of Russian nationalism under the guise of building "socialism in one country" and its repudiation of Leninist internationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy at best politically disarms the Soviet masses in the face of nativist fascist reaction and at times dangerously overlaps with outright Great Russian reactionaries. In his murderous campaign to smash the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, Stalin regurgitated the anti-Semitic appeals of the counterrevolutionary White Guards, who painted Trotsky as the personification of "Jew-Bolshevism." Years later, in the aftermath of World War II, Stalin instigated several purges aimed at Jews under the guise of fighting "Zionism" and "cosmopolitanism." The last of these was the so-called "Doctors' Plot" purge, which was cut short by the tyrant's death in 1953.

Today Stalin-lovers and tsar-lovers find common cause in amnestying the Georgian-born "Great Russifier" by blaming all his crimes on one of Stalin's Jewish henchmen, Lazar Kaganovich. Similarly Pamyat steers clear of attacking the Russian Lenin (though Russian nationalist circles are apparently buzzing over whether Lenin was one-eighth Jewish), focusing on the "corrupt" Jews like Trotsky and Kamenev who surrounded him. Indeed, the CIA-funded journal *Glasnost* criticizes Pamyat for allowing its virulent anti-Semitism to stand in the way of more consistent anti-Communism. But Pamyat is hardly crypto-Stalinist; to it, Marxism at its root is a Jewish plot.

Stalin's glorification of counterrevolutionary chauvinism was carried to its logical conclusion by a minor Soviet diplomat named Butenko, who defected to Mussolini's fascist Italy in 1938, and subsequently by General Andrei Vlasov, a Soviet officer captured by the Germans who then organized an army of Russian "volunteers" to serve Hitler on the Eastern Front. But around the same time that Butenko broke from the bureaucracy in the direction of fascism, Ignace Reiss, a heroic Soviet military intelligence officer, broke in the direction of Bolshevism, publicly declaring himself for the Fourth International. Reiss was shortly thereafter abducted and murdered by Stalin's assassins. Trotsky pointed to the "faction of Butenko" and the "faction of Reiss" as graphic evidence of the dual character of the nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet workers through a political counterrevolution in 1924 and has since rested parasitically atop the collectivist foundations of the workers state created by the October Revolution.

While a Reiss faction has yet to emerge in the Soviet Union, the outlines of a counterrevolutionary Butenko faction are beginning to take shape. Alongside of the rise of the latter-day Vlasovites of Pamyat, Gorbachev's *perestroika* has brought to the surface the worst anti-social scum. The proliferation of privately owned "cooperative" stores and restaurants has led to a sharp rise (or at least a more public emergence) of financial speculation and organized criminal activity, including shakedown rackets. The paper *Moskovsky Komsomolets* recently ran an

L.Y. Leonidov

Lenin and Trotsky's Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

exposé on the spread of organized crime among young people, reporting how "In every high school... there are teen-aged mobsters selling pornography, radios, video recorders, cassette tapes, clothes and cosmetics" (*Washington Post*, 12 February).

Gorbachev's encouragement of market competition and a dog-eat-dog mentality has also fueled nationalist movements among the more economically advanced nationalities like Armenia and the Baltic republics who see in *perestroika* an opportunity to break free from the centralized economy and better their lot at the expense of their poorer neighbors, like the Azerbaijanis and even the Russians. Indeed, if Soviet Russia were the "evil empire" that Reagan and the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd paints it to be, simply exploiting and lording it over the non-Russian nationalities, there would be no room for a mass *Russian* nationalist movement. In his own brutal, bureaucratic way, Stalin was actually a leveler of the conditions of the different Soviet nationalities. Today, Lithuanians and Estonians march in the tens of thousands under the flag of the interwar bourgeois republics, which were bastions of White Guard pogromism and anti-Communism, while Armenia and Azerbaijan are rent by murderous fratricide, and demonstrators in Azerbaijan carry placards of Khomeini. Now nationalist agitation has flared up elsewhere, including the Ukraine, the largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union.

But the social force which has yet to assert itself in Gorbachev's Russia is the proletariat, the driving force of the October Revolution. The Soviet working people have nothing to gain from *perestroika*, and many have made their dissatisfaction clear to Gorbachev. A number of strikes have taken place in the past year, and as the store shelves grow emptier discontent increases. Moreover, while the government has churned out reams and reams of defeatist propaganda to justify the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, there are many Soviet citizens who refuse to accept the lie that their sons, brothers and husbands gave their lives for "Russia's Vietnam." The *afghantsi*, returned Red Army vets who saw with their own eyes the centuries of social progress that separate the land of the October Revolution from neighboring Afghanistan, are among the best organized and fastest growing of the "informal groups," and to them "internationalist duty" has a living meaning.

The multinational Soviet working class must reassert its independent interests, which lie neither in the Western-oriented "market reforms" of Gorbachev nor in a return to the benighted Great Russian chauvinism of the dark past but in the struggle for international socialist revolution. The October Revolution opened the portals of emancipation for the workers and peasants of Russia, for the Jews and non-Russian nationalities of the tsarist prison house of peoples. What is urgently called for is a return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, necessitating a proletarian political revolution which will shatter the bureaucracy and restore the red banner of revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin. The crushing of Pamyat as a necessary measure of self-defense by the Soviet peoples will be a step on that road. We are writing in English, from abroad. It is urgent that there be a corresponding organizational force within the Soviet Union, not least to fight Pamyat. ■

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Young Spartacus

Students Say: "Atwater Must Go!"

Mass Protests Rock Howard

Break with the Democrats!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Six days of nonstop protests by Howard students succeeded in forcing Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee, to resign from the board of trustees of the nation's most prestigious black university. Howard students struck a symbolic blow against the racism of the ruling Republican Party at a time when the Republicans are eager to lure middle-class black support. Hitting Atwater's role as Bush's campaign manager in promoting the racist appeals around Willie Lee Horton (a black convict accused of rape while on furlough), the students distributed a leaflet asking, "Do you want this man [Atwater] to rape our university?" The leaflet called for student protest at the school's annual convocation on Friday, March 3.

On Monday morning, a thousand students gathered at the flagpole—now flying the red, black and green banner of black nationalism—and took over the administration building. Vowing not to leave until Atwater resigned, students also demanded a reversal of the proposed 15 percent tuition hike, increased financial aid (some 80 percent of Howard students need subsidies to afford college), better housing, a vague call for more "Afro-centric" courses, and a reactionary demand for more campus cops and higher pay for campus security. But the cops were unleashed against the protesters. City cops armed with rifles broke into the basement while a SWAT team with tear gas was dropped by helicopter onto the roof!

University president James Cheek, a black toady of the Republican Party, threatened mass arrests and expulsions of all protesters. Cheek, who got his start as Nixon's White House liaison to put down unrest at black colleges in the late '60s, would have few qualms about spilling student blood in his fiefdom—especially when Howard's $179 million in federal funding hangs in the balance. But it was the black front men for the Democratic Party who succeeded in dispersing the protest—with the assistance of the "talented tenth" black nationalist student leadership. D.C. mayor Marion Barry praised the students and withdrew his riot cops. Atwater withdrew but the students stayed, demanding action on their other demands and assurance of no reprisals. Finally Jesse Jackson flew into town and ended the protest at 3:00 a.m. Thursday morning... with a prayer and a "covenant"!

Snead/Washington Post

Students demand ouster of racist Republican Lee Atwater from Howard U. board of trustees.

Howard University: No "Ebony Tower"

Howard University is the main training ground for the thin black middle-class layer in white racist America. An estimated 50 percent of black doctors, dentists, surgeons and engineers, and twenty-five percent of black lawyers in the U.S. are Howard graduates. But so few blacks make it into these professions overall that many graduates consider themselves "lucky" if they can land a job selling cars. There's tremendous pressure for Howard students to "make it" out of the desperate poverty and hopelessness that is the norm for an increasing *majority* of black youth. Systematic oppression of black people as a last-hired, first-fired, race-color caste in American capitalism means that even at the premier black universities like Howard, *separate is unequal*.

Despite the much vaunted "Howard experience," a lot of students know that life for blacks in America is hell and want to do something about it. Howard students were a big component of the labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington in November 1982; last November, many again were active in the mobilization that put the Klan and skinhead fascists on the run in Philly. But the pseudo-nationalist student "leaders" are so narrowly limited to struggles within their own campus sandbox that they can't lead anyone anywhere except to the Democratic Party's hip pocket—which is exactly where they took this sit-in.

Howard is no ebony tower. It sits right in the middle of a deteriorating black ghetto. If four years of dorm housing looks bad, take a peek at the "kinder, gentler" streets just a few blocks from the Howard campus where people are trapped for life. But the student government bureaucrats and the Farrakhanite black nationalist "NIA Force" leading the sit-in made no attempt to link the students with black D.C. or with the power of the integrated labor movement, which at this moment is engaged in a critical battle with Eastern Airlines.

The protest leaders excluded the communist Spartacus Youth Club which

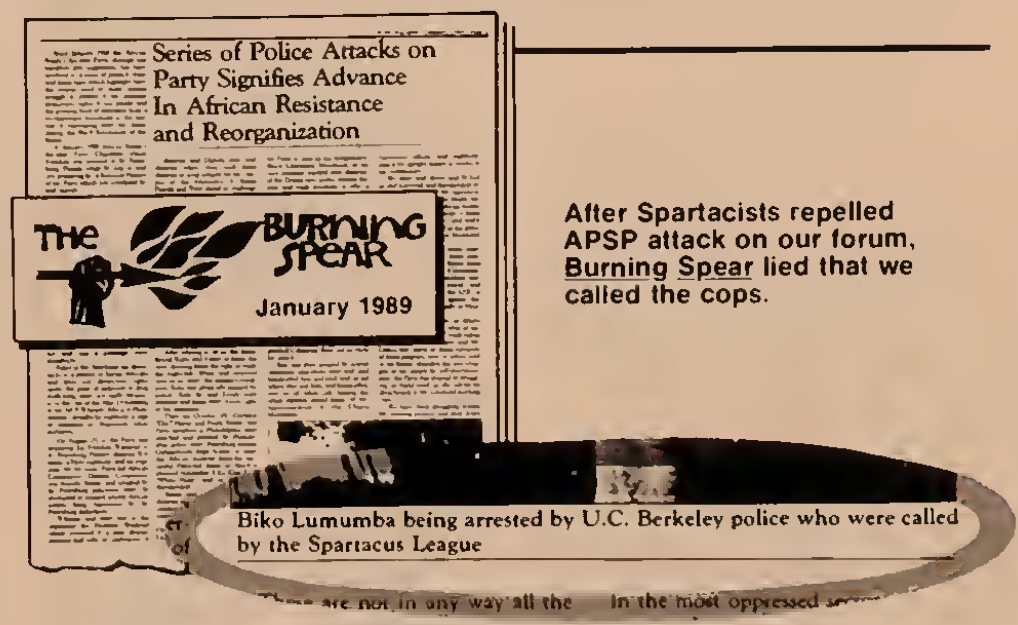
continued on page 13

A Reply to the Libels of the APSP

Last December 3 several members of the African People's Socialist Party (APSP) carried out a premeditated, violent and potentially murderous assault against a Spartacist League educational meeting held at Dwinelle Hall on the University of California Berkeley campus (see "Natural Blowback?" *WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988). Also present and acting as cheerleaders during the attack were several members of the African People's Solidarity Committee (APSC), a self-proclaimed "whites only" auxiliary of the APSP.

The staged provocations began with the APSPers creating a very loud commotion by shouting at those entering the meeting and screaming at several of the conference organizers, drawing the attention of participants in a Cartoon Art Museum meeting held across the hall from our educational and also of a large number of students passing through the lobby. Sure enough, and as the APSP intended, the UC Berkeley police, who monitor leftist meetings and are always eager to harass or shut down red gatherings, arrived to "calm things down." As a consequence of this police intervention, we were compelled to move most of the comrades on security duty in the lobby into the meeting room.

The cops hung around for a short while and left. When they did, the APSPers, instead of registering for the educational and attending the meeting, on a signal from their leader, who calls himself Biko Lumumba (Buthelezi would be a more appropriate name), launched their vicious assault. Two interracial couples bore the initial brunt of the attack. Fortunately other comrades came to their aid immediately and we were able to quickly subdue the APSP thugs. Along with their APSC cheering section they promptly left Dwinelle Hall at our urging.



Series of Police Attacks on Party Signifies Advance In African Resistance and Reorganization

The BURNING SPEAR

January 1989

Biko Lumumba being arrested by U.C. Berkeley police who were called by the Spartacus League

After Spartacists repelled APSP attack on our forum, Burning Spear lied that we called the cops.

The likely result of the APSP's violent attack was that a lot of people, including innocent bystanders, would get hurt, and the cops would come again, hurt more people and break up our Marxist forum, and possibly also arrest some of the APSP supporters in the process. Because we were able to restore order quickly prior to the cops' arrival, a mass bust and destruction of our meeting was averted.

After the APSP and their friends left Dwinelle Hall they encountered a number of UC Berkeley cops, evidently drawn to the scene by the commotion caused by the APSP's wild attack in the crowded Dwinelle Hall lobby. The cops proceeded to manhandle and arrest Biko Lumumba, who thus became a victim of his own provocation. Later Lumumba was released from jail and faces no charges.

In the January 1989 issue of its newspaper, *Burning Spear*, the APSP caused to be published a series of COINTELPRO-style libels about the actions of the Spartacist League and our defense of our December 3 meeting. The APSP charges that a member of the Spartacist League pointed out Biko Lumumba to the UC Berkeley cops. This is a brazen lie! We neither needed to nor do we believe in calling the police as arbiters in disputes among leftists. Later the same article claims the Spartacist League dropped charges the article claims we had made against Biko Lumumba. Again, this is an outrageous lie! It is a matter of record that neither the Spartacist League nor any member or supporter of the Spartacist League filed any charges against Biko Lumumba. If the UC Berkeley police found it useful to drop their charges against Biko Lumumba, it is for reasons best known to them and the APSP. Finally, *Burning Spear* publishes a picture claiming to show a "Spartacus [sic] League member...conspiring with the Berkeley police." This allegation too is utterly false and as vicious and baseless as the APSP's other smears.

Doubtless others who have had physical, financial or other contact with the APSP can report similar incidents. ■

Airlines and American Capitalism

Business Week

Junk Bonds and Flying Jalopies

As Wall Street financiers skim profits off airline industry, aging U.S. air fleet is falling apart. This Eastern plane broke up after hard landing in Florida, December 1987.

The passengers on United Airlines Flight 811 from Hawaii to New Zealand were shaken by a tremendous explosion. Tornado-force winds swept through the cabin. Nine passengers were sucked out through a gaping hole in the side. As the plane lurched violently from side to side, practically everyone on board thought their lives were over. "I was resigned to the fact I was going to die," said an Australian radio broadcaster. "All I could think about were shark bites." Fortunately, the highly experienced pilot was able to reduce altitude and land safely with two engines out, the right wing flaps stuck and a 5-by-15-foot hole in the fuselage.

The accident on this 18-year-old Boeing 747 was evidently caused by the cargo-hold door opening in flight. Last summer, after a near disaster when the cargo door opened on a similar Pan Am plane, the federal government ordered the airlines to strengthen the cargo-door locks on all Boeing 747s—*over a two-year period*. United had not yet strengthened the locks on the fatal Flight 811.

America's commercial air fleet consists increasingly of flying jalopies. Over 20 percent of the planes have been in service more than 20 years. A Wall Street specialist on the airline industry, Edward Starkman, observed: "If you asked them 10 years ago, nobody in the industry would have said these planes would be flying this long" (*Business Week*, 16 January). In the past five years 16 accidents on commercial planes have involved metal fatigue or corrosion. After the latest disaster, on United's Hawaii flight, the airline industry announced a major program to repair, *not replace*, old planes. And even this rehabilitation of the rattletrap U.S. air fleet is to be carried out over several years.

In the ten years since "deregulation"—proclaimed as a great "populist" reform—the airline industry has experienced union-busting, deteriorating safety conditions, *greater* monopoly and now sharply rising fares. The "father" of deregulation, liberal economist Alfred Kahn, is beginning to sound like Dr. Frankenstein watching his creature run amok. Kahn called the recent escalation in air fares "a nightmare" and warned "if it gets bad enough, the government may have to set ceilings on fares" (*Airline Business*, January 1989).

Of course, deregulation is not the cause of everything bad in the airline industry. And increasing government control is certainly no cure. The 1980s has been a union-busting decade *throughout* American industry. Reagan fired the first shot when he destroyed the PATCO air controllers union in 1981. Runaway debt and financial cannibalism have become a way of life for American capitalism, starting at the top. The trillion-dollar Pentagon war buildup, financed in large part by Japanese and German moneymen, has starved American industry of productive investment. While hundreds of billions have been spent on Trident submarines, Stealth bombers and the Star Wars boondoggle, not a single new major airport has been constructed in this country *since 1974!* At the same time, airline deregulation serves as a textbook example for the Marxist position that intense competition leads to greater monopoly.

Deregulation = Monopolization

Airline regulation originated in the corporatist policies of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), established in 1938, was appointed by the president. The CAB set fares and determined which airlines flew where. Needless to say, granting lucrative air routes became a source of White House patronage.

For example, in 1968 Lyndon Johnson's CAB gave Continental permission to fly the Pacific route to the Far East. However, when Nixon took over the White House the following year, he shot down Continental's bid to become a trans-Pacific carrier. Why? Continental's boss Robert Six claimed that Nixon's chief hatchet man, Bob Haldeman, had a personal grudge against him. It seems that Haldeman once worked under Six as an advertising account executive with J. Walter Thompson. Six didn't think he was good at the job and so fired the future White House chief of staff. Such were the ways in which it was decided who controlled the world's air lanes.

Liberal reformers had long advocated airline deregulation. Doing away with government rate- and route-setting, they argued, would put an end to political patronage and cronyism, lead to lower air fares and bring fresh managerial blood into the industry. The main architect of deregulation, Alfred Kahn, a university professor who became head of the CAB under Jimmy Carter, describes himself as "an old antitruster."

In 1978, when deregulation was introduced, the eight largest U.S. airlines accounted for 80 percent of all passenger miles flown. At first these firms did lose some ground to upstarts like People Express, a shoestring, non-union outfit where the pilots helped load baggage. By 1983 the major carriers' market share had fallen to 74 percent.

But then the big boys struck back with a vengeance. They ruthlessly cut costs through union-busting, giveback contracts and two-tier wage systems while letting safety standards go to hell. At the same time, they used their enormous financial resources to buy out or undercut the small fry, especially in the field of marketing. United and American—the two biggest carriers—provided travel agents with their own computerized reservation systems. So it became inefficient and inconvenient for travel agents to book their clients on smaller airlines even where they offered cheaper fares. Don Burr, founder of People Express, blames the computer for the demise of his airline (absorbed into Frank Lorenzo's Texas Air empire).

Not only upstarts like People Express but practically every major regional airline in the country has disappeared. For many years California was serviced by two large regionals—PSA and Air Cal. The former has now been taken over by USAir, the latter by American. Small airlines not worth buying out have simply folded. In one month alone—January 1987—three regional airlines filed for bankruptcy. In many big cities a single carrier dominates—Delta in Atlanta, TWA in St. Louis, Northwest in Minneapolis. By 1988 the Big 8 of the pre-deregulation era controlled *94 percent* of all U.S. air traffic!

And they're certainly taking advantage of it. As *Business Week* (9 January) quipped: "Now that those upstarts are gone, there's no fare like full fare." Last fall the airlines, with Lorenzo's Continental taking the lead, did away with or cut back on the various discounts. For about 20 percent of air travelers that meant a 35 percent increase in the cost of a plane ticket. Such are the fruits of deregulation.

Raiders of the Deadly Skies

While the deregulation era has brought greater monopolization, it has also seen striking changes in the ownership and financial structure of the airlines. Two of the most notorious corporate raiders in the U.S.—Frank Lorenzo and Carl Icahn—have taken airlines as their booty.

"Darth Vader" Lorenzo controls the biggest airline operation in the Western world with total assets of $8 billion. Yet he himself owns *less than 1 percent* of the stock of this corporate empire centered on the Texas Air holding company, though he exercises *34 percent* of the voting control. No believer in stockholders' democracy is Frank Lorenzo. This is a corporate empire built on junk bonds, paying high interest for supposedly high risk. Lorenzo's airlines owe *$5.5 billion* in debt. In 1987 the interest payments alone amounted to $623 million. This is *greater than the total revenue* of many large U.S. corporations, firms making up 20 percent of the top Fortune 500 list.

Lorenzo, a Harvard Business School graduate from Queens, set up a small aircraft-leasing outfit, Jet Capital, in the late '60s. He got his big break in 1971 when the Chase Manhattan Bank used him as its agent to take over a troubled small Southwestern airline, Texas International (known in the industry as "Teeter Totter Airlines"). In what would become the Lorenzo trademark, he slashed wages, provoking and breaking a three-month strike by air and ground crews. With its low labor costs, Texas International prospered in the booming Sunbelt economy of the '70s.

In 1980 Lorenzo set up the Texas Air holding company. The following year he bought Continental—then the tenth-largest airline in the country—using junk-bond financing. To meet the massive debt service Lorenzo demanded sweeping union givebacks. The pilots and flight attendants unions had no desire to play hardball and offered $80 million in concessions. But that was not enough for Lorenzo. In 1983 he declared legal bankruptcy, tore up the union contracts and *fired the entire 12,000-man workforce*. When the pilots resisted with a strike, he replaced them with scabs, most of whose previous experience was probably flying crop dusters.

Lorenzo hired back around 4,000 of Continental's original workforce at 40 to 60 percent of their former wages, giving the company the lowest labor costs by far of any major airline in the U.S. (25 percent compared to the industry average of 35 percent). In 1987 ('88 financial figures are not yet available) Continental ran an *operating profit* of $26 million yet had a *financial loss* of over a quarter billion. The difference is the money paid in interest to the banks and other junk bond holders.

In 1986 Lorenzo floated another

$600 million in junk bonds to take over Eastern Airlines. Eleven years earlier Eastern's owners had hired former astronaut Frank Borman to manage what was then the third-largest carrier in the U.S. Borman, who liked to be called "the colonel," ran Eastern like a petty martinet. Perhaps thinking he was in competition with the U.S. Air Force, in the late '70s the astronaut-turned-CEO borrowed $2.5 billion from the banks to buy a fleet of huge Lockheed L-1011s and Boeing 757s. Borman assumed oil prices would rise ever upward and that these jumbo wide-bodies would give Eastern relatively lower fuel costs per passenger mile. Then came the '80s: fuel costs fell, airfares fell and the interest on Eastern's $2.5 billion in loans rose.

In 1983 the bankers threatened to declare Eastern in default unless it cut wages by 20 percent. The Borman management achieved this by catering to the social-democratic illusions of the Machinists union (IAM) bureaucracy. In return for agreeing to the wage cut, the IAM tops were given 25 percent of Eastern's stock and four seats on the board of directors. Charles Bryan, head of the Machinists at Eastern, looks back at his short-lived moment of glory: "We came up with a very, very innovative progressive plan for sharing co-determination, governance of the airlines, and board positions and so forth" (PBS-TV *Frontline*, 31 January).

At first "co-determination" seemed to work. Between the union givebacks and productivity increases Eastern was saving almost $400 million a year and started operating in the black. But in late 1985 things came unstuck. Airfares were going down sharply while Eastern's cash flow was being drained by its huge debt service. The bankers demanded *another 15 percent* wage cut. Eastern's creditors and owners thought Borman wasn't up to the job and brought in the industry's No. 1 union-buster—Frank Lorenzo.

Rob Kinmonth

Larry Barns

Corporate raiders Frank Lorenzo (left) and Carl Icahn loot airlines, bust unions.

Lorenzo has systematically looted Eastern in order to break the unions. For example, Eastern has loaned Texas Air and Continental $200 million at low interest while borrowing the same amount from banks at high interest. Lorenzo "sold" Eastern's computerized reservation system—valued at over $250 million—to Texas Air for $100 million in junk bonds. Eastern now pays the holding company for computer services. Lorenzo sold eleven Eastern gates at Newark International—a major airport—to Continental for only $11 million while selling eight Eastern gates at Charlotte, North Carolina—a relatively small regional airport—to Piedmont for $25 million. The list of such scams is endless. Even a federal district judge, Barrington Parker, denounced Lorenzo's management of Eastern for "questionable loans and questionable ventures that have drained off cash reserves and other assets" (*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 5 September 1988).

Lorenzo's main rival in the airline-looting business is fellow raider Carl Icahn at TWA. Trans World Airlines was founded in the 1940s by eccentric billionaire Howard Hughes. Sentimentally attached to prop planes, Hughes acted as if jets were a passing fad—he refused to buy them. Hughes thus bequeathed to TWA an antiquated air fleet and a declining market share.

In 1985 Lorenzo made a bid for the financially troubled airline. To "save" TWA from Lorenzo, the pilots and Machinists union tops literally begged Icahn to take it over. The pilots, in particular, offered Icahn sweeping concessions if he promised to keep TWA intact and to modernize it. The consummate Wall Street speculator swore he would do so. Icahn's takeover saddled TWA with $2.5 billion in debt, much of it in junk bonds paying over 17 percent interest. One of the managers for TWA's junk bonds admits: "I believe you get overpaid for the risk you take" (*Barron's*, 26 September 1988).

To overpay the junk bond holders Icahn extracted $100 million in concessions from the pilots union and froze contributions to the Machinists' pension and benefit funds. However, the flight attendants—largely women—courageously resisted Icahn's attempt to smash their union and walked out for ten weeks (see box, page 12). The flight attendants strike was doomed when the pilots and Machinists crossed their picket lines while Icahn replaced them with scabs.

Wage-gouging, increasing air travel and rising fares have turned TWA into a moneymaker for Icahn. *But he is not spending that money improving the airline.* Instead he has squandered TWA's large cash flow in order to raid USX (formerly U.S. Steel) and Texaco. The head of the flight attendants union, Vicki Frankovich, has described TWA as "an unsupervised mutual fund...to fuel Mr. Icahn's stock speculation." TWA probably has the *oldest* fleet of planes of any major airline. Yet Icahn stubbornly refuses to buy new ones. *Airfinance Journal* (November 1988) reported:

> "Corporate raider Carl Icahn, cast in the unlikely role of White Knight in 1985 during a hostile takeover attempt of Trans World Airlines by Texas Air Corp. has once more vetoed proposals to update and expand TWA's ageing fleet."

Comparing Icahn and Lorenzo the same article notes:

> "Eastern Airlines unions have bitterly complained about Lorenzo's shifting assets from Eastern to the Texas Air parent or to non-union Continental Airlines. But while Lorenzo has at least kept the assets within the airline family of companies, Icahn has used money generated at TWA to fund some of his outside ventures, starving the airline as far as fleet renewal and expansion are concerned."

It would be wrong to think that raiders like Lorenzo and Icahn are the evil Mr. Hydes of the airline industry while the old-line, established managers are the good Dr. Jekylls. Consider United Airlines, for example. Once the giant of America's skies, United squandered its enormous cash reserves trying to become an all-service travel company. Changing its name to Allegis, in the mid-'80s the company bought Hertz Rent-A-Car and the Hilton hotel chain. Little money was left over to improve the airline, which lost ground, especially to the more aggressively managed American. Between 1985 and '87 Allegis (née United) ran over $200 million in the red.

Dana Summers, The Orlando Sentinel

With stockholders increasingly disgruntled, the corporation was an obvious target for a takeover. The most serious bid came from—of all people—the pilots union. But the largest airline in the capitalist world was not going to be taken over by a trade union, not even by an elite, professional union, most of whose members are ex-Air Force officers. In late '87 United's owners hired a new get-tough CEO and sold off the car rental agencies and hotels. To protect itself against a takeover, the management carried out a maneuver known on Wall Street as a leveraged recapitalization. It borrowed $1.25 billion from the banks—doubling United's debt—to buy off its *own* stockholders, kind of a do-it-to-yourself corporate raid.

The bankers, knowing that United's management was desperate for the money, charged unusually high interest rates for the deal. United vice president and treasurer Don Seeley whined: "This is very, very expensive vis-à-vis what we should be borrowing at" (*Airfinance Journal*, May 1988). To pay off its very, very expensive debt service, United's management has stated it wants—à la Lorenzo and Icahn—givebacks from the pilots, Machinists and flight attendants. And after the banks cream off United's cash flow, not much is left to properly maintain, not to speak of replacing, its aging fleet of planes.

Gutting the Unions, Gutting Safety

Stapleton Airport, Denver, 15 November 1987: 40-mile-per-hour winds, sub-freezing temperature, a blinding snowstorm. Many airlines canceled their flights. But not Lorenzo's Continental. The DC-9 rolled down the runway, lifted off for a few seconds, heaved from side to side and then flipped over completely. It skidded 1,200 feet, breaking into three pieces. Many of the survivors were trapped for hours, hanging upside down in their seats. Some froze to death.

We wrote at the time: "This was not an 'accident'—28 people were murdered by 'the magic of the marketplace'" (*WV* No. 442, 11 December 1987). The 21-year-old plane was itself a deathtrap, especially in icy conditions. For it lacked a standard and critical feature on newer models: extended slats on the forward edge of the wing which provide extra lift on takeoff. After being deiced the plane sat there for 23 minutes in the middle of the snowstorm waiting for takeoff permission from the control tower. And behind the controls in the cockpit was a 26-year-old copilot with *less than 40 hours flying time* in DC-9s!

Union-busting in the airline industry has meant gutting safety. Even the right-wing London *Economist* (4 February) recognizes: "In some of the old airports, the effects of the air-traffic controllers' mass dismissal of 1981 still lingers. Overworked traffic controllers are struggling with antiquated equipment." In fact, overworked labor using antiquated equipment sums up the condition of U.S. commercial aviation in the 1980s.

John Enders of the Flight Safety Foundation spelled it out at a 1987 conference at Northwestern University:

- A huge increase in traffic, straining both the air traffic control systems and aviation infrastructure.
- Reduction in the financial ability of the airlines to undertake safety measures in excess of minimum government requirements.
- Cutbacks in engineering and safety staffs.
- Cutbacks in medical and health maintenance staffs.
- Increased pressures to meet flight schedules.
- Reduced maintenance programs and a minimal equipment inventory.
- Increases in flight-crew duty time.
- Reduction in the average experience of pilots.

The situation has become so bad that last fall even the *Wall Street Journal* (19 September 1988) ran an article titled, "Some Airlines Narrow Their Safety Margins, Seeking to Cut Costs."

Airline Workers Have Power

You will never see an article in the *Wall Street Journal* exposing dangerous safety conditions in coal mines or chemical plants. But when it comes to airplanes, the bosses' lives are at risk too, not just the workers'. Business travel accounts for half of all air traffic. The management of corporate America *depends* on widespread and frequent air travel. Even if airlines raised their business-class fares 15 or 20 percent, corporate executives are not going to start taking trains between New York and Chicago.

Giveback contracts and the general weakening of the unions in the Midwest "rust belt"—steel, auto, rubber—are bound up with the deterioration of American manufacturing. But that is not at all the case with the airlines. The number of passengers on U.S. carriers has increased by over 60 percent in the past decade. Air freight traffic is also booming. Last year U.S. airlines scored a record operating profit of almost $3 billion. "Third Straight Record Profit Is the Forecast for 1989" is the lead article in January's *Air Transport World*, a respected trade journal.

No unionized group of workers in this country has more economic clout than airline workers. It was the month-long 1966 Machinists strike against five major carriers that broke the Kennedy-Johnson wage controls. That haughty mouthpiece of American capitalism, the *New York Times* (16 August 1966),

continued on page 13

From the Railway Labor Act to Taft-Hartley

Anti-Red Hysteria and Anti-Labor Laws

The key to victory in the IAM strike against Eastern is *spreading* the strike through so-called "secondary boycotts" or sympathy strikes. For most of American labor, such strikes are illegal under the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act. The 1926 Railway Labor Act, which covers the airlines, does not outlaw secondary strikes, but the Machinists union bureaucracy refuses to spread the strike out of fear of emergency laws, court injunctions and the like. For decades the U.S. labor movement has been hogtied by kowtowing to the bosses' laws. Understanding this history is the key to reversing it.

A century ago unions were considered by the government to be illegal "conspiracies," but hard class struggle forced the bosses to recognize the workers' organizations. But the venal, pro-capitalist union tops—the "labor lieutenants of capital," as the turn-of-the-century socialist Daniel De Leon called them—have tied the workers to the bosses' state. In the late 19th century it was possible for the bosses to simply crush the labor movement through the direct use of armed force, as happened to the 1894 Pullman railroad strike led by socialist Eugene Debs.

But over the following decades the more sophisticated method was to create a layer of privileged labor bureaucrats who would "cooperate" with the bosses' government to suppress strikes, in exchange for a few crumbs from the bosses' table. This scheme meant class-struggle militants had to be driven out. Hence the labor officials who supported endless appeals to various government boards instead of strikes were also the ones who initiated "red" purges in the unions: anti-communism and anti-strike laws went hand in hand. This is shown in the origins of two of the most vicious anti-strike laws now facing U.S. labor—the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act.

The 1920s: Bolshevism and Capitalist Reaction

In the 1920s, labor militants in the U.S. were inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the first successful workers revolution in history. Communist workers joined with other radical unionists in the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) which agitated for "amalgamation" (industrial unionism—crossing the color line and organizing the unskilled) while also calling for a labor party and defense of Soviet Russia. But the post-World War I period saw a number of large strikes go down to defeat. In 1922 a strike of 400,000 railroad shopmen was broken when other railroad craft unions scabbed. This ushered in a period of reaction. The AFL tops, in many cases aided by the bosses and the police, expelled the reds from the unions, helping to drive them out of the industry altogether.

In place of class struggle, the AFL bureaucrats argued for "cooperation" with the bosses, exemplified by the so-called Baltimore and Ohio plan, in which the railroad unions would make suggestions on how to improve "efficiency," including layoffs! The end result of "cooperation" was the 1926 Railway Labor Act, then called the Watson-Parker Law. Communist leader William Z. Foster, who was head of the TUEL, summed it up in 1927:

> "It virtually illegalizes strikes on the railroads and establishes compulsory arbitration. It opens the door wide to the development of company unions. It gives the reactionary Federal Courts the right to interfere in and regulate wage disputes between the railroad workers and the railroad companies. It cements the alliance, disastrous for the workers, between the companies and the union leadership, an alliance based on the surrender of the workers' interests."
>
> —*American Trade Unionism: Selected Writings* (1947)

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Roosevelt's New Deal sought to channel the mass union organizing drives into the machinery of government control. Key to this was the 1935 Wagner Act, which gave the newly created National Labor Relations Board wide powers to determine which unions would be recognized as bargaining agents by the employers. With the Cold War these powers were used to destroy leftist-led unions.

The Cold War and Taft-Hartley

The end of World War II saw an explosion of labor struggle in this country as workers demanded the gains they had been promised during the war. The number of workers on strike in 1946 was the *highest* in modern American history. In the eyes of the American ruling class, the upsurge of class struggle at home was linked to the growth of Communism in postwar Europe and the Far East. The most significant post-World War II anti-labor legislation, the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, had as its dual aim purging the reds from the unions and weakening labor's power.

In the face of the postwar strike wave, Democratic president Harry Truman sought new powers to crush labor. In May 1946, for instance, the Railway Labor Act failed to prevent a shutdown of the railroads by a massive strike of several unions led by the Locomotive Engineers and Trainmen. Truman tried seizing the railroads under wartime measures still on the books and ordering the workers to stay on the job. The strikers defied him. Truman reacted by asking Congress for the power to draft strikers into the military. A few months later when the United Mine Workers threatened to shut down the coal mines, Truman got a temporary restraining order against them. But the miners tore up Truman's court order and walked out. The bosses' government searched for more legal weapons in its anti-labor arsenal, and came up with Taft-Hartley.

This act was a draconian measure: it outlawed the most effective labor tactics, particularly the secondary boycott or sympathy strike, which UMW leader John L. Lewis had used so effectively. It empowered the president to order strikers back to work for an 80-day "cooling-off" period. And it extended the government's writ to interfere directly in the unions' administration and purge the unions via a "loyalty" oath: elected union officials were required to sign an affidavit that they were not Communists, or else lose their "certification" from the National Labor Relations Board. Those unions which refused to sign were, for the most part, witchhunted out of existence—the militants fired on the job after being "fingered" by the FBI, the union's contracts stolen by unscrupulous anti-Communist unions which had been "certified" by the government.

At the time of its passage, Taft-Hartley was denounced by millions of unionists as the "Slave Labor Law." The packinghouse workers, National Maritime Union, West Coast longshoremen and other unions called for a 24-hour national strike against the bill just before it was adopted. Attempts to send a massive Labor Caravan to Washington in protest were squashed by the labor bureaucracy, but when the bill was finally passed on 23 June 1947, it enraged the coal miners who were then seeking a pay raise. Over 200,000 miners walked out in Pennsylvania, Alabama, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia. "Let the Senators dig the coal!" was the cry in the coal fields.

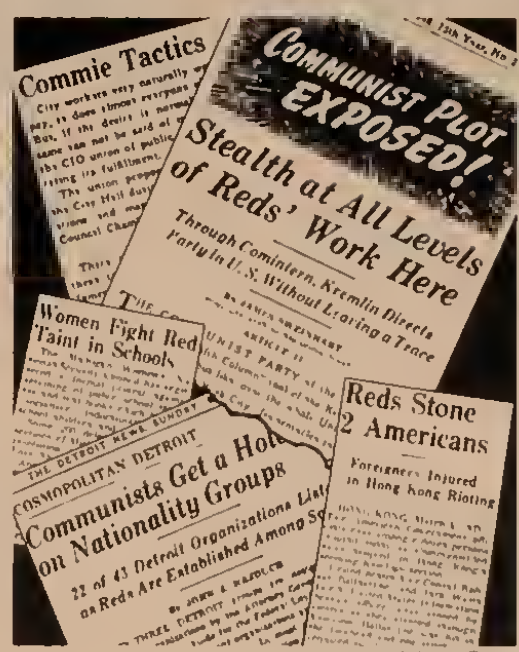
The anti-Communist AFL and CIO leaderships, personified by rabid red-baiter George Meany and liberal Cold Warrior Walter Reuther respectively, accepted and enforced the law by purging the unions of all "reds" and every sort of militant. Ironically, resistance to the purge was undermined by the Communist Party, which had long since abandoned class struggle in favor of class collaboration and support to the capitalist Democratic Party. In a futile attempt to maintain their position, the CP actually voted for the bureaucrats' anti-communist clauses.

The anti-strike laws, and labor's kneeling to the laws of the bosses' state, were married to a program of anti-Communism and Cold War. That is the foundation of the labor tops to this day, whose services on behalf of U.S. imperialism busting workers' organizations from Chile to South Korea has earned them the name "AFL-CIA." AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland is a member of the right-wing Committee on the Present Danger, which plots war against the Soviet Union: he sits on the CIA oversight committee. The AFL-CIO tops are awarded these privileges because of their demonstrated commitment to *suppress class struggle*, a corollary of which is they *will not* defy the government.

The liberal/social-democratic wing of the labor bureaucracy is, if anything, even stronger in advocating government control over the unions. America's best-known "socialist" union leader, William Winpisinger of the Machinists, has used the Eastern strike to reaffirm his support for a corporatist system governing labor:

> "To provide a more tranquil method of settling labor disputes, Congress enacted labor laws that protect worker rights and mandated Government agencies to protect workers from management abuses. The system has worked fairly well. The one notable exception is Eastern Airlines."
>
> —*New York Times*, 10 March

These bureaucrats dare not defy the government for fear of unleashing a groundswell of labor militancy which would sweep them all away. The only times workers have successfully defied anti-labor laws are when they have overridden their pro-capitalist misleaders. In 1977-78 striking coal miners tore up the Taft-Hartley injunction issued by Democrat Jimmy Carter while driving the despised union president Arnold Miller—originally touted as a liberal reformer—from the coal fields. But spontaneous acts of rank-and-file militancy are not enough. The workers need to place at the head of the unions a leadership that will fight the bosses' government and the Democratic and Republican parties, leading the way toward a workers government. ■



Adama Press

William P. Gottlieb

With outbreak of Cold War, bosses' press pushed anti-red scare. Right: Pitched battle at National Maritime Union meeting, 1950. Right-wing bureaucrats like NMU president Curran used cops in drive to purge Communists.

Pat Oliphant

In 1977-78 strike, miners told Carter to shove his Taft-Hartley injunction.

Eastern...

(continued from page 1)

their families gathered in the street in front of the Miami union hall. In Miami, where Latins (many of them anti-Castro Cubans) are pitted against blacks, the ruling class consciously exploits racial antagonisms. But this night there was a pervasive sense of solidarity. Black and white workers joined arms. A Hispanic woman carried a sign "*No sea rompehuelga*" (Don't be a strikebreaker). A spokesman for a contingent of Haitian refugees told *WV* that they came because "the IAM has always supported Haitian refugees." At precisely one minute after midnight the crowd surged toward the Eastern gates and occupied the street. The Battle of Eastern was on!

Eastern's system collapsed in hours, as 98 percent of Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) members have honored the IAM lines. The pilots' refusal to cross the picket lines has been the key factor in shutting down Eastern, but it is a slender reed to rely upon. The bourgeois press has been hammering at the "solid Republican," white professional pilots to scab.

Lorenzo is trying to keep some planes flying by offering $12 fares on the New York/Boston/Washington shuttle and a $49 fare between New York and Miami. You'd have to be an anti-union *nut* to fly Eastern, at any price. Scab "mechanics" with 40 hours on jets are servicing the old dilapidated "hangar queens" in the Eastern fleet. At Miami International Airport, an Eastern plane with a scab pilot at the controls clipped the wing of an Ecuadorian airliner. At Washington National another scab made a "hot start" of a DC-9, feeding it too much fuel and shooting a 20-foot flame out of the jet engine.

Ferguson/St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Striking Illinois coal miners stop train hauling scab coal, February 1978.

DeMaria/NY Daily News

Transport Workers chief Mike Quill rips up court injunction in successful 1966 New York subway strike.

Shut Down the Airports!

IAM president Winpisinger has lived up to his nickname—Wimpy. For almost two years he has pursued a single strategy: to place the fate of the IAM at Eastern in the hands of the capitalist state, its labor boards and courts. Even his threat to engage in secondary strikes at other airlines and commuter railroads was bluster to pressure Bush to intervene and declare yet another 60-day "cooling off" period under the Railway Labor Act. Bush refused to intervene, in the hope that Lorenzo could crack the Machinists—as long as the strike was not allowed to spread.

The call for secondary strikes in defense of the Eastern Machinists raised expectations among thousands of airline and railroad workers who know their place is on the picket line with the Eastern unionists.

• On the eve of the strike, IAM members at United Airlines in New York voted five to one to go out with their brothers at Eastern.

• In Toronto, Air Canada workers who service Eastern planes immediately "hot cargoed" (refused to touch) the aircraft.

• At Marriott airline food services in New York, over 1,000 Hispanic workers, members of IAM Local 2750, are outraged that the IAM tops are forcing them across the picket lines.

• Teamsters, who represent 50,000 airline workers, pledged to honor IAM lines. Spread throughout the industry, Teamsters could dry up the fuel, stop the trucks and bring the airports down in hours.

Before the strike began, Wimpy and District 100 chief Charles Bryan crawled before a federal judge in Washington, D.C. to *ask permission* to set up picket lines to bring out IAM mechanics and ramp service workers at TWA, United, Northwest, Piedmont and USAir! The judge predictably ruled against honoring the picket lines, but he didn't prohibit the IAM from setting them up. It was the IAM tops who called back the pickets! And they put a tight clamp on any local initiatives by issuing orders that any contact with other unions go through Miami. Even the picketing at

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Who Betrayed the PATCO Strike

When 12,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) walked out on 3 August 1981, few were expecting what came next. The largely white, conservative union, which had actually endorsed Ronald Reagan in the 1980 elections, wanted to improve safety in the airline industry by reducing the workweek for the harried air controllers to 32 hours. The government wouldn't listen to their grievances, so they struck. But Reagan seized on the PATCO walkout to terrorize the working class as part of mobilizing the American people for Cold War II against the Soviet Union.

Declaring the strike "illegal," Reagan fired all 12,000 controllers. Thousands of scabs from the Air Force and elsewhere were sent in to run the control towers, while PATCO leaders were ostentatiously hauled off to jail in chains. It was a declaration of war on the union movement, and the outcome would set the tone for the rest of the '80s. PATCO leader Robert Poli answered Reagan by saying, correctly, "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." But to win, the air controllers needed support.

Everyone remembered the traditional slogan of the working class, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and all eyes went to the AFL-CIO leadership. Would they back up PATCO with deeds? They did not. The labor fakers called an empty "Solidarity Day" rally of half a million in Washington, D.C., but left the air controllers twisting in the wind.

The traitors have names: Lane Kirkland, William Winpisinger, Doug Fraser—all the leading labor officials found excuses to do nothing. The Washington rally was to push the Democrats, yet the plan for breaking PATCO was drawn up by the Democratic Carter administration. When asked by a *WV* reporter whether the AFL-CIO would call for solidarity strikes, Kirkland replied, "I do not call for strikes." UAW leader Fraser actually denounced the controllers, saying the strike "could do massive damage to the labor movement."

IAM leader "Wimpy" Winpisinger, whose union included thousands of ground support personnel who could have shut down the airports, left it up to individual members to "honor" the picket lines—meaning they would get no official union backing—and so they went to work. Calling solidarity strikes "bubble-headed" and "foolhardy," Wimpy hid behind "our lawyers" who warned against "retaliation" by the bosses! Later Wimpy whined that he wanted to shut down the carriers but he was "helpless" without the backing of the airline pilots union.

The Spartacist League and militant trade unionists joined in demonstrations and the few PATCO picket lines, with signs calling on labor to shut down the airports. But the AFL-CIO tops, in an attempt to cover their betrayal, called a toothless consumer boycott against flying. Wimpy ostentatiously traveled to Washington by rented car. The fake "left" which hangs onto the bureaucrats' coattails followed suit, e.g., the Communist Party's Gus Hall declared that "flying is scabbing." By the end of October 1981 PATCO was decertified as a union and disappeared.

This unprecedented defeat for labor in the postwar era fueled a decade of givebacks, union-busting and racist state terror. Today it's become an axiom in the union movement that labor should have stood behind PATCO. But how and why the PATCO strike was defeated, and who put the knife in, has been buried. As we summed it up back then:

> "The PATCO strikers have certainly stuck to their guns in the most critical strike since the miners strikes of 1978 and 1980. It is the misleaders of labor who have sabotaged this key strike from the start. They have the power to win it at any time, by *shutting down the airports*, which they have *refused* to do."
>
> —"Air Controllers Shafted," *WV* No. 292, 6 November 1981

AP

PATCO leaders hauled away in chains, 1981.

Don't let it happen again! No more PATCOs!

Supreme Court Rewards Scabs in '86 TWA Strike

Flight Attendants Say: We Won't Cross Picket Lines

On February 28 the Supreme Court ruled against the International Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) seeking to regain the jobs that were stolen from 1,800 TWA workers for striking in 1986. This is a frontal attack on the right to strike. A 6-to-3 decision backed TWA's refusal to rehire flight attendants who remained loyal to their union, while lower-seniority scabs are kept on. Coming on the eve of the IAM strike against Eastern Airlines, this decision is calculated to scare the entire labor movement with the threat that we'll lose our jobs if our strikes are defeated. Well, labor had better start striking *to win!* And that means real labor solidarity in support of strikers—build *mass* picket lines that nobody better try to cross!

Flight attendants waged a militant strike against corporate raider and TWA boss Carl Icahn when he demanded they take a *pay cut of 45 percent* (three times more than the other, largely male, unions). Arrogantly claiming the mainly women flight attendants are not "breadwinners," this brazen male chauvinist pig sneered that if they wanted money they "should have married a pilot or a rich husband"—as though only men are capable of being pilots, and flight attendants are so much dirt under Icahn's feet. The stewardesses, many of them 10- and 20-year veterans, have fought hard to get respect for their arduous profession. While Icahn and his fellow bosses cut safety standards to shreds, it is often courageous flight attendants who stand between the flying public and disaster: in Denver in December 1987, flight attendants stopped an Eastern plane with ice on its wings from taking off during a snowstorm (Lorenzo suspended them without pay).

WV Photo

April 1986—Striking flight attendants stand up to TWA boss Carl Icahn.

The anti-labor decision was issued by the Supreme Court, but it wasn't made there. *It was made on the picket lines that were crossed* when the militant IFFA strikers were left to twist in the wind by the other airline unions at the behest of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. When IFFA struck, members of the powerful Machinists union initially honored the picket lines, crippling TWA. But when TWA predictably got an injunction, IAM chief Winpisinger ordered his ranks back to work and IFFA was left out alone; after ten weeks the flight attendants were forced back without a contract. Today "Wimpy" and the AFL-CIO tops are touting strikebreaker Icahn as a potential "savior" for Eastern workers.

To their credit, the flight attendants are supporting the Eastern Machinists strike, while making it clear they haven't forgotten how the IAM refused to respect their picket lines three years ago. At an IAM strike meeting at New York's La Guardia airport, IFFA's Susan Lantz emphasized the need to respect picket lines and pointedly noted that once you're a scab, you're a scab for life. Today the Machinists strike at Eastern is a chance to reforge the labor unity undermined by the betrayal of the IFFA strike. The battle is on—solid labor action can stop cold the vicious union-busting of the Icahns and Lorenzos and win gains for all airline workers. Union militants have got to apply that old labor lesson: "An injury to one is an injury to all! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

Eastern...

(continued from page 11)

Lorenzo's Continental—part of Winpisinger's toothless *consumer* boycott—is "informational," the labor bureaucracy's perversion of the elementary working-class principle that *picket lines mean don't cross.*

Labor's "Atom Bomb"

This is a *popular* strike. Frank Lorenzo is the personification of capitalist greed, a man who revels in destroying workers' lives as he rapes Eastern of its assets. Nothing electrified the labor movement more than the expectation that IAM pickets would bring out tens of thousands of railroad workers on the third day of the strike, Monday, March 6. Workers on commuter railroads from the Northeast to Chicago were ready to walk—every rail union in the country, saddled with the Railway Labor Act, faces bargaining this year.

In Chicago, the Transportation-Communications Union (TCU) phone tape told Amtrak workers, "We've got to help Eastern workers win this one, because what happens at Eastern will have an impact on our own bargaining. Our policy is that we do not cross picket lines." Over 2,000 TCU members in Georgia were "on standby" to honor the IAM pickets. Class-struggle militants in TWU Local 100, New York City subway workers, demanded that their union shut down the Train to the Plane to Kennedy airport.

All eyes were on the expected showdown at New York City's commuter railroads, serving over 400,000 daily. The NY tabloids screamed "Commuter Chaos Looms" and "N.Y. Faces Travel Nightmare." Pickets from the airports had their assignments; a JFK striker told *WV* "we're ready to go." And so were rail workers. At New York's Penn Station, an LIRR union shop chairman, thinking a *WV* sales team were the awaited IAM pickets, shouted: "The pickets are here!" Across the country, airline workers have snapped up 2,500 copies of *WV* headlined "Shut Down the Airports!"

A worried *Wall Street Journal* (3 March) noted that "Secondary picketing is labor's 'atom bomb'." *But the union tops don't want to use labor's power.* As soon as a federal judge signed the inevitable restraining order against the rail unions, the IAM tops folded. John Peterpaul, IAM vice president for transportation, announced that there would be no pickets. Playing by the bosses' rules is a losing game! What the capitalist state "allows" is toothless "doughnuts and coffee" solidarity. By shutting down the airports and rail, the IAM can turn the injunctions into worthless scraps of paper, crush Lorenzo, organize the non-union carriers, and impose a common, industrywide contract in airlines. What's needed is a single union of airline workers—from baggage-handlers to pilots—throughout the industry.

The 1966 Airline Strike

The bosses' state can be defeated, and the airline workers' own history shows how it can be done. Twenty-three years ago, as U.S. imperialism was escalating its bloody slaughter against the Vietnamese Revolution and imposing wage-price "guidelines" on the American working people, the IAM confronted the airlines, the president and Congress in a hard-fought strike. On 7 July 1966, the union struck five major airlines (Eastern, National, Northwest, TWA and United) carrying 60 percent of all passengers.

President Johnson had tied up the IAM in "mediation" under the same Railway Labor Act that Kirkland and Winpisinger are pleading with Bush to invoke today. Democratic Senator Wayne Morse, then the darling of the liberal antiwar movement, attacked the IAM for "holding a strike gun at the head of its Government in this hour of international crisis" (*New York Times*, 8 July 1966). Morse headed the "emergency board" which attempted to impose an agreement on the Machinists' ranks. Despite the call for a "yes" vote by the IAM tops, strikers threw the sellout back in Johnson's face. *Life* magazine (26 August 1966) was aghast at "the galling spectacle of 35,400 air-line mechanics treating themselves to the rare, invigorating thrill of telling the President of the United States to go to hell."

The IAM stood solid—"No Legislative Strikebreaking" read the pickets' signs, when the Senate passed Morse's bill to order them back to work. On August 19, while the strikebreaking law was still pending in the House, the IAM got a contract which broke Johnson's wage controls. They faced down the bosses' government and won. The president "was forced to surrender," *Life* complained bitterly, fearful the union victory would now strike "fires of anarchy and avarice among other workers whose contracts are due to expire soon."

Earlier that year in January New York City transit workers shut down the subways, in the process smashing the state's Condon-Wadlin anti-strike law (later replaced by the Taylor Law). TWU president Mike Quill tore up an anti-strike injunction on television. When the sheriff came to arrest him, Quill said, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes. I don't care if I rot in jail. I will not call off the strike." Quill went to jail, but the TWU strike won.

Eastern: A Battle for All Working People

Large sections of the capitalist class, including a lot of CEOs who have to fly,

WV Photo

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WV Photo

Miami: "Don't be a strikebreaker" say Hispanic workers striking against Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo.

are not enamored with Lorenzo's corporate raids, where safety has gone to hell. Even former Nixon hack William Safire, admitting that his "natural inclination was to blame union leaders," denounces Lorenzo: "What brought the Eastern unions together was their conviction that the company was being raped anyway." He adds, "when the profit motive is used to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, capitalists must scramble" (*New York Times*, 9 March). Liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans alike are appealing to Bush to intervene—not least because they want to head off the potential explosion of working-class action that the Eastern strike may provoke.

The IAM bureaucracy has been shuttling Jesse Jackson around the picket lines in order to *contain* and *divert* the strikers' militancy into safe channels. Before the strike began, Jackson announced, "Workers don't want a strike," pleading *with Bush* to "stand up to corporate barracudas like Frank Lorenzo." In Atlanta, Jackson literally got strikers to go down on their hands and knees to pray—for Bush to intervene! With the support of Winpisinger and Bryan, Congressional Democrats are pushing through a bill to order the IAM back to work. Riding the coattails of these "Rainbow Democrats" are a handful of so-called socialists, reformists who cover for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's sabotage of the Machinists strike.

The AFL-CIO labor "statesmen" have chained the unions to the partner parties of capital, as strike after strike has gone down to defeat. Skilled workers' wages, from airlines to shipyards, are driven down to the level of fast food joints. Black youth have no hope of jobs, imprisoned in ghetto hellholes under the lash of cop terror. The frame-up system of capitalist "justice" is used against striking miners in Kentucky and courageous fighters for black rights like Mumia Abu-Jamal. Meanwhile, Wall Street enjoys record profits, raking in billions from "leveraged buyouts" while producing nothing of value.

The Eastern strike is the chance to draw the line! This battle cries out for the construction of a class-struggle workers party, which would mobilize the working class and all the oppressed in *action* to defend and spread the strike.

- Don't bow to the bosses' injunctions! No government intervention in the labor movement! Smash the slave-labor laws—defend the right of "secondary strikes" and "hot cargoing" with strike action! If Bush and the Democrats want war, then give it to them—picket the railroads, Wall Street can walk to work!
- Unionize Continental and Delta! Immediate recall for the TWA flight attendants who stood by their union! For an industrywide airline strike, with a common contract expiration and wages and benefits standardized at the highest level!
- Take the strike out of Kirkland's and Wimpy's hands—for an elected strike committee with representatives from every union at the airport!
- Spread the strike! Picket lines must go up *now* at every airline, air freight and airport service company. No more PATCOs! Shut down the airports! ■

Junk Bonds...

(continued from page 9)

denounced the president and Congress for caving in to the power of organized labor:

> "Unless the 35,000 striking airlines mechanics once again repudiate their union leaders, service will soon return to normal on the planes that carry 60 per cent of the country's air passengers. But the agreement under which the strikers will go back to work provides the signal for a dizzying new whirl of wage-price inflation, based on total surrender by the White House and Congress to threats of political blackmail by organized labor."

Today, the American economy is even more dependent on air travel than 20 years ago. A national airline strike, even if it lasted but a few days, would cost U.S. corporations in practically all fields hundreds of millions. Precisely for that reason airline strikes *immediately* come up against the state. Bush is willing to see a strike at Eastern only if it remains *isolated*. The Democrats (and AFL-CIO bureaucrats) do not want a strike at Eastern for fear it will spread. But Republicans and Democrats will be united as one in using the state—the cops and courts—against any attempt to extend the strike to other airlines or means of transportation.

For that is the basic role of the state in capitalist society. As Karl Marx wrote over a hundred years ago:

> "At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the state power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism."
>
> —*The Civil War in France* (1871)

To smash this engine of capitalist class despotism requires the united struggle of the working class and all of the oppressed. The conditions are ripe. Far more so than in the '60s, a national airline strike today would evoke strong and broad popular support. Lorenzo and Icahn are hated figures not just among unionists in the airline industry. These corporate raiders personify the cult of greed—the luxurious penthouses a few blocks from homeless sleeping in the streets—which flourished in the Reagan years. The cops sent to break up picket lines and herd scabs through are the same racist pigs who terrorize the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios. For years the pressure has been building for a social explosion by workers, by the black and Hispanic poor, against the Frank Lorenzos and George Bushes, the Donald Trumps and Ed Koches. A national airline strike could be just the detonator the working people need. ■

AP

American capitalism's deadly skies: Nine passengers were sucked out of gaping hole in 18-year-old Boeing 747 on United flight from Hawaii to New Zealand.

Howard...

(continued from page 7)

advocates building a student alliance with the ghetto masses and the power of labor. The SYC raised the need to undercut the race and class bias of higher education, by fighting for the nationalization of private universities and open admissions with free tuition and a living stipend for all. This perspective could have won the support of black D.C. youth who presently have no chance of getting into college, but the student bureaucrats were content to lobby for their own share of the pork barrel in nominating university trustees. Rather than allying with the campus workers who have fought Check's union-busting for years, many student leaders grotesquely denounced campus workers for failing to adequately serve students. We say: Abolish the board of trustees! For student/teacher/worker control of the university! Free higher education for all!

Malcolm X: "When You Vote Democrat, You Vote Dixiecrat"

No social struggle can succeed without clear vision, or at least a gut understanding of who your friends and who your enemies are. On the morning of March 7 over 100 heavily armed cops descended on the Howard campus and blocked off surrounding streets. While some students saw these black cops as "Uncle Toms," most appealed to the police and chanted, "Fight Drugs, Not Us." The cops' "war on drugs" is at fever pitch in D.C. and it is a *war on the ghetto*: the city council voted to impose a midnight curfew for teenagers and Marion Barry has even threatened to bring in the National Guard. Contemporary Howard students could learn a lesson from their forerunners of 20 years ago, when a student takeover protested systematic police terror against the oppressed black masses.

Illusions in the Democratic Party bosses who run the police were even more widespread. Every Democratic Party politico who went to Howard for a "photo-op" in the sit-in has a record of *opposing* labor/black struggle against racist attacks. Where were they when the KKK threatened to march down Constitution Avenue in 1982? Marion Barry ran out of town while Walter Fauntroy denounced the anti-fascist mobilization and staged a ridiculous diversion, handing out free cheese miles away from where the Klan was going to be. Jackson once said that "dope" was a bigger enemy than "the rope."

The nationalist Farrakhanites, who give backhanded support to black Democrats, do nothing in the face of KKK provocations. Above all else, they hate our strategy of integrated class struggle. After the November 5 mobilization against the Klan in Philly, Nation of Islam supporters carried out a cowardly and potentially lethal assault on a Hispanic Spartacist supporter near the Howard campus.

To change society we need to build a revolutionary workers party that fights to sweep away the capitalist system which needs and breeds racism to maintain the rule of the arrogant bosses over those who produce the wealth in society. The Spartacus Youth Club is working to build such a party—Join us. ■

World War II and PMP...

(continued from page 3)

revolutions in most of Europe, though Tito's partisans did succeed in overthrowing capitalism in Yugoslavia, while the Soviet Red Army's occupation of the rest of Eastern Europe eventually resulted in the destruction from the top down of capitalist property relations there. Tito's victory, which resulted in a workers state deformed from inception by a bureaucratic caste, was the first in a series of postwar social overturns led by peasant-based guerrilla formations. The disorientation of the postwar Fourth International in the face of these developments precipitated the creation of the liquidationist current led by Michel Pablo and the destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53.

"Trotskyist Policies on the Second Imperialist War—Then and In Hindsight" goes beyond historical questions to a consideration of the spectre of World War III which now haunts humanity, bringing with it the threat of nuclear annihilation. The post-WWII world has been dominated by the overriding hostility of imperialism to the continued existence of the collectivized and planned economies of the deformed and degenerated workers states, although with the economic decline of the United States and the growing economic power of German and Japanese imperialism there are increasing indications of renewed inter-imperialist antagonisms. The current Gorbachev policy of explicit capitulation before imperialist military pressure in every area of the world will, however, only strengthen the revanchist imperialist appetites. The IEC introduction discusses a possible Soviet nuclear defense posture and reaffirms that revolutionary defeatism toward the imperialist powers and military defense of the Soviet Union remains the policy of the international proletarian vanguard faced with the threat of World War III.

"Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'" can be ordered by mail from all sections of the international Spartacist tendency. To order in the United States, send a check or money order for $9.00 (includes postage) to Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. ■

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Anti-Fascist Demonstrators Penned In by Cops

Metzger's "Aryan Woodstock" Flops

In a drizzling rain on March 4 about 100 skinheads assembled by notorious fascist Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) held a repulsive "Aryan Woodstock" on an isolated Napa County ranch about 50 miles north of San Francisco. Metzger, who openly admits it is "nearly impossible" for WAR and the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan to hold public meetings in urban centers, planned his rural "racial-political-music gathering" as a recruiting tool to organize the depraved skinhead scum into a brownshirt urban auxiliary of his despicable race-war outfit.

The WAR Hitlerites' Napa get-together follows on the heels of last December's Nazi/skinhead rally on Whidbey Island just north of Seattle, when the fascists assembled to "honor" the founder of the white-supremacist terrorist group called "The Order" (see *WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988). As in the case of Whidbey Island, the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) initiated a protest against the March 4 "Aryan Woodstock," forming an "Ad Hoc Coalition to Stop the Nazi Skinheads" which mobilized about 500 assorted leftists and community activists, including the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee and Progressive Labor Party/InCAR. Ironically, also in attendance were the Zionist ultra-reactionaries of the Jewish Defense League and a contingent of Guardian Angels, a vigilante outfit notorious for its aid to the police in terrorizing blacks and minorities.

As in the case of Whidbey Island a massive police mobilization protected the fascists. About 500 police drawn from the California Highway Patrol and Napa and Solano counties, many armed with M-16s, guarded the Nazi skinheads and penned the protesters into a muddy cow pasture. Another 1,000 police were held in reserve. To get to the entrance to the ranch demonstrators had to walk more than two miles along an isolated country road closed to through traffic by the cops.

The Napa County ranch, like Whidbey Island, is natural territory for the fascist vermin. A few fascists trying to get to or from the rally were satisfyingly roughed up but quickly rescued by cops. In the main the anti-Nazi protesters were confined to shouting insults. In these circumstances there was no chance for the demonstrators to prevail against the fascists. A Spartacist spokesman attending a February 28 planning meeting of the Ad Hoc Coalition pointed out that it is tactically unwise to confront the fascists in backward, largely white rural areas. The anti-fascist protesters succeed only in placing themselves in the hands of the police, who are not inclined to give even the appearance of evenhandedness. The stage is thus set for a potential fascist victory.

An NBC news report showed a group of skinheads on a hilltop brandishing rifles which had been earlier confiscated and then returned by the police. Reporters and photographers interviewed skinhead guards carrying side arms and bayonets. Defending the fascists, a Napa County sheriff said they were "very cooperative the whole time" (*New York Times*, 5 March). Meanwhile, the capitalist media gave major coverage to the fascists, whose soggy weekend fête—especially after a court injunction pulled the plug on their "rock concert"—was in fact a miserable flop.

There was a lot of posturing about "teaching the fascists a lesson" by the Napa demonstrators, betraying both tremendous illusions in the "democratic" benevolence of the police and wishful thinking that the fascists don't intend to use their weapons. The 1979 Greensboro Massacre gives bloody testimony to the contrary, but most of the left seems incapable of assimilating this truth.

Where the fascists can be met and defeated is when they try to penetrate the major cities with large working-class and minority populations. There we can prevail against the Nazi skinhead scum. But there the popular-frontist left shows no appetite for doing the hard job of mobilizing mass labor/black defense, because it means going up against Democratic Party politicians and fake-progressive labor bureaucrats tied to the liberals' coattails.

Last November's successful Partisan Defense Committee-initiated mobilization that stopped the KKK/skinheads cold in Philadelphia was built in the face of the virulent opposition of Democratic "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode and red- and violence-baiting by the bourgeois state and the misnamed Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Only the mobilization of the working class in hard class struggle will crush the fascist vermin in the egg. ■

Stop Duke!...

(continued from page 16)

tendencies which united around an urgent call to action. Participants raised their own views in their own name—from the speakers platform, with their newspapers, on signs and banners. Joining together to defend ourselves against the common enemy is an obvious proposition, but it is also unusual on the American left, after decades of Stalinist exclusionism and manipulative practice. If the powerful workers movement in Germany had heeded Trotsky's calls for a united-front policy, Hitler's fascists could have been crushed in the egg and the Holocaust never would have happened.

The Communist Party did not endorse the demonstration, but advertised it in the *People's Daily World* and participated in the picket line with their banner: "Outlaw Racism and Anti-Semitism." Bernard Branche of the PDC and Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL) responded in his remarks:

> "We place no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. We place all our faith in the power of the masses. Some people believe that we can call on the government to do away with the Klan and Nazis. We think only by mobilizing the power of labor, and blacks and other minorities, can these fascists be stopped. In the final analysis, as in Hitler's Germany, the bosses will resort to these fascist murderers as their dogs of war, as their last resort to defend, to prop up, the decaying system."

Other participating organizations included the New Alliance Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, Socialist Action, and the Revolutionary Socialist League. New Alliance, which endorsed and spoke at the rally, marched with placards with pictures of ex-mayor Harold Washington; the Spartacist League's signs included "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!"

Frank Micelotta

Greer/Chicago Tribune

Democratic Party coalition falls apart in Chicago: Richard Daley Jr. (left) defeated black acting mayor Eugene Sawyer in racially polarized primary election.

A Spartacist leaflet distributed at the anti-fascist protest is reprinted in this issue of *WV* on page 15.

"Segregation City" Elections

The Democratic Party popular-front coalition fell apart in Chicago with Harold Washington's death in 1987. Acting mayor Eugene Sawyer was installed by white City Council racists (who thought he'd be the best candidate to beat in the next election) and ridiculed by angry black Chicagoans as "Uncle Tom Sawyer." In the Democratic primary, despite Sawyer's endorsement from Chicago's best-known black Democratic Party politician, Jesse Jackson, blacks did not turn out heavily. "Mayor Daley Jr." rolled up more than 90 percent of the white vote in the most racially polarized voting in the city's history. Now the Democrats are split: Jackson is campaigning for black alderman Timothy Evans who is running for mayor as an "independent."

According to the CP's *People's Daily World* (2 March) which was distributed at the anti-Duke protest, Evans represents a "progressive agenda." New Alliance Party spokesman Dr. Jessie Fields was even more explicit: "The people of Chicago have some new tools, or new weapons, to fight against the Klan. And that new weapon is independent politics. It's the campaign of alderman Timothy Evans for mayor of Chicago on the Harold Washington Party ticket. A vote for Timothy Evans as an independent is a vote against the Machine, it's a vote against reaction and a vote against the Klan."

Is that so? Eugene Sawyer noted correctly during his failed campaign: "There are no virgins in Chicago politics. We all started in the Daley machine, Harold Washington, Tim Evans too" (*New York Times*, 27 February). The efforts (infrequent) by elected officials to address the aspirations of black Chicago come to naught because they are locked into an entire state machinery of the racist status quo. The election of Washington did nothing to change conditions for the youth trapped in the ghettos and barrios. Washington's henchmen organized to break the strike of the predominantly black teachers. In 1986, the KKK brought 3,000 racists to Marquette Park; though Washington himself was on these race-haters' hit list, he told blacks to stay home, while his cops arrested and beat anti-fascist demonstrators.

The mass civil rights activism of a generation ago brought an end to official Jim Crow segregation in the South but, under the leadership of Democrats and preachers, never challenged the racist capitalist system. However it did convince the ruling class of the advantages of installing some "black faces in high places," the better to keep the lid on. Now most big cities are administered by black mayors, while underneath it all the economic conditions of life for the black masses have actually deteriorated—and correspondingly, so have their legal and social rights.

In Chicago, this is particularly clear with regard to the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). In CHA public housing, 97 percent of the families are black and 92 percent of households are headed by women. Now the police, in "surprise inspections," are riding roughshod over the rights of tenants with raids, searches, seizure of personal belongings without warrants and detention without cause. The CHA has taken to evicting anyone not listed on the lease—including grandparents, grandchildren and "common law" spouses. Last December, eight couples were married in a joint civil ceremony to prevent the CHA from tearing their families apart. Fifty residents of one South Side project told the *Chicago Defender* (12 December 1988) that "they're tired of living like prisoners in their own homes."

In the last year, racist attacks have been on the rise, with black families in

Southwest News-Herald

Fascists have targeted Chicago for "white supremacist" provocations. Racist punks rally for genocide in Marquette Park, June 1986.

The Working People Need a Workers Party

Stop the Fascists! Fight for Workers Power!

Coming here today to protest David Duke the racist terrorist is an act of basic political self-defense. If these nests of Klansmen are allowed to organize openly for lynch mob terror, acts of racist intimidation and violence will multiply. But protest is not enough. The fascists must be crushed in the egg.

The fascists grow bold because they feel the nod of approval from the official racist policies of the government. In the 1988 presidential election *both* parties openly courted the racist vote. Three days before that election, the Klan and Nazi skinheads tried to stage a rally for genocide in downtown Philadelphia. That provocation was spiked by an outraged, integrated, largely black, union-based mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. Again on January 21 in Atlanta, more than 3,000 workers, black youth and others turned out for a PDC-initiated protest against a KKK march which targeted Martin Luther King Day.

Last Tuesday, we had the most racially polarized mayoral voting in Chicago's history; tonight, the Klan is trying to ride the coattails of Daley Junior's victory to enhance its recruitment for race war. The fascists grow bold because they see that the working people and oppressed, the unions and the ghettos and barrios, are divided, passive and insecure. Only by showing that we the working people have the will to fight boldly in defense of all the oppressed can we cut the ground out from under the sinister fascist forces.

It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

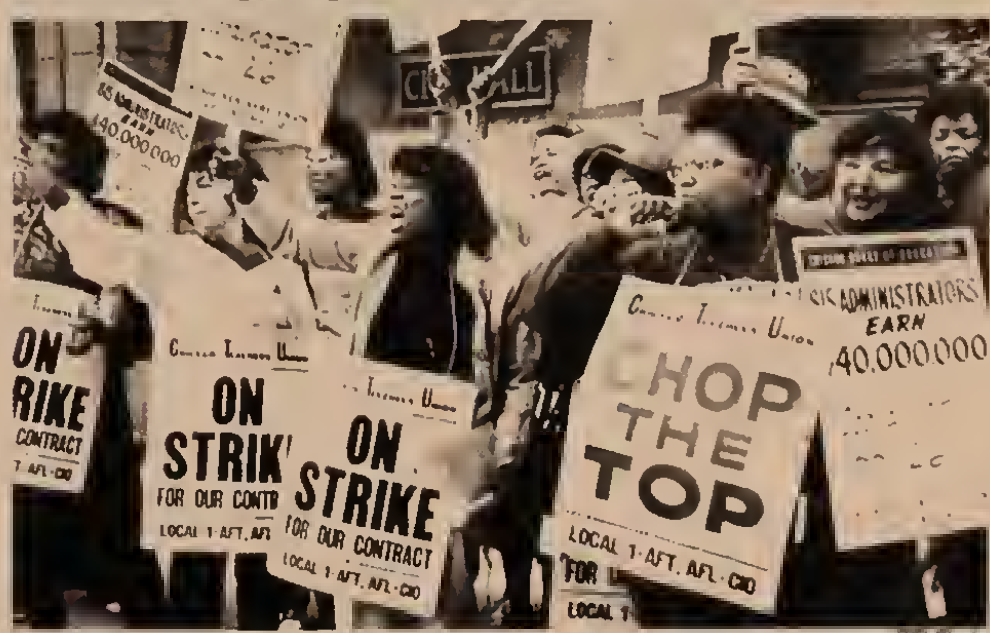
The organized trade-union movement has the potential power to bring this whole system to a halt. But the political subordination of the union leadership to the capitalist power structure, especially through the Democratic Party, shackles labor's power. The unions today represent a small (and shrinking) proportion of the workers in this country. Their leaders echo the companies' line that Japanese workers are to blame for America's economic woes. They turn their backs on the black youth being thrown on the scrap heap by a system that has no jobs; they abandon Spanish-speaking workers and "illegal" immigrants to sweatshops, deportation raids and scabherders.

The key struggles that built the industrial unions in America were fought in *defiance* of the bosses' laws; under the leadership, often, of "reds," unions were organized across the old AFL craft lines, across the lines of ethnic and racial divisions. Key to the victory of the Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934-36 was the organizing of the employed and the unemployed in common struggle. But in response to those great struggles, in order to *defuse* labor's militancy and independence, the so-called "New Deal" legally recognized some of the gains won on the picket lines, establishing mechanisms for the government to act as an "impartial" referee of labor-management disputes. Labor's alliance with the New Deal Democrats was a decisive step toward the tame union movement of today.

In the interests of labor "peace" (actually, a one-sided class war against labor), union "leaders" who wouldn't know how to tear up a court injunction have presided over layoffs and speedups and two-tier deals for their own members, while refusing any real solidarity with other workers who have fought. The "Reagan years" opened with the smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers, as the labor tops refused to shut down the airports and allowed Reagan to win his first showdown. What followed was a broad assault: on workers' wages and conditions, on the conditions of life in the "inner cities," on women's and gay rights. The lasting symbol of the Reagan years is the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia—eleven black people including children killed in a high-tech military operation by the cops, FBI and black Democratic mayor.

Washington Post

Unleashing labor's power requires fighting for all the oppressed. Above: Labor-based mobilization initiated by revolutionary Marxists stopped KKK from marching in Washington, D.C., November 1982. Below: Chicago teachers struck against givebacks demanded by black mayor, 1987.



WV Photo

Right now, the Eastern Airlines workers are under the gun. The big business press is openly calling for Bush to model himself on Reagan's "firmness" with PATCO. Tuesday's Supreme Court decision for TWA against the flight attendants gives union-busters another big boost. Eastern's union-buster and corporate raider Frank Lorenzo wants war against the integrated IAM Machinists union. An aroused labor movement must give him more than the war he bargained for by spreading the strike through elected strike committees embracing other unions: shut down the airports!

In this "democratic" country, a tiny minority owns the productive wealth and therefore controls the lives of the millions. This tiny minority owns the mass media and controls the political system. The ruling class expects all the rest of us to pay for their anti-Soviet war drive and for their plundering of the economy while the industrial plant decays and America becomes the world's biggest debtor. To fight for our own interests, we working people need *our own party*, one which will fight to take the power away from America's greedy, corrupt, incompetent rulers and reorganize society on the basis of workers power.

A fighting workers party must be based far beyond the employed, better-organized and better-off workers. It must fight for the whole of the working people, linking the black ghettos and the barrios to the power of the factories. The capitalist class has prevailed in this country, long past the time when it had any progressive role to play, largely thanks to its success in keeping the working people divided against themselves, especially but not only on black/white lines. At the present time, even in small numbers the fascists provide a great service to the rich and powerful in poisoning the relations between the races and fueling racial fears, undercutting the possibilities for united class struggle.

The working people need a political leadership which fights for all of us at the expense of the bosses. We need unions which will wage class struggle to defend their members' economic interests and will take action in defense of the working people on a broad front of vital social struggles: for schools, jobs, housing, against racist terror and police brutality. We need a workers party to bring labor and black power to bear in support of strikes and all freedom struggles. The black youth in particular are a precious reservoir of militancy who must be enlisted in the front ranks of a workers party that will not stop short of the struggle for power. It is this kind of party which the Spartacist League is fighting to build. ■

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the white Northwest Side getting terrorized by cross-burnings and shots fired into their homes. Racist cops have gunned down black men with impunity: on January 31 they killed Anthony Mullett, pumping four bullets into his head, in the Rogers Park neighborhood; on March 2 Craig Davis, 19 years old, was shot dead by police.

It's a racist *system*, and the Democrats are in it up to their necks. But far from fostering "independence" from the Democratic Party, the Evans campaign is of the Democrats, by the Democrats and for the Democrats, and serves only to tie the oppressed to this party of racism and capitalist exploitation. Real "black empowerment" can only come through militant class struggle for *workers power*. Spartacist League spokesman Ed Clarkson said at the close of the anti-Duke demonstration:

> "The American working class must answer by forging its own party—not British Labour Party-style—but a party to fight for all the common people. A party to fight for jobs, housing, decent schools. A party to fight every instance of racial, sexual and minority oppression. A party committed to the fight for black freedom and equality that began with the Civil War. Blacks, especially black youth, have a vital role to play in the struggle for working-class power. That's the kind of party we need. That's the party the Spartacist League is trying to build." ■

Spartacist Forums

Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!

Speaker: Tweet Carter, Spartacist League

Sat., April 1, 7:30 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Quantrell Auditorium
University of Chicago
CHICAGO
For more information (312) 663-0715

Thurs., April 6, 7:30 p.m.
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
MADISON
For more information (608) 255-8068

WORKERS VANGUARD

United-Front Protest Against Klansman Duke:

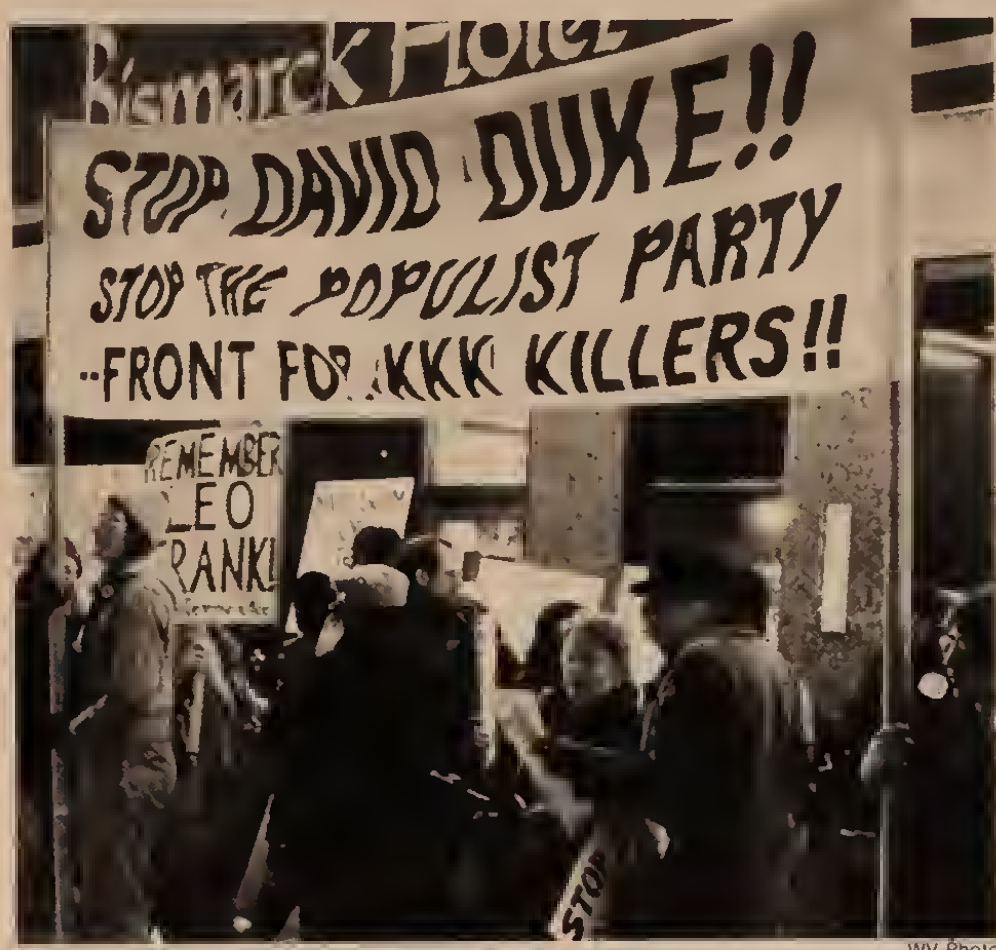
"No Hitlers in Chicago!"

CHICAGO—Some 150 people demonstrated in the rain outside the Bismarck Hotel on Friday night, March 3, chanting: "David Duke. Klan in a suit—still a fascist killer!" Duke, a Klansman who was recently elected to the Louisiana state legislature, appeared in Chicago as the keynote speaker at a convention of the fascist Populist Party.

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and built on short notice, this integrated united-front protest was an urgent act of political self-defense. The PDC's call for the protest said: "These fascists...are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, gays, Hispanics, Catholics, unions—all of us." Word of the anti-fascist action spread quickly through the city. The morning of the demonstration, city bus drivers posted the PDC leaflet on their windshields and passengers greeted leafletters by holding up copies of the *Chicago Defender* which carried news of the protest on its front page.

In the hours before the demonstration, a rumor circulated that Duke would be a no-show. Rally organizer Gene Herson told the press: "If Himmler and Göring are sitting there, what are you going to do, wait for Hitler to come?" Under the protection of union marshals organized by the Labor Black Struggle League, the protesters chanted "Stop the Populist Party—front for KKK killers!" The anti-fascists far outnumbered the handful of fascists nestled in the Bismarck. This demonstration, which was heavily covered on the TV news, points the way forward for the kind of united, labor-centered action needed to send these fascist killers back into their sewers.

Republican David Duke rode into the town made infamous as "Segregation City" under former Democratic Party boss Richard Daley. He was seeking to ride the coattails of Daley Jr.'s Democratic primary victory over a black opponent—the Populist Party hate-fest opened three days after the voting. Duke urged his fellow Kluxers to "get out of the cow pasture and into the hotel meeting rooms." Through the doors of the Bismarck slunk violence-crazed skinheads in Waffen SS T-shirts, the paramilitary vigilantes of Posse Comitatus, fascists from "The Order," which killed Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg, and Nazis who deny the Holocaust ever happened. The Populist Party aims to weld suit-and-tie Klansmen with Marquette Park Nazis and Uptown skinheads into one genocidal fascist fist. *The power of the integrated labor movement must be mobilized to crush this deadly threat.*



WV Photo

Protesters at March 3 demonstration initiated by Partisan Defense Committee chanted "David Duke, Klan in a suit—still a fascist killer!"

Duke fulminated against Jesse Jackson, "black bloc voting" and "forced integration." His bodyguard was the notorious Art Jones, vice chairman of the American Nazi Party (and organizer of anti-black and anti-Semitic violence in Marquette Park, where last August the Klan drew over 1,000 frenzied racists to a "white power" rally). At the convention, Jones was televised in the act of trying to strangle a Channel 2 reporter. One scheduled speaker was a no-show: Evan Mecham, impeached former governor of Arizona, who sponsored a resolution at a recent state convention to declare the United States a "Christian nation" governed by the "absolute laws" of Scripture, and to stop the fluoridation of water.

Remember Auschwitz—Fascists Want New Holocaust

The web of fascists in the Populist Party deny the Holocaust ever happened. Through the "Institute for Historical Review," Populist Party founder Willis Carto is the main publisher for neo-Nazi "revisionist historians" like David Irving. Populist Party supporters in the violent, armed fundamentalist group called "The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord" call on their members to "join together and wipe out the Jews. Together we can make the Holocaust a reality and not a Jewish fable" (*Information Digest*, 8 March 1985). In response, the Holocaust Memorial Foundation in Skokie sent this message to the anti-fascist rally:

> "The Holocaust Memorial Foundation of Illinois stands with you in your opposition to bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism. We strongly oppose any groups which deny the reality of Holocaust—the reality of the murder of twelve million people."

From California, Congressman Ron Dellums endorsed the demonstration. A dozen labor unions and officials in the Chicago area and nationwide helped build this emergency united-front action. Among the endorsers were the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 1. Several of the members of this largely black and Hispanic local at the Bismarck came outside to express their support. Kevin Quirk, a transit worker in ATU Local 241, told the crowd, "When the French fascist Le Pen tried to make a campaign stop on the island of Martinique, it was the hotel workers who organized and refused to cater to this latter-day Hitler, the David Duke of France.... It's been done before and it ought to be done today!"

Speakers urged active solidarity with the strikers in the crucial battle at Eastern Airlines. One speaker reminded protesters: "The role of the Klan is to poison the atmosphere for integrated class struggle against the bosses." Among the endorsers was Susan Lantz of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants in New York.

From San Francisco came the endorsement of ILWU Local 6, whose president, Jim Ryder, sent a message of support. Key Chicago endorsements came from Harold Rogers of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Homer Reed of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, and Larry Regan, president of Steelworkers Local 1014. Rally speakers included Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President of ATU; James Dyson from Hotel Employees Local 1; Frank Lumpkin, Wisconsin Steel Save Our Jobs Committee; Larry Duncan, Chicago Typographical Union Local 16; Norm Roth, past president of UAW Local 6; and Ludie Martin of Teamsters Local 743, who told the crowd: "Twenty million Soviet citizens died by Hitler. Stop KKK and the Dukes in Louisiana—we just beat 'em in Chicago!"

Freedom of Criticism, Unity in Action

The March 3 protest was a real united front of very diverse forces and political

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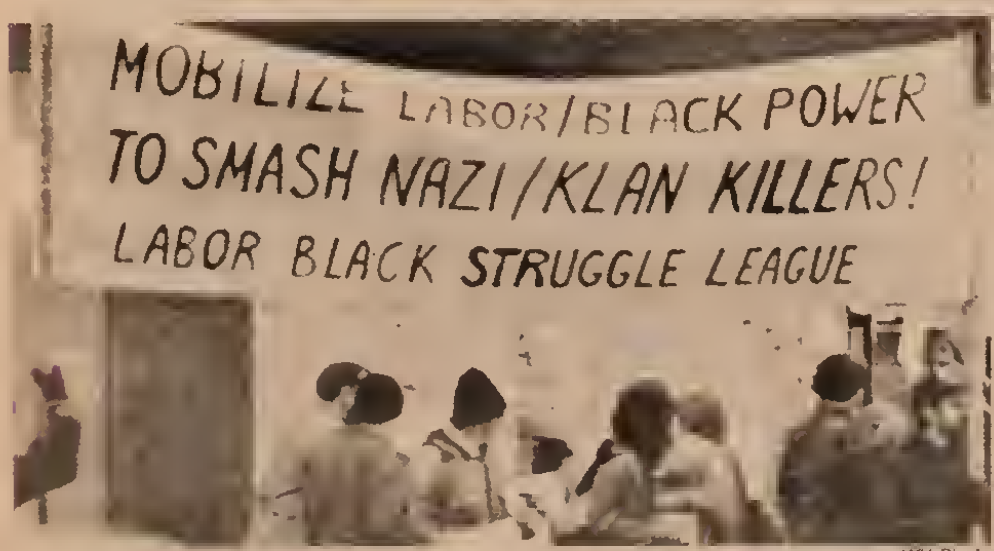

WV Photo

Ken Cedeno

Chicago, March 3: Labor Black Struggle League calls for integrated labor action to smash fascist terror; reformist Communist Party appeals to the racist capitalist state to "Outlaw Racism."

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 474 31 March 1989

Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!

The battle over abortion is coming to a head. The "Operation Rescue" bigots who have been besieging the clinics have the blessings of the White House. The Bush administration is pushing to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationally—and the Reagan-Rehnquist Court may soon oblige. At the same time, the numbers are growing of "pro-choice" activists who have turned out to keep the clinics open against the reactionary blockades. And tens of thousands will march for women's rights in San Francisco on April 2 and Washington, D.C. on April 9. There is a felt sense of urgency that abortion rights are on the line, and must be defended now as never before. But this will to fight is being held back and diverted by the bourgeois feminist leaders who look to the Democratic Party, the racist cops and the courts—all *enemies* of the struggle for women's emancipation.

The government-sponsored assault on abortion rights falls most heavily on poor women, who are disproportionately black, Hispanic and Asian. The

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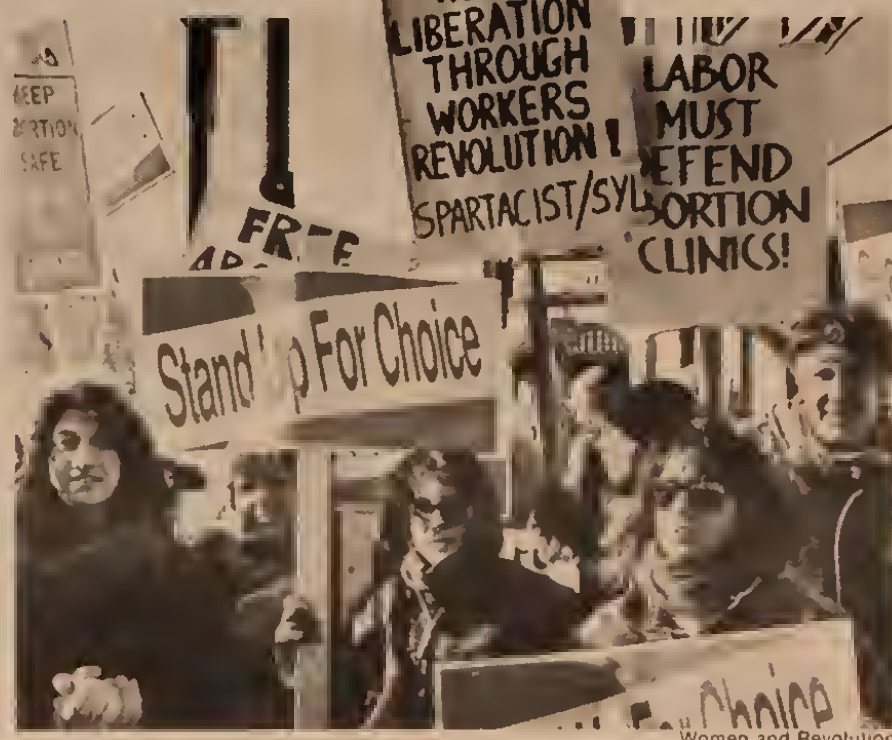

Women and Revolution

Boston, January 21: Spartacists in abortion rights demonstration chanted "Defend the clinics, take a stand, free abortion on demand!"

Eastern Strike Solid—Extend It to Win!

Shut Down the Airports!

MARCH 27—After over three weeks on the picket line, the strike by maintenance workers, flight attendants and pilots at Eastern Airlines is solid. Texas Air empire chief Frank Lorenzo has seen his plan to break the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Eastern crumble in the face of unprecedented solidarity among Eastern workers. One industry analyst told the *Atlanta Constitution* (9 March): "The pilots absolutely coldcocked Frank. He never knew what hit him." Across the country, workers are looking to the battle at Eastern as the chance to win the first big strike in years—and let loose some good hard class struggle.

But the labor misleaders have kept the strike isolated at Eastern, pleading with passengers not to fly. The union tops crawl back and forth between Congress and the bankruptcy court. In New York, a judge has slapped American Airlines workers with an injunction against acts of solidarity with the Eastern strike. And meanwhile the bosses hammer away at the Eastern unions, especially the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), to break their solidarity or sucker them back to work under "mediation." The solidarity and morale of the unions is still high, but the strike is stuck in a rut. *To win, the Eastern strike must be spread, and soon!*

The rest of labor at the airports—sister IAM locals, flight attendants, Teamsters and Transport Workers—must be brought into the fight. These unionists have poured out to join IAM picket lines and solidarity demonstrations across the country. At American, over 20,000 Transport Workers Union (TWU) ground personnel are currently voting on a contract with big benefit takeaways. At every airline, ground workers and flight crews are fed up with the givebacks, two-tier contracts and

Taylor/Compix

IAM strikers in Miami, March 3: Labor's gotta play hardball to win against vicious union-buster Lorenzo.

endless labor board "mediation," while the big carriers jack up fares and rake in millions. *Rip up the injunctions and fight alongside the IAM! For elected strike committees of all airline workers to shut down the airports!*

A Battle for All Labor

The Eastern strike is enormously popular. Across the country, thousands of unionists have turned out at airport rallies and marched the picket lines, even in Southern "right to work" cities like Atlanta. A *Washington Post* poll (23 March) found that the "public" overwhelmingly sided with the unions against the widely hated Lorenzo, and three-quarters wanted the government to stay out of it.

Democratic Party politicians, led by Jesse Jackson, have descended on airport rallies to declare their "solidarity" with the strike—and try to lead the Eastern workers back into the government labor boards. At a rally of 1,500 unionists at La Guardia Airport on March 18, New York governor Mario Cuomo told strikers "your position has been from the beginning fair and

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Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

"Life" on Death Row

The Partisan Defense Committee has launched an emergency campaign to save the life of black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. On March 6, Pennsylvania's Supreme Court denied Mumia's appeal to have his death sentence overturned. Mumia's appeal had also demanded a new trial. The Court's decision ignored a multitude of violations of fair trial procedures, and refused to consider the political bases which were central to the prosecution of Mumia and sentencing him to death. Jamal's appeal was supported by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and American Civil Liberties Union, who submitted *amici curiae* briefs on his behalf. Among the signers of the PDC's petition for Mumia is Jack Healey, Executive Director of Amnesty International. Ron Dellums, now chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal."

Jamal, 35, was a former Black Panther Party member, popular journalist and well-known supporter of Philadelphia MOVE. He was framed up in 1982 for the killing of a Philly cop and sentenced to die specifically for his political activities and beliefs. From Huntingdon prison, Jamal gave the PDC this description of life on death row.

There is no death row, to be precise. There are death rows, several, scattered across Pennsylvania's vast expanse. Graterford near Philadelphia; Western State Penitentiary, in Pittsburgh; and here in Huntingdon, betwixt the two, mid-state, out in the boondocks. Of all three, Huntingdon is largest, and until the recent exodus sparked by a nonviolent sit-down protest, which led some 18 men to Western's newly erected death row, it held the overwhelming majority. Some 45 men remain here.

Death row, not surprisingly, is one of the few Keystone State institutions bearing a black majority. Statewide, blacks make up 57 percent of the prison population. Out of eleven million Pennsylvanians, roughly 10 percent are of African descent, mostly in urban areas like Pittsburgh or Philadelphia. On all state death rows, men are locked down in cells for 22 hours a day. Movement is the most restricted in the state system, meaning it is virtually nil. "Yard" is a misnomer, as men do not get yard, they get *caged*. Steel cyclone boxes, some 60 square feet or so, roofed by coils of concertina razor-wire, are the closest men come to "yard."

Philadelphia Magazine

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980. Well-known Philadelphia radio journalist is on death row for his political activities and beliefs.

From cell to cage is the extent of daily movement. The cages, called dog pens, strikingly resemble kennels, though somewhat taller. Visits are a trek to another cage, handcuffed and ridiculously belted, while separated from loved ones by a wall of glass, steel and wire mesh. Some men have not held their children, nor hugged their wives in years, in the name of security.

Several years ago, a young jailhouse lawyer, then at Graterford, challenged these conditions in a class-action suit. The suit, prosecuted by the ACLU, ended in failure. The case, *Peterkin v. Jeffes*, resulted in an opinion by the U.S. District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania that was Rehnquistian in its restrictiveness. It is remarkable that a court in Pennsylvania's southeastern corner, a traditionally liberal region with its largest African and Jewish concentrations, could spew forth an opinion more bitter and more restrictive in 1987 than an analogous 1986 case from the middle district of Tennessee.

In a case known as *Groseclose v. Dutton*, the U.S. court there held that similar conditions, involving a death unit known as "Unit Six," regarding cell size, ventilation, out-of-cell time and forced idleness, amounted to constitutionally impermissible living conditions. What's cool in the Constitution's birthplace is unconstitutional in Dixie, huh? It would seem so.

Nor did the Third Circuit Court of Appeals disagree with the *Peterkin* ruling, as it affirmed it in late August 1988, saying in essence, it's not a palace, but then it's not so bad. That appeals court opinion, penned ironically by black historical and legal scholar, Judge J. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr., reversed only on the limited issue of determining rights of free access to the courts by death row inmates. Day by day, incrementally, conditions worsen for men on the row by judicial fiat. Newspapers are routinely censored. Everyday schoolbooks are often denied. One man ordered a college chemistry textbook, only to have it censored, and denied. Any pretext of an educational program is illusory.

The state wages war against the bodies, minds, the very souls of those on the row. Several men of Islamic belief have been punished for practicing the Azan, or call to prayer—a man facing death, punished for calling on his God for relief. I've been sentenced to D.C. [Disciplinary Confinement] max, the maximum institutional punishment allowed, for refusing to violate my faith, the teachings of John Africa, and cut my hair. A white inmate, incidentally, of Rastafarian beliefs, whose hair length exceeded mine, was never so punished.

Most men on death rows spend their days looking at TV, or listening to radio. Other than this empty activity, most are idle, as no programs, no activities are addressed to a man's mental and/or psychological needs. It's easier to order a smut book than a history book. The implicit message from the Commonwealth being, one can fantasize, but one may not exercise his mind. A prison library exists, but what one orders bears no relationship to what one receives. Since February [1988], for example, I've ordered a book entitled, *In the Matter of Color*, by J. Leon Higgenbotham, Jr.—yes, the same. By submitting a slip weekly I've yet to get it. I've been sent others, mostly fictional and some surprisingly good, but not what I've

continued on page 5

Lenin on the Communist International

TROTSKY

LENIN

Reacting against the mutual slaughter and furious chauvinism unleashed by the first imperialist world war, class-conscious workers and radical leftists throughout the world rallied to the new, genuinely revolutionary Communist International, founded 70 years ago this month, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Nothing more clearly exposes the betrayal of socialism by Stalin and his successors, including Gorbachev, than their repudiation of Lenin's program of world socialist revolution. Today this program is carried forward in the struggle to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International.

The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base, in the shape of several *Soviet republics*, which are implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale....

A new era in world history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.

By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom.

—V.I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History" (April 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Racist Cops Menace S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—The police in this town are running riot, terrorizing minorities and leftist demonstrators—and they have carte blanche from the liberal mayor, Democrat Art Agnos. Last fall, United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta was almost killed by a Tac Squad cop at an anti-Bush protest, landing in the hospital with four broken ribs and a ruptured spleen which had to be removed in emergency surgery. Amid public outrage, investigations abounded: this was no "ordinary" protester, but a respected figure in labor and Democratic Party circles...and a friend of Agnos to boot. They reviewed the KRON-TV footage which showed officer Francis Achim repeatedly drawing back his 36-inch baton and spearing the 58-year-old, 110-pound Huerta. The result of the "investigations" was new SFPD "crowd control" techniques, including better police spying on protest groups!

On March 8, the Huerta case was "closed" at a public hearing where the Police Commission backed police chief Frank Jordan's decision not to discipline Achim. It was a sinister pageant of cop bonapartism. Jordan had stated baldly that if ordered to discipline his man, "The Police Commission would have to fire me" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 March). In case anyone missed the point, the cops set up metal barricades in the Hall of Justice, off-duty cops packed the hearing and Tac Squad cops in full riot gear rushed onto the stage Gestapo-style to "protect" the police commissioners after they'd voted to stick by Jordan. Meanwhile, Agnos and the Board of Supervisors cynically proclaimed March 8 "Dolores Huerta Day."

Lee/SF Examiner

Cops in full riot gear at March 8 S.F. Police Commission whitewash of savage police beating of UFW leader Dolores Huerta.

Then on March 20 at an El Salvador protest called by CISPES, hordes of plainclothes cops rampaged through the crowd, assaulting and macing protesters. The cops' brutal antics were supposedly in keeping with the "new guidelines" for "crowd control." Agnos dutifully stated two days later at a press conference, "I am here to say that I am proud of the restraint shown by line officers." A National Lawyers Guild legal observer who got maced herself said, "I've never seen undercovers used like this. They usually don't use them in such large numbers and as an attack squad. The demonstrators had no idea they were dealing with police officers" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 March).

Mayor Agnos' romance with the cops stems from the deal he made back in his 1987 election campaign: in return for crucial backing from the Police Officers Association, Agnos put POA vice president Paul Chignell in the mayor's office as "labor liaison," reportedly picked off the force with promises of various "perks," and gave the cops license for untrammeled terror against the working people. After the election, the romance soured slightly when Agnos threatened layoffs of cops to meet the city's budget deficit. Now he is tripping over himself rushing to defend his mad dogs when they cause bloodshed in the streets. But when the cops get around to arresting the Operation Rescue scum blockading abortion clinics it's with tender loving care lest even one proto-fascist finger get hurt.

Any number of black and other minority San Francisco workers can tell you what the cops are all about. Ask Greg Wiggins who was nearly beaten to death and then framed up after he objected to the racist language of a gang of thugs in blue uniforms at a traffic roadblock last October. Ask the family of Tony Grohse, the retarded Samoan teenager who was blown away by cops while he was playing with a toy gun in February of last year. Or the family of Larry Lumpkin, killed in 1986 in a KKK-style execution by undercover SF cops.

With labor taking it on the chin for the last decade, racist cops throughout the country have had the blessing of the capitalist state to maraud and terrorize, murder and frame with impunity. And their fascist brothers-under-the-skin, like the Nazi skinheads who ambush gays and blacks in SF's Haight district, are multiplying like the vermin they are.

Reformists like the Communist Party and the Freedom Socialist Party call for stronger police review boards to make the cops "accountable" for their actions and recommend "discipline" when the cops go berserk. Genuine communists understand that the power of the labor movement in struggle against the bosses can stay the cops' hand. The police made themselves scarce during the 1934 SF general strike, and in the 1946 Bay Area Machinists strike, riot cops pulled out as thousands of unionists defied a court order limiting pickets. Yet the giveback labor bureaucrats (like ILWU president Jimmy Herman) who run point for the Democrats all campaigned for Agnos, and twiddled their thumbs when Dolores Huerta got beaten. They are a brake on class struggle and must be *dumped* on the road to working-class victory. Socialist revolution led by an integrated revolutionary workers party is the only way there will be "justice" dealt to the rabid dogs who guard the property and state of the bourgeoisie. ■

Stone/SF Examiner

San Francisco, March 20: Plainclothes cops brutalize protesters at demonstration against El Salvador "gunpoint elections."

S.F. Workers—Defend Black Muni Driver!

Stand with Greg Wiggins April 7

SAN FRANCISCO—On March 3, at the conclusion of a nine-day trial, black Muni bus driver Greg Wiggins was found guilty of resisting arrest, although the racist pro-cop jury was obliged to find him innocent of three counts of battery on police officers. Wiggins had been beaten to within an inch of his life by four racist SF cops last October. The "not guilty" verdict on the battery charges was based on the jury's acknowledgment that "unreasonable force" was used in making the arrest.

"Resisting arrest" means the victim lived to talk about a police assault; "unreasonable force" is a polite term for the cops' vicious assault and battery against Wiggins. After abusing him in the language of the KKK, the cops, assisted by Muni supervisor Carl Politis, stormed into Greg's bus and proceeded to choke him, drag him by the hair, smash his head into the ground repeatedly and break his hip. Then they smeared him with lying criminal charges to cover their tracks.

The injuries sustained in the savage attack still keep Greg in agonizing pain, making walking difficult even with his cane. His doctor projects he will be unable to work at least until June.

Now Wiggins faces a possible sentence of up to a year in jail plus a $1,000 fine. This is an outrage! His sentencing will take place on April 7 at City Hall. Muni drivers and other SF workers must fill the courtroom in militant solidarity with Greg! He and his lawyer, Tito Torres, plan to appeal the racist verdict. Muni management now says it won't fire Greg since he was acquitted of the battery charges. Given the impressive show of solidarity by Muni drivers who came out every day of the trial, doubtless the bosses are aware they would have big problems if they tried to fire him.

Numerous trade-union officials and members, from ATU Local 1555 at BART to a group of 107 New York City transit workers, sent letters and telegrams supporting Wiggins to the San Francisco district attorney. Wiggins' union, TWU Local 250-A, must stand squarely behind this victim of racist cop terror! Hands off Greg Wiggins! The union must demand Wiggins immediately receive retroactive workmen's comp and assault pay due him and so far held back by Muni.

The many unionists and Labor Black League for Social Defense members who turned out during the trial witnessed an obscene spectacle of racist American capitalist "justice"—a mostly white middle-class jury which saw nothing "racial" in a brutal police assault on a black bus driver, according to remarks made by the jury foreman after the trial. The stories by the cops and Muni supervisor Politis were full of lies. Wiggins' doctor gave a graphic description of the injuries inflicted by the cops. An eyewitness described seeing the same gang of cops that beat Greg pull an unarmed black man from his truck last December 12 and bloody him with their batons. Then one Eugene Yoshii, the arresting cop in Wiggins' case, drew his gun and shot the man in the face. (Yoshii is the same cop who is being charged by his former rookie woman partner of brutally raping her in 1987.)

Yet, following the twisted logic of this racist system, and with the urging of a vicious D.A. who tried to paint Wiggins as a violent cop-beater, the jury decided that Greg must have done something to "trigger" the cops' actions. If you're black in America, you're a walking target for police terror!

For the past decade, the capitalists have been running wild, savagely squeezing the working class and especially minorities. And the cops, the armed fist of the propertied class, have been given a green light to rampage against the working people. What's desperately needed to spike this ruling-class terror is a solid win for labor, which would also give these hired thugs of the bosses a richly deserved taste of workers power. From Muni to Eastern, labor's gotta play hardball to win! ■

WV Photo

Greg Wiggins

RICO Finks and Feds Out!

Hands Off the Teamsters!

Just after midnight on March 13, hours before the beginning of a trial in federal court in New York, lawyers for the U.S. Justice Department and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) announced a settlement of the feds' lawsuit to seize control of the union. While far from the complete federal takeover that the government had originally sought under the draconian Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), the accord signed by the IBT tops gives the capitalist state enormous control over the 1.7 million member union. The *New York Times*' anti-labor correspondent A.H. Raskin gloats that "it's doubtful that the union leadership fully comprehends how much it gave up.... No international union has ever acquiesced in concessions that cut so drastically into its sovereignty."

Federal judge David N. Edelstein will appoint a troika of government overseers wielding enormous power. A federal labor czar called the "Administrator" will have veto power over every union appointment and every dollar the union spends. He will be the judge in union disciplinary proceedings, with the power to place Teamster locals under trusteeship. An "Investigations Officer" will be the government's prosecutor inside the union, with subpoena power and the right to sit in International Executive Board meetings and examine the union books. And an "Elections Officer" will have broad powers to intervene in court-mandated elections to take place in 1991, including the ability to throw out candidates the feds decide are "corrupt." To top it off, Teamster dues will be used to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars in salaries for the army of G-men that will be installed in IBT headquarters in Washington!

For decades the feds have waged a vendetta against the Teamsters, in the guise of "cleaning up the unions." But from Bobby Kennedy's persecution of Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa, which was designed to break the union power gained through a national trucking contract, to the current RICO-inspired settlement, the war on the Teamsters has always had as its aim the subordination of one of the most powerful unions in the country to the capitalist state. It is no accident the present accord runs through 1991—the year that the Master Freight Agreement, the car haulers agreement and the contract at United Parcel Service are all up for negotiation. Feds, hands off Teamsters—government out of the labor movement!

Finks, Canaries and Anti-Union "Reformers"

While yelling about mob control of the Teamsters, the government *already controlled the union*, through former president Jackie Presser, a top FBI informer (code name "ALPRO") who turned in 2,000 pages of reports over ten years (see article on Presser's "Secret Lives" in the *New York Times*, 27 March). And in January, using the threat of RICO indictments, the feds succeeded in splitting the Teamster executive board, creating a sordid faction fight where some IBT tops cut separate deals. Union vice president Weldon Mathias, who narrowly lost the Teamster presidency to William McCarthy last summer, joined three executive board members in an agreement to endorse the government "reforms" in exchange for being dropped from the RICO suit. Then three other International vice presidents resigned to save their skins (and their huge pensions), agreeing to "endorse the objective of preventing La Cosa Nostra corruption of any elements of the IBT" (*Boston Globe*, 2 February).

The blueprint for the government's plan comes straight from a "reform" opposition within the union, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). Two years ago the TDU sent the Justice Department "a detailed plan," based on RICO, to "reorganize the union" (*Washington Post*, 21 June 1987). The TDU intervened in the RICO case in January, nominally on the side of the IBT, but arguing that its proposal for supposedly "democratic elections" run by the U.S. Labor Department and the courts will "be vastly more effective than the government's for achieving the government's RICO goals" (*Civil RICO Report*, 31 January).

While the feds have gained a powerful weapon against the labor movement, it is much less than the total "trusteeship" that they had hoped for. When the case was filed by then-U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani last June, he declared RICO would smash the Teamsters' "devil's pact" with organized crime, by removing the entire executive board and imposing government control of the union for 25 years. RICO was designed to be a prime weapon against labor and the left. As Judge Edelstein said of the Teamster case, "One of the primary goals of the statute was to provide the Government with a tool to attack organized crime's alleged infiltration of legitimate enterprises, including specifically labor unions" (*New York Times*, 13 March). The United Mine Workers has also come under the RICO dragnet, charged with "extortionist" acts on the picket line in a strike against Canterbury Coal in Pennsylvania.

But recently the government's use of the draconian RICO statute has run into one disaster after another. Even sections of the capitalist class are upset the law is being used against everyone from giant utilities to Wall Street financiers to anti-abortion bigots. In January a federal judge refused to approve a RICO seizure of a seafood workers union in New York, and the government's RICO test case against the labor movement, the takeover of IBT Local 560 in Union City, New Jersey, has blown up in the feds' faces.

The seizure of Local 560 in 1986 was the warm-up for the suit against the Teamster International. A federal court removed the entire local leadership, supporters of Anthony Provenzano (Tony Pro), replacing them with a federal trustee. When the original trustee refused to fire every official appointed by the old regime, the federal judge removed him, declaring "when it comes to 560, they are all guilty until proven innocent" (*In These Times*, 21 December 1988). The new trustee, an organized crime prosecutor named Ed Stier, was the government's idea of a "labor leader." He reportedly ran surveillance and wiretaps on union members. Stier said that when he ran a picket line, "We behaved in a way the police would tell us to behave."

After two years of RICO and Stier, the December 1988 local union election became a referendum on government intervention. When it appeared that former local president Mickey Sciarra would be returned to office, the federal judge used RICO to declare Sciarra ineligible. But the membership thumbed their nose at the judge and voted nearly two-to-one to elect Sciarra's brother local president. Even the social-democratic *In These Times* notes that the 560 election puts "labor reformers" who rely on the capitalist state in a "quandary."

> "For TDU, the question now is how can it extend Rudolph Giuliani even limited support without being perceived by ordinary union members as having gone over to the other side. The rank and file's stunning repudiation of pro-government elements in Local 560 suggests that it can't."

When the March 13 settlement was announced, TDU spokesman Steve Kindred said that the "agreement to permit direct election of officers was an important accomplishment" (*New York Times*, 14 March). In fact, the election of International union officers through national ballot, as now takes place in the Mine Workers and Steelworkers unions, is *less* democratic than open debate over program on the floor of a union convention. In the hands of the capitalist state and under the influence of the bosses' media, "direct" elections will favor candidates who offer themselves as labor cops to "discipline" the unions for the bourgeoisie. Opposition to intervention by the bosses' state into the affairs of the workers movement should be elementary for any class-conscious worker.

But outfits like the TDU and the Association for Union Democracy (AUD) have made their living suing the unions in the bosses' courts, using the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, which was passed to shackle the Teamsters by eliminating "hot cargoing" (secondary boycotts). Recently cited by the *New York Times*, the AUD, which is run by an old Shachtmanite, right-wing "socialist" Herman Benson, has used anti-labor laws against the Machinists, Painters, NMU, ILWU and Mine Workers.

As their model, the TDU points to the "reform" movement, engineered by anti-communist lawyer Joseph Rauh, which brought the U.S. Labor Department in to run elections in the United Mine Workers. Yet the "reform" regime of Arnold Miller sided with the bosses and their government during the 1977-78 coal strike, as miners burned Miller's sellout contract and fought Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction. Workers democracy is not going to come to the American labor movement as a gift from the bourgeoisie. It will be won by the working class through struggle—struggle which will inevitably come up against the intervention of the capitalist state. Every labor battle, from the Minneapolis Teamsters' general strike in 1934 to the current fight by Eastern workers, drives home this truth.

And it will take a leadership with a program of hard class struggle to win. Teamster militants had better not forget that the current crop of corrupt and pro-capitalist labor traitors is the *product* of government intervention into the Teamsters union. In 1941, Roosevelt used the anti-communist Smith Act to purge the Minneapolis Teamsters of the Trotskyist leadership which laid the foundations of Teamsters union power. Roosevelt's ally was the gangster IBT leader Daniel Tobin, godfather to the present generation of Teamster tops. Hoffa, on the other hand, was always in trouble with the feds because of his defiance of the government, and he later said that he "learned a great deal" from the Minneapolis Trotskyists, who pioneered the organization of over-the-road truckers.

The RICO intervention into the Teamsters is a gun pointed at the entire labor movement—it must be smashed with militant labor struggle. A rebirth of class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters would send the sellouts, finks and government lawyers packing. For the complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state! Feds: get your dirty hands off the Teamsters! ■

International Teamster

Teamsters president William McCarthy (left) endorsed Bush, signed agreement giving feds stranglehold on the union.

Gorgoni/Contact

"Mr. RICO," former U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani.

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Young Spartacus

Campus Protesters Say: Victory to the Eastern Strike!

Columbia U: No Award for Union-Buster Lorenzo!

Young Spartacus

March 23: Protests by campus workers and students stopped obscene Columbia University award to bloodsucking union-buster Frank Lorenzo.

As Eastern Airlines workers are locked in a life-and-death battle with professional union-buster Frank Lorenzo, Columbia University announced plans to honor Lorenzo with the "John Jay Award" for "distinguished professional achievement" at a posh $200-a-plate dinner in Low Library. But protests by outraged campus unionists and students put a stop to this obscenity. An embarrassed administration explained that "the current emotional climate in the labor dispute between Eastern Airlines and the machinists' union" makes it "impossible to guarantee an atmosphere appropriate to such a celebratory event" (*Newsday*, 18 March).

On March 23 there was no filthy fête for Lorenzo. Instead, over 400 campus workers in their union hats and jackets had quite a celebration that night in front of Low Library, rallying in solidarity with the Eastern strike. The Columbia/Barnard Spartacus Youth Club has been bringing students out to picket at the airports and helped mobilize student support for this demonstration, participating with signs including: "Students—Ally with Labor! Join the Picket Lines!"

Campus workers represented in UAW District 65, health and hospital workers Local 1199, and Transport Workers Union Local 241 sent large contingents to the protest. A number of Eastern strikers, some with their families, attended. One striker's young son carried a sign reading, "My Dad deserves an award...*for walking out on Lorenzo*." Representatives of Eastern Machinists, flight attendants and pilots spoke to cheers and applause. Trade unionists and students catcalled at every mention of Lorenzo's name. A proposal by District 65 president David Livingston for a campus-wide strike should Lorenzo dare to set foot on Columbia to receive a "postponed" award was greeted with hearty enthusiasm by the campus workers, whose own contracts expire this fall.

Frank Lorenzo is the personification of capitalist greed, a corporate vampire who's made a career sucking the life-blood out of his companies' workers. Only such a haughty bastion of ruling-class labor-haters would pay homage to Lorenzo right now. But Columbia stands by its creatures—and Lorenzo got his training at the old alma mater. As a Columbia student, in 1959 "Frankie Smooth Talk" was caught stuffing ballot boxes and barred from ever voting again in campus elections. According to New York Hotel Trades Council Local 6, the "vote early and vote often" fraud was organized by Lorenzo, then a member of a Christian fraternity, to keep Jewish students out of student government office!

The "Columbia Committee in Solidarity with the Eastern Workers" effectively whitewashed the Columbia administration, objecting to the award ceremony as a blot on the school's "fair name." A student council resolution read at the rally said: "the granting of this award to an individual such as Lorenzo would alienate undergraduates and discourage future alumni contributions and participation in Columbia alumni organizations...." On the contrary, Frank Lorenzo is exactly what Columbia is all about. As the Spartacus Youth Club stated in a leaflet distributed at the demonstration:

> "The interests of the university administration are clearly seen in their homage to Lorenzo and their decades-long dirty war against the unions of campus workers who keep this place running. Columbia wraps the scum of the earth in its academic robes and lands an iron heel on any who challenge their arrogant rule. Notorious real estate sleaze Harry Macklowe was an 'honored' speaker at Columbia just two months after he blew up a building on 45th Street! As the slumlord of Morningside Heights, Columbia routinely evicts black and Hispanic tenants. Two years ago, they brought armed force from the NYPD to campus to bust up student protest against racist attacks."

The last word has not yet been heard on Lorenzo at Columbia. The university announced it would put the award on hold, pending "reconsideration" next fall. The Business School is rumored to be hosting Lorenzo for a speaking engagement next month. (What's the topic, "How to strip a corporation of its assets and screw the workers while lining your own pocket"?) Campus workers and students showed how to give Lorenzo the "welcome" he deserves. As the Spartacus Youth Club chanted: "Lorenzo is a greedy boss—fight him with pickets that mean don't cross!" ■

Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 2)

ordered. Others fare little better.

Recently, under a Democratic state administration, a black commissioner of prisons was named. No matter. As in cities under black mayors, so in microcosm the prisons. No substantive changes for the better, some for the worse. For both serve, not the needs of the people, but the interests of the system. For freedom ain't in the interest of the system, efficiency is. The poor in the outer so-called "free" system are expendable, as they are perceived as inefficient. In the inner system, efficiency is measured by the equation of control. The poor in the outer system, as expendable, are pushed into homelessness. The prisoners of the inner system, as expendable, are pushed into electric chairs. Cold, yet efficient, in a warped way that reminds one of that model of German efficiency known as the Third Reich.

The "Restricted Housing Unit," where death row/Huntingdon is housed, also includes the "Psychiatric Observation Unit," where men manifesting mental disorders and/or suicidal tendencies are held. On occasion, men who shriek, scream and holler at the top of their lungs are placed amidst death row inmates, until they react in protest and demand their removal. Then this problem is simply shifted to another part of the unit. Although this custom clearly violates state statute, it is routinely done as the courts rarely rule against the prisons. Indeed, the courts now defer to the prisons, so blatant acts of injustice go unchecked and unconstitutional treatment goes unresolved. One need look no further than the *Peterkin* decision.

Some will no doubt applaud these descriptions of dungeons and deadly degeneration in this post-Reagan age of right-wing resurgence. Others will harken to the words of the Russian writer Dostoyevsky who observed, "The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons."

Ordered by brutal boredom, entombed in *ennui*, imprisoned in a cage of utter idleness, some 75 men across Pennsylvania await death. That these conditions obtain in the cradle of the U.S. Constitution is perhaps fitting. For surely, Pennsylvania is fast becoming the grave of that lofty and unrealized document.

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal (28 March 1989).

As part of the PDC campaign, thousands of people around the nation have petitioned the governor to demand, "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die." Telegrams and letters should be sent to: Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. For petitions and other information, please write to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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TROTSKY'S GRANDSON IN MOSCOW

A Conversation with Esteban Volkov

Of all the Bolshevik leaders executed on Stalin's orders, Gorbachev has now juridically "rehabilitated" all but one: Leon Trotsky, co-leader together with Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution. And this gaping "blank space" in official Soviet history continues to haunt the regime. For it was Trotsky who opposed the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution, building the Left Opposition while others capitulated before Stalin; Trotsky who analyzed and fought against the system of bureaucratic misrule, Stalinism, which continues to this day. Trotsky carried forward the program of the early Comintern in the struggle for the Fourth International, counterposing to the Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" the Leninist-internationalist program of world socialist revolution.

As Bukharin and the Right Opposition are raised to a place of honor, Trotsky is described in the pages of *Pravda* as a "demon of the Revolution" and a "failed dictator" as bad or possibly worse than Stalin (see our two-part article, "Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification," *WV* Nos. 464 and 466, 4 November and 2 December 1988). Yet despite the continuing "satanization" of the world revolutionary by Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin, interest in Trotsky is mushrooming in the Soviet Union. Last November 15, hundreds crowded into the House of Culture of the Moscow Aeronautics Institute to participate in the first-ever "Trotsky evening." Those who couldn't get in crowded around the large (6 feet by 9 feet) display of photos in the entry under the title "L.D. Trotsky, 1879-1940." We publish (see next page) a photo, never before printed, of this pathbreaking display.

"It was," wrote the Paris daily *Le Monde* (22 November 1988), "the first time in 60 years that a public meeting took place in the USSR devoted to the creator of the Red Army, the first time that one could see or again see documents which showed him at Lenin's side in the leading role in the revolution. The intensity of the people's looks expressed the extent to which the history of this country is not its past, but its present." And a month later, in the same location, participants in a meeting of the "Memorial" Society, founded to call for a monument to the victims of Stalin's terror, were able to meet and hear Trotsky's grandson, Esteban (Vsevolod) Volkov Bronstein, relating the murder of the Old Man in his Mexican exile by Stalin's agent. *Workers Vanguard* recently spoke with Esteban Volkov about his experiences during his brief trip, the first time in 57 years he was able to return to the land of his birth.

NRC Handelsblad

Aleksandra Sakharovna, Trotsky's granddaughter.

WV Photo

Esteban Volkov Bronstein at Trotsky's gravestone, Coyoacán, Mexico.

Visit with a Long-Lost Sister

Volkov went to Moscow to meet his sister, Aleksandra Sakharovna, who was gravely ill with cancer. She died earlier this month at the age of 66, shortly before our conversation. Aleksandra and Vsevolod (Seva) were the children of Trotsky's daughter Zinaida (Zina). Seva's father, Platon Volkov, had been deported to Siberia in 1928 and then arrested in the wake of the 1934 Kirov affair, never to be heard from again. After Stalin expelled Trotsky from the USSR in 1929 and stripped him of his Soviet citizenship, Zina (whose health had broken down after the death of her sister Nina, whom she had nursed to the end) was left alone with two small children to care for. Zina was finally allowed to join Trotsky in early 1931, but was forced to leave her daughter behind, "a six- or seven-year-old hostage to Stalin," as Trotsky's biographer Isaac Deutscher wrote. Two years later, her nerves shattered and her lungs destroyed by tuberculosis, Zina committed suicide in Berlin on the eve of Hitler's takeover.

After decades without news of Aleksandra and years of trying to find her, contact was established through Pierre Broué, director of the Institut Léon Trotsky in Paris. A brief phone call was put through, and then Volkov applied for and received a visa. At a press conference in Paris after his trip, he said they were "really happy, joyous to meet each other. It was a little like people from a shipwreck who meet safe and sound on the beach." Aleksandra had been condemned to ten years of internal exile in Kazakhstan during a major roundup of children of "enemies of the people" in 1949, but was freed after Stalin's death. "She had Stalin to thank for having met her companion there, her husband Anatol," reported Volkov. He also got to know Aleksandra's circle of friends, including Olga Ivinskaya, Boris Pasternak's companion, who met Aleksandra when they were both in prison.

"Aleksandra was always distressed," Volkov told us, "that it was I who our mother took with her. It was Broué who was first to find out why. Stalin had specified in the exit papers that she could only take her youngest child." In an interview with the Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (10 December 1988), Aleksandra said, "I do not remember my grandpa. I was three years old when he was expelled to Alma Ata in Kazakhstan by Stalin.... My mother was a revolutionary. She wore a leather coat and, I believe, a gun. She taught me geography. The revolutionaries were afraid their children would stay ignorant." After Zinaida was exiled, Aleksandra lived with her father, Sakhar Moglin, but within a year he, too, was arrested. She stayed with her stepmother and spent the summers with her grandmother, Trotsky's first wife Aleksandra Sokolovskaya, until she was sent to the camps at Kolyma in 1936. "My grandma was good friends with Lenin's wife Krupskaya," said Aleksandra Sakharovna:

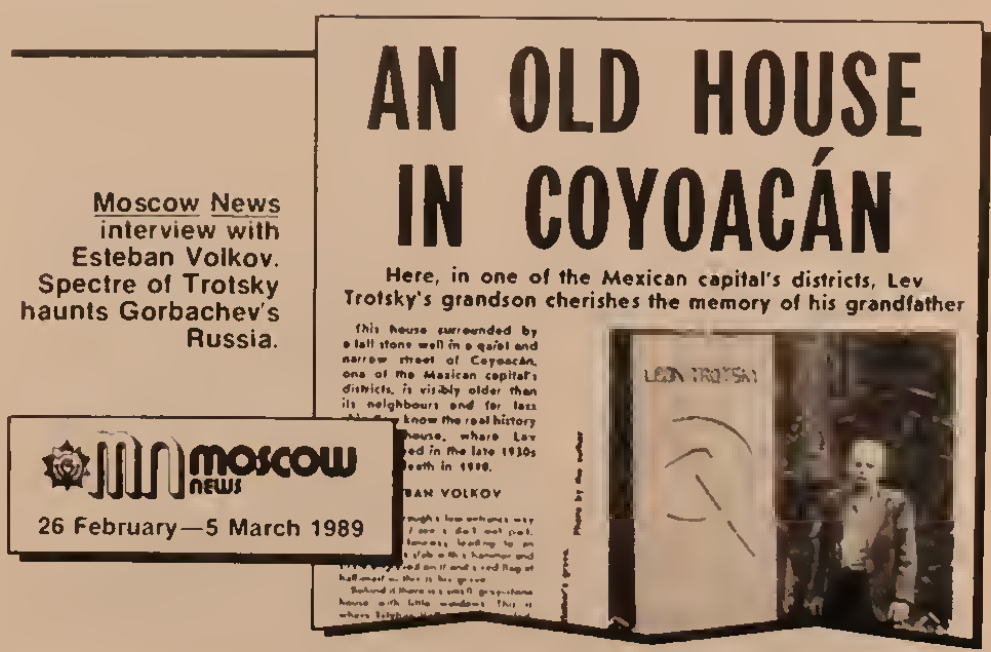
> "They considered themselves educators of the people. They wanted to enlighten the masses. I also wanted to do that. The Revolution and the whole era around it are still very dear to me, even after my exile. I still remember telling a girlfriend, 'I was raised to be a Communist'.... I love the Revolution, whereas almost everything else I hate. My life has been awful."

"It is only in the last few months that Trotsky is written about in other than a negative way," said his granddaughter. But she also had some biting comments about the current crop of *glasnost* commentaries about the founder of the Red Army. "You can't figure out what the writer himself thinks about Trotsky. Look, for example, at the article by General Volkogonov in *Pravda* under the title 'Demon of the Revolution.' That was a horrible piece that left an awful aftertaste. Volkogonov knows that the winds are turning and covers himself for all possibilities. You can go anywhere with that article." Aleksandra Sakharovna summed up, "Trotskyism is something like an exploding bomb," and a lot of people in the Soviet Union desperately want to smother it.

A Mountain of Dead Dogs

Isaac Deutscher remarked that in writing his biography, like Carlyle with Cromwell, he had to drag Trotsky out from under a huge load of calumny and oblivion, "a mountain of dead dogs." In our talk, Esteban Volkov noted that after 60 years of distortion and lies by the bureaucracy about Trotsky's role, "people's ideas about Trotsky can't escape all the prejudices and satanization." Recently, *Moscow News* (26 February) published an interview with him titled, "An Old House in Coyoacán," the site of Trotsky's home in Mexico, now the Leon Trotsky Museum, of which Volkov is the curator. In response to Volkov's statement that Trotsky gave his life to the fight for Marxism and socialism, the author, Mikhail Belyat, says he "could not dispute" this because "like the overwhelming majority of Soviet people I haven't read Trotsky's works in order to grasp the substance of his errors."

Moscow News interview with Esteban Volkov. Spectre of Trotsky haunts Gorbachev's Russia.



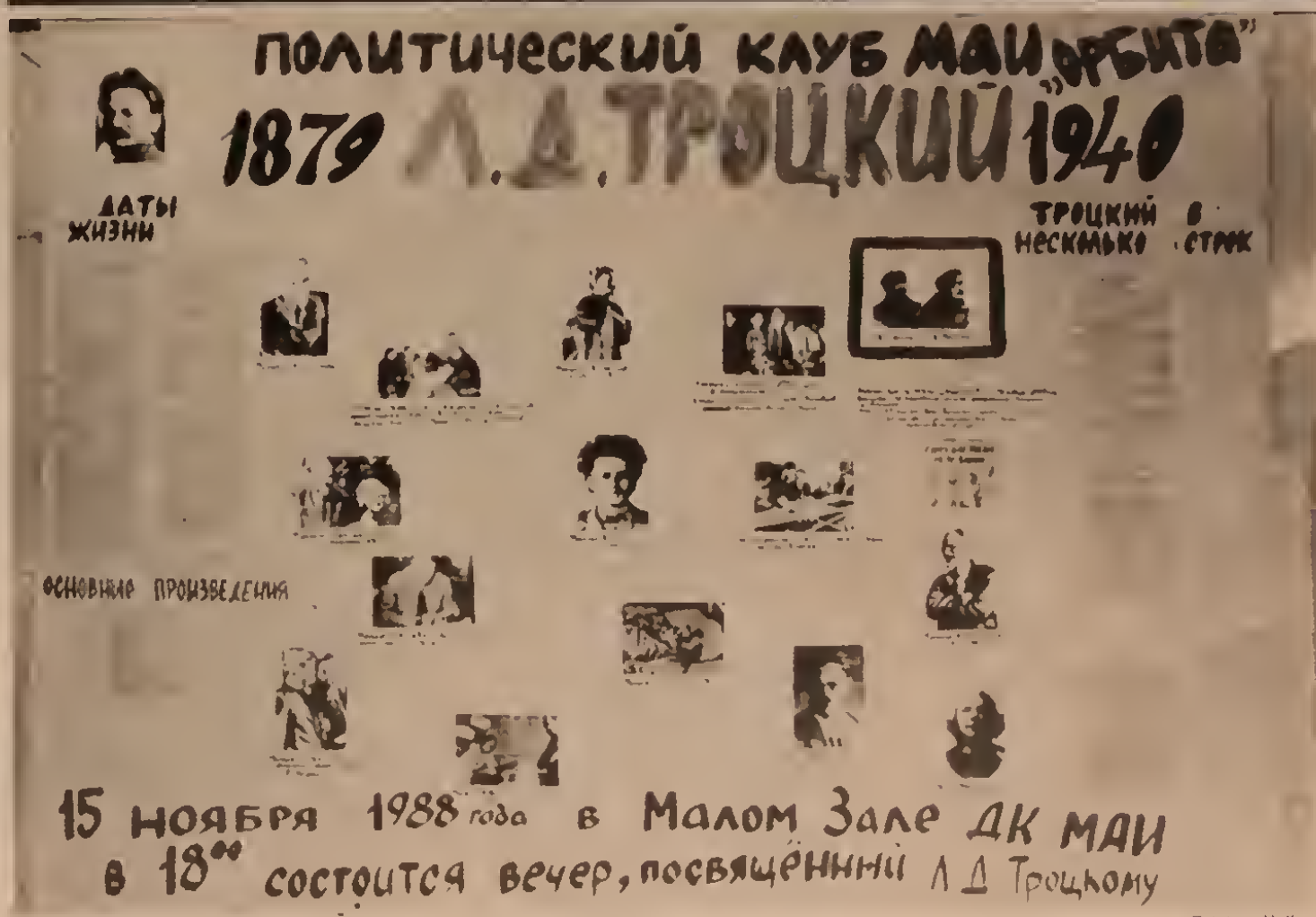
moscow news

26 February—5 March 1989

AN OLD HOUSE IN COYOACÁN

Here, in one of the Mexican capital's districts, Lev Trotsky's grandson cherishes the memory of his grandfather

First Time in Sixty Years— Trotsky Honored in Soviet Union



Esteban Volkov

The above photo, taken by Esteban Volkov during his trip to the Soviet Union, shows the large (6 x 9 foot) display devoted to the figure of Leon Trotsky by the "Memorial" Society at the Moscow Aeronautics Institute. To our knowledge this is the first publication anywhere of this salute to the world revolutionary. It advertised a meeting dedicated to Trotsky held last November 15 at the Institute's House of Culture (see article). The exhibit includes a "Chronology of His Life" (above left), his "Principal Works" (lower left), and a brief biography "Trotsky in a Few Lines" (right). Note that the photo of Lenin and Trotsky together, suppressed for decades in the Soviet Union, is prominently featured. Also depicted are Trotsky's role in the Civil War, his leadership of the Commonist International and his testimony before the Dewey Commission, exposing Stalin's frame-ups in the Moscow porge trials.

Yet the clearing-up of a half century of Stalinist lies about Trotsky proceeds at an accelerating pace. The magazine *Ogonyok* filmed a video reportage on Volkov's trip to Moscow. *Moscow News*, in its 19 March Russian edition, printed a lengthy article on Trotsky's assassin Ramón Mercader, quoting Volkov and stating flatly, for the first time in the Soviet press, that the killer was "the direct executor" of "Stalin's order." And a week later, *Moscow News* published excerpts of the petition by Volkov and his daughters demanding "dropping the false charges and criminal slanders raised, on Stalin's direct order, against the Russian Marxist revolutionary Lev Davidovich Bronstein, called Leon Trotsky, [and] authorization that his works be freely published." *Le Monde* commented that "hardly a week passes without a journal evoking, in one way or another, the personality of the founder of the Red Army."

We also spoke with Volkov about the sinister "Pamyat" (Memory) group in the Soviet Union, who have been parading about in black shirts and jackboots spewing out anti-Semitic filth. He compared this "fascistic" outfit to Nazi-loving "skinheads" in the capitalist West. Pamyat tried to disrupt the Trotsky evening in Moscow last November, heckling the speakers and then (after hecklers were removed) launching diatribes on "historical" subjects such as claiming that the directors of the gulag camps and other GPU officers were Jewish. In fact, their Russian-nationalist vituperation against "cosmopolitanism" is straight from Stalin's "doctors' plot" purge, combined with the anti-Semitism of the tsarist Black Hundreds, Russia's Ku Klux Klan, whose version of lynching was murderous pogroms against the Jewish ghettos. The Soviet working people must mobilize to smash this deadly threat to the USSR (see "Fascist Cancer in Gorbachev's Russia," *WV* No. 473, 17 March).

On the other hand, there are groups such as Memorial which is campaigning in the name of Stalin's victims, although on a classless basis rather than from a Marxist perspective. In his speech to the Memorial meeting, Volkov spoke of the "extremely important work they are doing: denouncing all the crimes of Stalin." He added, "They have been able to put many people in contact, for it is thanks to the existence of Memorial that we were able to find my sister Aleksandra." At the Memorial exhibit, people fill out questionnaires about family members who suffered from the Stalinist repression, listing dates and locations of camps where they were held, so far as this is known. Esteban Volkov, whose grandfather and grandmother, mother, father and uncles (Leon and Sergei Sedov) were all victims of Stalin, and who was himself wounded in the failed Siqueiros machine-gun attack on Trotsky, filled out a questionnaire along with countless others whose families and comrades were annihilated in the Stalinist counterrevolutionary terror.

At the Memorial meeting, Volkov was applauded as he spoke of the task of "constructing a genuine socialism" (*Die Tageszeitung*, 24 December 1988). Yet Memorial talks not of socialism but of abstract "democracy" based on supposed "common human values" which it places above "class interests" (from a Memorial appeal by Yevgeny Yevtushenko). In our conversation, Volkov spoke of Trotsky's socialist fight against Stalinism: "He made an analysis, with Marxist methodology, arrived at an understanding of Stalinism with an exactness and precision which 50 years later is impossible to modify or add anything to. But we are seeing that the bureaucratic dictatorship has arrived at absolute bankruptcy. History has shown that they have no way out, no role to play except to paralyze, to prevent progress and create backwardness, suffering, poverty. The bureaucracy is presently aware of the need to implant changes, but it is afraid of returning to the course of genuine socialism with workers democracy, which would undermine its monopoly of political power. So they prefer to introduce changes in the direction of a market economy, with capitalist-style stimulus."

Trotsky's grandson underlined "the importance of the political revolution in the Soviet regime": "That the working class really participates in decisions, in ruling, planning. And I think that we are arriving at the historical moment where efficient economic planning is perfectly realizable. Fifty years ago for technical reasons it would have been very difficult to carry out, even without the burden of the bureaucracy, because it was too complex to plan and coordinate on the scale of a country like Russia. But today with computers, communications systems, data banks—cybernetics—it can be done, very efficiently, rapidly and up-to-date, to go forward in a dynamic way. Not the infernal labyrinth of bureaucratic planning—total chaos. Today there is sufficient technology for very good planning. Of course, not overly rigid and detailed planning but rather laying out certain parameters which with prudent leeway meet the needs and requirements of the country."

His brief visit to Moscow convinced him that many people in the Soviet Union hold Trotsky in great admiration, says Volkov. "But it's almost impossible to get an objective view of Trotsky within the USSR. They need outside sources of information and access to his writings." He has called for the juridical rehabilitation of his grandfather, to be declared innocent of all the charges by Stalin against him. But "politically it's the bureaucracy that seeks historical legitimacy. The record of the Marxist revolutionary Trotsky is spotless." And historically, he will assume his rightful place as the Soviet peoples reappropriate their own history. It is by returning to the road of Lenin and Trotsky that the Soviet working people and the workers of the world can open the way to authentic socialism. This will be the fitting homage to our forebears who set about building a proletarian state in Russia to the battle cry: "Long live the world socialist revolution!" ■

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Eastern Strike...

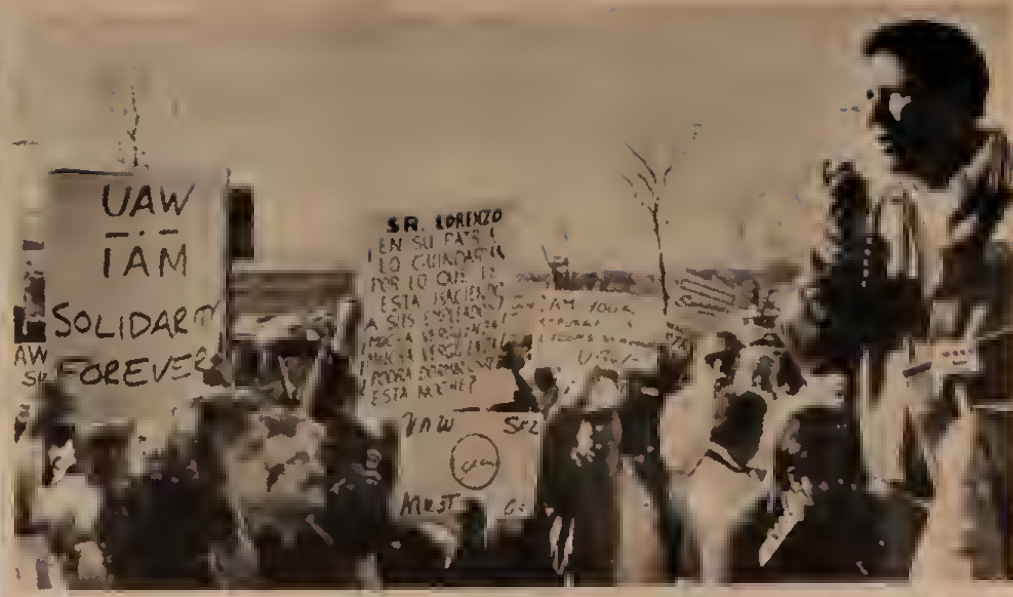
(continued from page 1)

reasonable.... You've lived within the law." Cuomo promised Bush "nobody wants to see trouble and disruption that results from secondary [strike] action." Democrat Cuomo certainly doesn't—his Metropolitan Transit Authority made massive preparations to run scab buses and trains if the Machinists picketed NY's commuter railroads. And "living within the law" is exactly what has kept the Eastern strike from spreading.

Among workers there is a deep sense of solidarity and urgency that the time to fight is *now*. But the AFL-CIO's "Fairness at Eastern" campaign consists of Saturday speechifying, a useless consumer boycott and begging Congress to send the IAM back to work! Lane Kirkland and IAM chief "Wimpy" Winpisinger blustered about calling sympathy strikes in rail—but only in order to pressure George Bush into invoking another "cooling off" period under the Railway Labor Act.

The AFL-CIO tops fear the kind of hard class struggle, coming flat up against the state, that is needed to win the strike. Such an explosive confrontation would not only wipe out Lorenzo, it could sweep away the pro-capitalist labor traitors who have tied workers to the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party and inflicted massive defeats on the working class. Last year saw the lowest number of strikes in over 40 years, and over the last 30 years, the percentage of American workers who belong to unions has dropped by *half*, to less than 17 percent.

WV Photos



Labor has the power to win this one! Machinists prepare to strike in Miami, March 3 (above). Union support rallies: Cleveland, March 13 (above right); Chicago, March 11 (right).

Don't Play by the Judge's Rules

Rather than shutting down all of Lorenzo's empire, which is well within the power of Teamsters and Machinists in airport fuel and service companies, Winpisinger and IAM District 100 chief Charles Bryan make impotent appeals to passengers not to fly Eastern and Continental. And at every point, Winpisinger and Bryan have tried to throw the strike into the hands of the bosses' government. After bowing to the court injunctions, cringing before Bush and begging Congress to take the strike off his hands, now "Wimpy" says he will fight... in court.

Lining up the IAM, ALPA and the Transport Workers Union flight attendants behind the rest of Eastern's creditors, the union tops continue to play by the bosses' rules. They appealed to Federal bankruptcy judge Burton Lifland to impose a trusteeship over Eastern, removing Lorenzo from control of the airline. Lifland responded by keeping Lorenzo in charge, while refusing to release $35 million in workers' paychecks and slapping the IAM with temporary restraining orders restricting picketing at La Guardia and Logan airport in Boston. The striking Machinists' crime? "Screaming at the company's customers"! The last bankruptcy judge the IAM faced, the one who busted the unions at Continental, is now openly drawing a Lorenzo paycheck at a Washington law firm.

Winpisinger is pinning his hopes on pressuring the court to force Lorenzo to sell Eastern to a "white knight," perhaps Carl Icahn of TWA. The IAM tops are touring Jesse Jackson around the country, demanding Congressional intervention and calling for workers to throw their pension money into the Eastern sinkhole: "If Lorenzo can't fly it, let the workers buy it." What Jackson, Wimpy and Bryan are offering up are massive givebacks, as much as Lorenzo is demanding, to pay for the billions in debt Lorenzo has run up at Eastern! As happened under the Frank Borman regime, Machinists are to give concessions so that Charlie Bryan will get back his seat on the board and Eastern workers will get the shaft.

Pan Am is being touted as a merger partner for Eastern. The 5,200 Teamster reservations and gate agents at Pan Am have been working without a contract since February 1988, when the company imposed $35 million in cuts. On March 18, Teamsters Airline Division director William Genoese threatened to strike the Pan Am shuttle in sympathy with the IAM and "tie up the Northeast Corridor." But what Genoese wants is a Teamster/IAM "joint venture" to buy Eastern and Pan Am: "The employees are players today. Wall Street is interested in us. We have a lot of pension money" (*Miami Herald*, 19 March). Exchanging one corporate raider for another will not erase the massive debt that these parasites have loaded onto the airlines, or stop the bleeding of the unions to pay for it.

Instead of all the buyout and "worker ownership" schemes, there must be an industrywide strike to win for Eastern workers and all of us. If Lorenzo tries to sell off Eastern's planes and routes, then a solid front of airline unions must demand that every single job at Eastern be protected, with wages and benefits equalized at the highest level. ALPA has already said that its 42,500 member pilots will refuse to fly former Eastern routes or planes at new carriers unless Eastern pilots are brought in with full seniority. A joint strike points the way toward a common airline union of mechanics, pilots, flight attendants and ramp service workers.

Test of Leadership

The Spartacist League has put forward a class-struggle program to win the battle at Eastern; thousands of copies of *Workers Vanguard* telling the real story about the strike have been sold on picket lines across the country. To win the strike at Eastern, there must be a leadership that is willing to wage a class-struggle fight against the disastrous course of class collaboration set by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. From the outset, the key question of the Eastern strike has been the need for an uncompromising fight for the complete independence of the unions from the courts and labor boards of the capitalist state. No significant gain of the workers movement has ever been won in Congress, or by knuckling under to the slave labor laws and injunctions.

But the rest of the left has miserably failed, falling into line as cheerleaders for Winpisinger and Kirkland. The reformist Communist Party has taken their usual strategy of "write your local Congressman" to new depths, calling on the working class to support the Democrats' bill for "mediation to end the Eastern strike" (*People's Daily World*, 7 March). This is a demand for the capitalist parties to step in and force the Machinists back to work! CP national chairman Gus Hall is featured in the 16 March *People's Daily World*, pushing the buyout/concessions game by calling for workers to run Eastern... jointly with the federal government, a new "popular front" management that will replace Frank Lorenzo with George Bush!

The Workers World Party of Sam Marcy goes a step further in begging the bourgeoisie to appoint the unions as bankruptcy trustee for Eastern! The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has a number of supporters in the IAM, has been careful not to breathe a word about spreading the strike. Their mis-

Defend ATU Local 1202

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

MARCH 28—In a welcome, and all too rare, instance of class unity, the head of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1202 (Greyhound bus drivers) in New York called on local members not to cross Eastern Airlines strikers' picket lines. Greyhound responded by *firing* Local 1202 president Harold Mendlowitz, after he refused to retract the union statement.

The March 2 union bulletin was explicit, asking Greyhound workers to "show solidarity in any way you can.... And most of all *honor their picket lines!*" It went on to instruct union members that:

> "In the event of a strike, Greyhound Drivers will not drive buses leased or chartered to Eastern or Continental Airlines. We will not be a party to any efforts by Greyhound to assist Frank Lorenzo in busting unions.
>
> "If one driver is pulled out of service, we all go out of service!"

When every officer of Local 1202 signed a leaflet defending Mendlowitz and standing by the call, the company demanded *they* make a retraction. Secretary-Treasurer Viola Patterson told *WV* that the officers stuck to their guns and said "No." Now the company is preparing to discipline them.

Greyhound, where the ATU contract expires this year, is owned by Frank Currey, a Frank Lorenzo-style corporate raider and union-buster. Currey broke a militant Greyhound strike five years ago. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats refused to call out the rest of labor, and in Detroit the UAW sent mechanics across the ATU picket lines. Instead of industrial action, which would put them on the hot spot, the labor officialdom was pushing the same kind of useless consumer boycott that killed the PATCO strike. They had plenty of help from the reformist left, who covered for the AFL-CIO traitors and even endorsed the massive sellout which ended the strike.

For their principled stand, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1202 deserves solid backing, *in action*, from the rest of the ATU, particularly Greyhound locals, and from New York-area transit workers. When the Machinists threatened to picket rail unions in the Northeast Corridor, thousands of workers were ready to walk. That's the kind of *real* solidarity that's needed *now* to aid the Eastern strikers and defend Harold Mendlowitz and Local 1202. Picket lines mean don't cross!

IAM, ALPA—Bring Out Ground Crews and Pilots—Win Back Your Unions!

Continental Flight Attendants Strike Against Lorenzo

As the Eastern Airlines strike entered its third week, unionized flight attendants went out on a four-day walkout against Frank Lorenzo's other airline, Continental. On March 20 they joined striking Eastern mechanics, pilots and flight attendants on picket lines at airports around the country. A statement by the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) pilots at Newark applauded the "gallant action" by the Continental flight attendants. One Eastern flight attendant said she was walking the lines in solidarity because "They showed us our future and we didn't like it. So we're out here to support them today."

In 1983, Lorenzo put Continental into bankruptcy in order to tear up union contracts and rehire pilots and mechanics at half their previous wages. He broke ALPA and the IAM (International Association of Machinists), but the small Union of Flight Attendants (UFA) managed to keep a toehold at Continental. Now in the midst of the major labor battle which opened March 3 when 9,300 IAM members struck against Eastern Airlines, the UFA walkout was an opportunity to *spread the strike* to other airlines. As we have insisted from the beginning, *shutting down the airports* with solid strike action is key to victory.

UFA spokesmen told *WV* there was much passive support for the walkout among the mechanics and pilots. Indeed, Continental pilots who answered an ALPA survey a few months ago overwhelmingly said they wanted a union. The flight attendants strike could have been used to reforge the unions at Continental through hard class struggle. But ALPA and the IAM made no serious attempt to bring out the cockpit and ground crews with militant labor action. And because they threw away this opportunity, the flight attendants' walkout was scuttled. Now Lorenzo's management says the several hundred strikers have been permanently replaced.

"We have our own battle with Frank Lorenzo," said one picketer. "Try to live in New York on our salary. A lot of flight attendants have to eat on the airplanes to survive, the food that is left over from the passengers." He noted that Continental just started giving crew meals in January. "It's kind of embarrassing when a full-time employee has to go out and get food stamps, because he makes so little." Some are living eleven to a hotel room, while others are actually homeless, living out of suitcases in Newark.

WV Photo

Newark airport, March 23. Continental flight attendants courageously strike against Lorenzo.

The Continental flight attendants have been working without a contract since Lorenzo's 1983 union-busting assault. A UFA leaflet says that they "work twice the number of hours than all other Flight Attendant groups for 60 percent less in compensation." In particular, while on other lines flight attendants get "pay rigs" for some of their non-flight time, at Continental they get zero. Also there is no extra pay for working on holidays, with short crews, on wide-body aircraft, for deadhead time, you name it.

Historically, the airlines have tried to recruit young women just out of school for the "glamorous" job. Many don't realize they'll be working long hours hoofing it up and down the aisles, dealing with screaming babies and irate adults blaming them for the company's delays. Flight attendants used to have to retire at 35, couldn't marry or have children. So unionization meant a tremendous social advance in addition to dollars and cents, winning some rights for these working women, forcing the company to stop treating stewardesses like "little girls," and allow them to have a family life. Moreover, opening up these jobs to men has greatly undercut company paternalism.

But the airlines are hell-bent on rolling back these social gains. Speaking to Eastern flight attendants in Miami last month on the eve of the strike, a UFA spokesman said that when one woman told Lorenzo she couldn't make mortgage payments on her Continental pay, he replied: "Flight attendants shouldn't own homes." At a Columbia University rally to support airline strikers last week, TWU spokesman Carmen Gonzalez told how a flight attendant was raped and beaten on her way to work, but when she called from the hospital to say she couldn't come in, Lorenzo's hatchet men at Eastern said it was "not a good enough reason to miss work"!

On the picket lines, flight attendants told *WV* that one of their special concerns was that the hazards of heavy flying schedules could contribute to reproductive problems. Incidents of miscarriage, premature babies and children with congenital defects have been reported. The unions are cooperating in a study based on medical histories of 28,500 flight attendants from five airlines. The initiators of the study are retired pilot Andy Yates and Dr. Wesley Bare, head of Ob/Gyn at Methodist Hospital in Philadelphia. Yates told *WV* that anomalous conditions in flight include reduced atmospheric pressure, higher ozone levels and the effects of ionizing radiation, particularly in flights over the polar routes.

Flight attendants are not just flying waiters and waitresses. Their unions have been in the forefront of the fight for airline safety. And many have acted heroically in saving lives. The cabin crew prevented panic on United Flight 811 over Hawaii recently, when a hole ripped open, sucking out several passengers to a horrible death; flight attendants stopped an Eastern plane from taking off with ice on its wings from Denver in December 1987; a TWA purser refused terrorists' demands to single out Jewish passengers when the plane was hijacked in Beirut.

Flight attendants do not have the industrial clout of the mechanics or pilots. But despite tremendous odds, these gutsy workers have fought hard and won important gains. Their biggest problem has been the lack of solidarity, such as during the TWA flight attendants strike in '86, when ALPA and the IAM crossed the picket lines. Flight attendants are also separated into different unions for each airline (IFFA, UFA, TWU, APFA, etc.). As the weakest group among airline workers, they have the most to gain from a solid strike of *all* airlines leading to one big union in the sky. ■

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named *Militant* (24 March) complains "Court injunctions are blocking them from extending picket lines" but never calls on the IAM and the rest of labor to defy the bosses' slave-labor laws. Who needs these "socialist" water boys for Winpisinger, the union hero of the Democratic Socialists of America? Certainly not workers at Eastern, who are locked in the battle of their lives. They need a genuinely revolutionary party that tells the *truth*.

It has been "progressive" labor fakers like Winpisinger, as much as the reactionary Cold Warriors like Kirkland, who have been the most effective allies of the *bipartisan* war on labor and minorities. The decade of Reagan reaction to "roll back Communism" and roll back unionism was ushered in by Democrat Jimmy Carter. And when Reagan smashed the air controllers union, the labor lieutenants of capital at AFL-CIO headquarters kept airport workers on the job, telling them to wait for the next election. The Eastern strike is the chance to avenge PATCO and open the road to taking back the givebacks.

Corporate raiders and junk bond con artists like Lorenzo and Icahn are looting the airlines. In this epoch of decaying capitalism they don't build industry but *destroy* it wholesale. Their orgy of "free competition" has smashed unions, put airfares through the ceiling and sent safety to hell. Twenty-year-old planes are literally falling apart in the air, years after they should have been pulled out of service. If ever there was an argument for a socialist planned economy, the international airline industry is it. But to win that you need a revolutionary party which can lead the working class to power, taking back the wealth we created from the hands of capitalist vultures like Lorenzo. ■

WV Photo

NYC's La Guardia Airport, March 18: 1,500-strong support rally for Eastern strikers. Mobilize mass labor action to shut down the airports!

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

Spartacist League links our call for "free abortion on demand" to the fight for jobs, decent living conditions, free quality health care, and democratic rights for all, as an integral part of our socialist, working-class program for women's liberation.

The blockaders can be stopped. One got a taste of this in Los Angeles on Easter weekend as hundreds of pro-abortion demonstrators faced off against the "god squads" which had threatened to descend on L.A. to wage "holy war on Holy Week." Operation Rescue boasted it would bring out 10,000, but less than a thousand showed up. Already on Thursday and Friday, pro-abortion activists managed to beat the bigots to the clinics, using spotters in cars with cellular phones to track the caravans of "right to lifers." But once there, the main leadership of the pro-choice groups waited for the cops, who either refused to make arrests or slowly removed clinic blockaders one by one, so clients couldn't get in for hours. At a women's health facility in Cypress the leaders led segments of the crowd in cheering "hip, hip, hooray" for the cops!

After two days of this stand-off, on Saturday, March 26 over 800 abortion rights defenders turned out in driving rain to confront the rightist fanatics outside the Family Planning Associates' clinic in downtown L.A. The *Los Angeles Times* (26 March) reported, "Pro-choice activists at least matched the number of anti-abortion demonstrators and displayed a keen sense of organization that may have caught Operation Rescue off guard.... Scores of pro-choice people were lined up at the clinic awaiting their enemy when the anti-abortion caravan arrived from Anaheim at 7 a.m." At the parking lot entrance, a hundred or so clinic defenders organized a human wall, managing to keep some of the bigots from getting through the gate to the clinic entrance. Spartacist signs there said "Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights," and our chant "Free Abortion on Demand!" was quickly picked up by the crowd. But while some of the crowd broke out of the liberal restraints, the leadership still looked to the cops to clear the blockaders.

While the "right to life" bigots would drive women back to die by the coat hanger and back-alley abortion, what's needed is to mobilize the social power of the working class and all the oppressed to defend women's rights and their very lives. For April 9, a number of unions are mobilizing contingents to march in Washington, among them AFSCME DC 37, the ILGWU, ACTWU, UE and the Steelworkers. There is also a contingent from the Communications Workers; CWA members include workers at the Planned Parenthood Margaret Sanger clinic in NYC who were kept out of their workplace this winter by "Operation Rescue" blockades. Thousands of unionists marching April 9 is a token of the kind of muscle that should be mobilized to defend the clinics under siege. Like the recent labor/black mobilizations against the fascists in Philadelphia and Atlanta, mass mobilizations can stop these fascistic zealots cold and put an end to their terrorization of women at the abortion clinics.

For April 9, the National Organization for Women is appealing to the reactionary Court, and calling on people to lobby "their" Congressmen in the capitalist parties. This march will be the first big pro-Democratic Party popular-front mobilization against the Bush administration. But as a Spartacus Youth Club spokesman put it at a February 15 demonstration for abortion rights at Cornell University, "To fight, you have to know who your friends and your enemies are. Too many people see the Democrats as defenders of abortion. It was under the Carter administration that Medicaid funding for abortion was cut off. In Dukakis' Massachusetts, parental consent is required for teenagers to get abortions."

Every right that women have has been won not by lobbying but through social struggle, from the vote to abortion to unionization. The last 50 years have seen changes in women's lives: participation in industry during World War II, the opening of more professional jobs to college-educated women in the 1970s, the amelioration of household drudgery through technology (washing machines, dishwashers, microwave ovens, Pampers). Yet after WW II, "Rosie the Riveter" was forced back into the home; union gains like abolition of homework are overturned, and hundreds of thousands of minority women labor at jobs below minimum wage. And now millions may be thrown off welfare with no means of subsistence at all. Even medical advances are affected: in the '60s, it seemed that "the pill" would finally provide cheap and accessible birth control; today a major scientific breakthrough, the "French abortion pill" (RU486), enabling women to safely and privately stop an unwanted pregnancy, is kept off the market in fear of "right to life" intimidation.

Under capitalism such rights and social advances are *reversible*, and many are being reversed. After decades, the ERA—a simple statement of juridical equality for women—still can't be passed. And now the legal right to abortion could go. If abortion is made illegal, the wives and daughters of the rich will still have them as they always did, in their plush privacy with every consideration. It's the poor, working-class and minority women whose lives will be devastated. The fight for full equality of women is part of a broader social struggle. The "right to life" woman-haters grease the hangman's noose for hundreds of black men on death row, and hail AIDS as god's scourge on homosexuals. Behind the bedroom bigots stands a section of the ruling class which is concerned to reinforce the family, the traditional conservatizing force which has played a key role in the "stabilization" of all class societies.

Women will only achieve lasting gains and move toward genuine emancipation through socialist revolution. For the first time, unemployment and poverty can be eliminated, free abortion on demand will be part of a full program of socialized medicine, free quality 24-hour childcare and the socialization of housework will allow women to fully participate in social and political life. The fight for women's liberation is international, including a war to the death in Afghanistan to free women from the veil, bride price, *purdah* (forced seclusion), and for the right to read. It is a fight for all the oppressed. As we wrote in *Women and Revolution*, the journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League:

> "The millions of blacks and women in the ranks of the American proletariat will play a key role in awakening the workers' enormous social power. The struggle for women's emancipation is inseparable from the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and oppression.... Under the leadership of a multiracial vanguard party, the workers and oppressed of this country must take power, establishing a workers government which would open the way for a new, socialist society where production would be for the needs of all, not profit for a few."
>
> —"Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!" *W&R* No. 36, Spring 1989■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 12)

commander admitted that "the Jalalabad assault had been planned and directed by the Pakistani military." Reports from both sides of the battle lines told of the participation of 500-600 Pakistani "advisers" in the fighting. Even the *shura* which formed the rebels' exile government was openly stage-managed by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Now the U.S. State Department is considering sending a "special envoy" to this so-called government, first and foremost to directly control its stalled military drive against the regime in Kabul.

The *mujahedin* and their U.S./Pakistani controllers expected Jalalabad's defenses to wither and capitulate in the face of their assault on the city. But the barbarity of these religious fanatics has demonstrated the futility of surrender—*it's a fight to the death!* Moreover, the population of Nangarhar province, and particularly Jalalabad, has significantly benefited from even the minimal reforms the government has instituted—freedom for women from the veil and *purdah* (enforced seclusion), education for both sexes, limited land reform—and detests the guerrillas who want to drown these gains in blood.

Only after the offensive bogged down did the imperialist press admit: "Among the younger generation of city-bred Afghans, some of the measures favored by the fundamentalist guerrilla groups, such as a ban on women attending schools and colleges and a requirement that they wear the head-to-toe shrouds known as *burkas*, would be bitterly resented" (*New York Times*, 12 March). Two weeks after the expected walkover in Jalalabad failed to materialize, one Washington official commented, "They picked the toughest nut to crack. There are more pro-PDPA people in Jalalabad than anyplace except Kabul" (*Chicago Tribune*, 22 March).

New Times

Funeral march in Jalalabad for victims of mujahedin terror.

Workers Hammer

Spartacist demonstration in London, January 1980. SL said: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"

Najibullah's Staying Power

During the first week of heavy fighting in Jalalabad, a convoy of 1,500 trucks loaded with food and other urgently needed supplies arrived in Kabul after traveling the perilous Salang Highway from the Soviet Union. These two events—the defense of Jalalabad and the successful resupply of the capital through hundreds of miles of rebel-infested territory—show that Najibullah's government has a lot more staying power than its opponents have credited it with.

The PDPA regime is defended by an 85,000-strong army, a well-trained air force of 25,000, a 50,000-strong police force, 30,000 in the Khad (secret police), a 300,000-member militia and 30,000 armed PDPA members. Said one Afghan soldier in Kabul, "Let them come down from the mountains and we will teach them a good lesson." Additionally, in Kabul the government has armed every able-bodied citizen over 14 years old—hardly a sign of alienation from the civilian population!

The government has a substantial base of support in the cities. But Afghanistan is an overwhelmingly peasant country weighed down by centuries of tribal tradition and Muslim obscurantism. When it came to power in a military coup in April 1978, the PDPA declared a series of bourgeois-democratic reforms which ignited a rural firestorm, whipped up by the landlords, tribal khans and mullahs. The regime was on the verge of collapsing when the Red Army entered the country in December 1979.

Only the Red Army's presence made it possible to implement even the mild reforms proposed by the PDPA. Initially intended by Brezhnev as a limited move to defend the USSR's southern flank by propping up a weak ally, Soviet intervention posed the possibility of extending the social gains of the Russian Revolution to Afghanistan.

In the years since Gorbachev decided to get the Soviet troops out of Afghanistan at any cost, the overall drift of the Afghan government has been to the right. Under Najibullah the PDPA has put out a call for all "good Islamics" to join it in a government of "national reconciliation." Land reform has been curtailed, "democratic" was removed from

Racist Murder in Jersey City Jail

JERSEY CITY—The grisly killing of Arnaldo Ortega, a 27-year-old Puerto Rican man beaten to death by a gang of white prison guards known as the "Doom Squad" in the Hudson County Jail on March 9, has led to angry protests here. TV viewers in the metropolitan area were shocked by photographs taken in the hospital, showing Ortega, manacled, with huge welts on his back. Ortega's brother, Angel, stated at a March 13 press conference that Arnaldo's jaw was broken, that he had an open wound on one leg and that his toes and feet were blackened from the beating.

Ortega was serving a 60-day sentence and was due to be released on March 30. On March 8 he called his mother and told her he wasn't being given his medicine for severe head pain and that he couldn't hear, eat or sleep. The next night Ortega fainted in his cell. Fellow prisoners called for help and, according to eyewitnesses, when the guards arrived they began beating Ortega. One snarled, "We're going to give you the medicine you've been asking for" (*Jersey Journal*, 15 March). He was then taken to the prison basement.

Inmates in a nearby cell witnessed four cops throw Ortega, screaming, into a holding cell. Prisoners told the Ortega family's attorney that the beating lasted for more than 20 minutes. Ortega was then dumped into another holding cell vomiting and urinating on himself. At one point a prisoner heard a guard say, "that goddamned Puerto Rican ain't dead yet?" For 16 hours, Ortega lay there without medical attention. A nurse finally determined he should be hospitalized, and he was eventually taken, comatose, to intensive care at University Hospital in Newark. He died at 9:22 a.m. on March 11.

El Diario-La Prensa

WV Photo

Arnaldo Ortega (near left, with friend) was brutally beaten and left to die by racist prison guards at New Jersey's hellhole Hudson County jail.

On March 15, three prison guards were charged with Ortega's murder. No doubt county authorities hope to blame the killing on a few "rogue" cops but this is a lie. The brutal beating of prisoners is standard operating procedure in every jailhouse in America. One of the cops who killed Ortega is the prison's deputy warden. And the killing has now opened a floodgate of reports from inmates, past and present, and a former guard, of routine assaults by the all-white "Doom Squad," also known as the "A-Team." One of their procedures is known as "sandbagging" in which a shotgun is loaded with packets of sand, which are fired at prisoners, causing excruciating pain but leaving no marks. During a March 15 protest outside the jail, prisoners managed to toss out to demonstrators a statement signed by 72 inmates citing widespread abuses, including abuse of pregnant women.

Arnaldo Ortega's mother, Magdalena Negro, is a community activist who had been chosen to serve as president of the Jersey City Puerto Rican Day parade in August. She has announced a $10 million wrongful death lawsuit against Hudson County and the individuals responsible for her son's death. She should get every penny. Some are calling for a police community review board. But such powerless bodies won't stop the killer cops. The jailhouse execution of Arnaldo Ortega is part of an all-sided capitalist offensive against minorities and the poor. It's the bloody reality of life—and death—in the prison hellholes of George Bush's "kinder, gentler" America.

Racist killings by cops have been on the rise in New Jersey. In January, the death of a young black man, Tony Jackson, arrested by Morristown police for an outstanding traffic ticket, touched off six straight days of protest marches by the black community against racist police brutality. And last June, 2,000 Hispanic and black residents of Perth Amboy took to the streets protesting the cop murder of a Mexican immigrant, Carmen Corea. As new waves of immigrants move into the aging industrial cities in northern New Jersey, the cops act as an occupation army riding roughshod over a population without legal rights.

The Ortega and Corea murders partly reflect a racist backlash against the great influx of Hispanics over the last decade in the New York metropolitan area, particularly in small towns and cities. This has sparked a sinister "English only" movement in Long Island and increasing violence by racist skinheads in New York and New Jersey.

Similarly the wave of Indian immigration to northern Jersey in the past ten years has met vicious racist reaction. Coinciding with the Ortega murder, four Hispanic youths are on trial in Jersey City charged with murder in the case of the 30-year-old banker, Navrose Mody, who was beaten to death by a gang of teenagers outside a bar in Hoboken in September 1987. Mody was attacked only weeks after the publication in the *Jersey Journal* of a letter signed by the racist "Dotbusters" (a reference to the dot, the *bindi*, worn by many Hindu women on their foreheads), threatening to drive Indians out of Jersey City.

Typically, the new immigrant groups are kept bottled up in separate communities and victimized by the cops and the entire apparatus of the racist bourgeois state. What's urgently needed is a united working-class fight against racist attack. A revolutionary party is needed to champion the cause of all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution. As for the killers of Arnaldo Ortega—no "protective custody" for them. They should be thrown into the general prison population in the Hudson County Jail and let justice be done. ■

Don McCoy photos

Hudson County killer jail guards: (left to right) Thomas Murphy, David Dumas and Deputy Warden Raymond Murray.

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the name of the Afghan republic, and female education has been made "voluntary" (i.e., subject to paternal approval). The Soviet pullout will mean the further attenuation of the PDPA's earlier social reforms.

Afghanistan and Cold War II

When the Red Army intervened in Afghanistan in 1979 socialists all over the globe should have had no trouble choosing sides in the civil war. On one side were the armed forces of a workers state which, despite its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinist rule, embodied the historic proletarian conquests of nationalized industry and planned economy. On the other side were the forces of medieval theocracy and feudal oppression fighting to defend landlord rule, bride price and illiteracy. The international Spartacist tendency greeted the Soviet intervention, proclaiming "Hail Red Army!" We noted that the Soviet entry into the civil war opened the road to the liberation of the Afghan peoples, and warned that a withdrawal by the Moscow Stalinists would be a heinous betrayal.

But when Democratic U.S. president Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II in response to the Soviet action, fake-leftists everywhere fell into line behind their "own" imperialist ruling classes. Such reformists spent nine years clamoring for the Soviets to pull out and let the bloodthirsty mullahs take over in the name of "self-determination." Well, they got the withdrawal they asked for. Now they find themselves in bed with the likes of Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, whose fundamentalist thugs used to spray acid in the faces and shoot the legs of emancipated women at Kabul University who refused to wear the smothering *chadori*. A takeover by the Afghan *mujahedin* would be far bloodier than the victory of the reactionary Khomeini in Iran, who was also supported by all manner of pseudo-socialists.

The main responsibility for conciliating barbaric mullahs, khans and landlords in Afghanistan lies not with the besieged left-nationalist regime in Kabul but with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow. Despite the sacrifices of the Soviet soldiers carrying out their internationalist duty, the Kremlin bureaucracy *never* fought for a decisive military victory. Still less did they seek to carry out a liberating social revolution such as was brought to Soviet Central Asia at gunpoint in the 1920s and '30s. The Kremlin tops kept open the option of withdrawing from Afghanistan to secure "improved relations" with Western imperialism. And now Gorbachev has done exactly that.

In withdrawing from Afghanistan the Moscow Stalinists have betrayed not only the Afghan masses, but the Soviet peoples themselves. Gorbachev's pullout will inevitably invite intensified imperialist machinations on the USSR's southern border, whether or not Najibullah's government survives. Defense of the USSR requires a workers political revolution to restore a Leninist-internationalist leadership of the Soviet state, and a fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist and backward capitalist countries. Such a program of world revolution can only be successful under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a party which unconditionally defends the homeland of the October Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. This is the party which the international Spartacist tendency is working to build. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Afghanistan: Smash CIA's Cutthroats!

Mujahedin Drive Stopped at Jalalabad

Curran/AFP

Kabul, February 5: supporters of radical-nationalist Afghan government steel for battle against CIA's holy warriors.

Today, the front line of Washington's imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union is the battle for Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan. On March 5, up to 15,000 feudalist fundamentalist guerrillas (*mujahedin*) launched a furious assault on this strategic provincial capital. They were armed to the teeth by the U.S. and militarily directed by the CIA and its Pakistani junior partners. On the heels of the shameful Soviet troop withdrawal completed in mid-February, the imperialists are looking for a quick kill to remove the government of Najibullah and his radical-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

In Washington, the goal of Republicans and Democrats alike is a reactionary Islamic "republic" in Kabul that will act as a springboard for counterrevolution against the Soviet Union to the north. The first step was to be a bloodbath in Jalalabad, which Pakistani military planners confidently predicted would fall after only two days of fighting. But for three weeks the onslaught has been heroically repulsed by Afghan army troops, backed by civilians who detest the mullah-led *mujahedin* as forces of feudal oppression, illiteracy and female enslavement. Jalalabad must not fall to the CIA's mullah cutthroats!

Jalalabad is a key test of strength in the battle for Afghanistan. Situated midway between Kabul and rebel exile bases in Pakistan, this is the PDPA government's first real line of defense. The city straddles one of three key highways leading into the capital, and its hydroelectric power plant supplies much of Kabul's electricity. The agricultural produce grown in the surrounding province of Nangarhar has played an important role in feeding the refugee-bloated Afghan capital. The fall of Jalalabad would signal an all-out *mujahedin* offensive against Kabul.

All class-conscious workers, everyone who believes in women's rights and social progress, must defend the Republic of Afghanistan against the U.S.-organized holy warriors. Thus last month, the Partisan Defense Committee had offered in a letter to the Kabul government "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" in defense of social progress in Afghanistan ("PDC: For Internationalist Military Support to Afghan Government," *WV* No. 471, 17 February). The PDC is a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Jalalabad: "The Toughest Nut"

The Islamic reactionaries desperately want to capture Jalalabad to lend credence to their newly proclaimed "free Muslim state." The offensive was delayed for several weeks, however, as Pakistani officials scrambled to corral the seven Peshawar-based guerrilla factions into one room long enough to elect a "government." During eleven years of civil war, these groups—divided by ethnic, tribal and religious differences—have waged an all-sided bloody feud amongst themselves. Finally on February 24 the guerrilla leaders met in a long-awaited *shura* (council)—which was boycotted by eight Shi'ite groups based in Iran. The exile government planned to hold its first cabinet meeting in Jalalabad in early March.

On March 5 the *mujahedin* opened up on the city with an indiscriminate barrage of rockets launched from a dozen or more miles away. The next day the guerrillas attacked, concentrating on an important military post at Samarkhel, six miles southeast of Jalalabad. To the west the guerrillas attempted to cut the road to Kabul, but were driven off. By March 8 Samarkhel had fallen, exposing Jalalabad's airport to direct attack. Hundreds of government troops were captured and trucked off to Pakistan.

The *mujahedin* were confident their U.S.-supplied Stinger ground-to-air missiles would defend the sky above them, but that same day Kabul put its air force into action. Diving from high altitudes to as low as 1,000 feet, the Afghan MIGs avoided the deadly missiles and decimated the guerrilla forces with precision bombings. The *Chicago Tribune* (12 March) reported "entire rebel platoons wiped out by government bombing"; witnesses returning to Pakistan told of counting "2,000 dead along the road."

Stymied and demoralized after one week of fighting, the reactionary "freedom fighters" attempted to soften their target with a massive missile attack. According to a Kabul government spokesman, in one 24-hour period the guerrillas poured *12,000 missiles* into Jalalabad! This time the government responded by hitting rebel positions with potent medium-range Scud-B missiles fired from Kabul, with devastating effect. Meanwhile a concentrated *mujahedin* attack on Jalalabad's airport was stopped cold. According to late reports a rebel column of armored vehicles is attempting to advance on the city from the northeast, while a second front has been opened against Kandahar 300 miles to the southwest.

The so-called Afghan "freedom fighters" are dependent on and to a large extent controlled by the U.S. client state of Pakistan. According to the *Chicago Tribune* (9 March), a *mujahedin*

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no credit

Afghan women in literacy class. Reactionary insurgency was sparked by opposition to female education.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 475 | 14 April 1989

No to the Veil—Defend Afghan Women!

Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA's Cutthroats!

The following call was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 8. The next day, 25,000 copies were distributed at the abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C.

What would happen if the "holy warriors," financed and organized by the U.S., won the war over Afghanistan? Women enslaved to the veil. Schoolteachers shot. "Adulterers" stoned. "Blasphemers" executed. Foreign political refugees murdered. Minor government officials condemned. Just look at Khomeini's Iran! We call urgently on all defenders of women's rights, all partisans of social progress to materially aid the victims of Washington's bloody crusade. Your contribution will send a message of internationalist solidarity to those who are prepared to fight to the death against the CIA's cutthroats.

Right now, the battle is being fought at

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[London] Guardian

Afghan militiawoman proudly holds her Soviet-supplied AK-47.

Perestroika Fuels Economic Chaos and Nationalist Upheaval

Soviet Elections: A Vote for What?

The recent elections to the Congress of People's Deputies have sent shock waves through the Soviet Union and around the world. Prominent Communist officials were defeated, even some who ran unopposed. "Leningrad boss comes last in a one-horse race," quipped one London newspaper. The commander of Soviet forces in East Germany lost to a colonel who campaigned for the abolition of the draft and an all-volunteer army. In Moscow Boris Yeltsin, a former Gorbachev lieutenant turned "populist" demagogue, won a landslide victory—90 percent of the vote—over a local *apparatchik*. Rabid nationalists, many demanding outright secession from the USSR, gained a majority of seats in the Baltic republics.

The Soviet Union has become a seething cauldron of political passions fueled above all by economic discontent and resurgent nationalism. When Gorbachev came to power four years ago, he promised "a significant acceleration in social-economic progress," doubling the output of consumer goods by the year 2000. Now the Soviet leader cannot appear in public without being accosted with bitter complaints about shortages of food and everything else. "Recently, all you hear is perestroika, glasnost," a man wrote from a village in the Urals to the Communist Youth newspaper. "But what has changed? Why is sugar rationed? Why are school uniforms rationed, shoes expensive and wages low?"

TASS from Sovfoto

Elections to Congress of People's Deputies unleashed stormy political passions. Members of the Academy of Sciences demonstrating in Moscow.

The Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—have become hotbeds of anti-Communist and anti-Russian agitation. In the Caucasus, Armenians and Azerbaijanis have been killing one another in a fight to control a remote mountainous region—Nagorno-Karabakh—of around 100,000 inhabitants. Just a few days ago, Moscow sent troops into Georgia trying to quell a territorial conflict between Georgians and a small Turkic minority. In Moscow and Leningrad the nativist Russian fascists of Pamyat are terrorizing Gorbachevite intellectuals and spewing anti-Semitic filth.

Western anti-Communists think that they're seeing their wildest dreams come true. Gorbachev is waving the white flag in the Cold War, surrendering one position after another—withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan, unilaterally cutting military spending on all fronts. Cold War ideologues like Zbigniew Brzezinski are predicting the death of Communism before the 21st century. They foresee the USSR being ripped apart by national conflicts, while Gorbachev introduces more and more capitalistic measures into the economy—profit maximization for enterprises, layoffs of "redundant" workers, increases in the cost of living, the decollectivization of agriculture, the growth of private entrepreneurs.

Certainly the tendencies and forces for capitalist restoration are growing ominously. But there is a lion in the path of capitalist restoration—the Soviet proletariat. Soviet working people are deeply distrustful of Gorbachev's

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

David Herreshoff: As I Remember Dick Fraser

1913-1988

The speeches and messages to the memorial meeting honoring the life and work of veteran American Trotskyist Richard Fraser were printed in *WV* Nos. 469, 470 and 471 (20 January, 3 and 17 February). The following contribution was subsequently received from David Herreshoff, an old comrade of Dick's and author of *The Origins of American Marxism: From the Transcendentalists to De Leon* (Monad Press, 1973) and, soon to be published, *The Theme of Work in American Literature* (Wayne State University Press).

Comrades:

I got news of the Fraser Memorial Meeting too late to send a message. Since then I have read all the appreciations of Dick printed in *Workers Vanguard*. I see the Dick Fraser I knew in them but perhaps I can add a little to what has been said. I have recollections of Dick going back to 1936 when he was twenty-two and I was fourteen. In the Spring of 1936 Dick organized the San Diego Local of the Socialist Party; that was when the American Trotskyists joined the SP but in San Diego they didn't have anything to join; the Workers Party branch simply reconstituted itself as the SP.

I was already a sympathizer of the Tendency (as Dick always called the Trotskyists in those days) when I went to the SP office and met Dick and he asked me to join. I was uncertain whether the Trotskyists were far enough left for me. Why had they entered the Second International, the social-patriots of 1914? So Dick had to argue me out of sympathy for Hugo Oehler's attack on the so-called French Turn. He was a good persuader; he knew how to listen to and consider the opinions of somebody he was trying to convince. I think I learned something about how to recruit people from his approach to me and from watching him working on others. He would give the other person the feeling that he himself was open to persuasion in the face of a better argument than his own. Anyway, I was persuaded and joined and became the youth mascot of the group Dick had assembled. All of them were older than Dick except for Marge and Tony Kerrigan, a teenage couple with Oehlerite inclinations, like me. The other members were people Dick had found in the CP milieu or they were old Wobblies.

I recall an old couple—old to me then, younger then than I am now—named Beulah and Axel Johnson. We used to meet at their place sometimes. Axel was a typical Wobbly, a veteran of the class wars in the Pacific Northwest. He had worked in and struck the Montana copper mines before World War I. From him I learned that the name Wobbly began to be used after a Chinese cook in a logging camp proudly affirmed "I am a member of the I. Wobbly Wobbly." I regret that I was too young and ignorant then to learn everything about the past of the movement that was available for the asking from people like Axel and Beulah. But who had time for the past in 1936? Well, Dick, for one did. That summer he took us through Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* and I learned about Miliukov and the Preobrazhensky Regiment and the analogy between the Kornilov revolt and what Franco was doing in Spain.

What a summer that was! When Dick recruited me the French general strike was on. Then a month later the Spanish Civil War broke out and the Barcelona proletariat rose and saved Catalonia from Franco. Towards summer's end the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial signalled the deepening hell-black night of Stalinism. It was a time of great hopes and fearsome omens. So that we could have our say, Dick began issuing a mimeographed weekly called *The Socialist Worker* which came out until the weekly *Labor Action* began publishing in San Francisco that fall with Cannon as editor. Dick invited Cannon down to San Diego. We hired the Workmen's Circle hall and Jim spoke mostly about the upcoming presidential election and the need for the workers to maintain their political independence from the New Deal. He pointed out that the German Social Democracy had gotten bigger concessions out of Bismarck with a policy of uncompromising opposition than the American union leaders had gotten out of Roosevelt with a policy of coalition. It is an argument I have found useful on many occasions since I first heard it.

Dick was not one of those Trotskyists who was content to analyze world events and debate political adversaries. If a chance to take part in a local class battle was offered, Dick took it. I recall cruising the back roads of San Diego County with Dick through the orchards and fields while a strike was on of Mexican harvest workers. The strikers knew Dick as an ally and we wound up at a meeting where Dick talked to the workers in Spanish. I think he took me along because he wanted to give me a taste for action. The other members of our local organization didn't get involved in that strike; they had their minds on other things. All of them were on WPA or relief. Their arena for mass work was the Workers Alliance. Some of them, since being often determines consciousness, had convinced themselves that the greatest revolutionary potential in Depression America was in the unemployed. Some were influenced by Vehlenite expectations of the automatic collapse of the price system—a view which can incline people to passivity. Dick made the best use he could of the human resources at hand. He valued the stored experiences of the older members while understanding the obstacles to rousing them to action.

Already in 1936 Dick showed his deep interest in what we then called the Negro Question. It was from him that I first heard about the Garvey movement and the idea of a 49th State. His musicianship has been mentioned by others. I can add a little to what has been said about that. When he was in the San Diego WPA Orchestra he was in demand by other musicians to take part in private recreational performances of string quartets, and he told me that it was hard on him to have to turn down invitations to make music for fun when something else was happening like an agricultural strike. Years later it was distressing to hear that he had ruined his hands for violin playing on some industrial job in Seattle. Of Dick's recreational reading, when I first knew him I remember that he found great delight in the Irish writer James Stephens. He told me of his special fondness for *Deirdre*, Stephens' retelling of a tale from the ancient Celtic epics. He said he liked to return to that book once every year and forget about everything else for a couple of days.

The last time I saw Dick was in 1953, a couple of months before the expulsion of the Cochranites from the SWP. Despite the tense internal situation and our being in opposing factions we had a serious and friendly discussion of the issues in dispute. That was a unique experience for me in that faction fight, the only rational discussion I can remember having with a member of the majority faction of the time. On that occasion Dick was still the non-sectarian personality I had met and learned from in 1936, the one who brought to every discussion the results of close study and deep reflection, the one who entered a discussion alert to the possibility that he might learn something new. Since then I have often thought that if I saw him again we could pick up again easily, even decades later, where we left off in 1953. It is a permanent regret of mine that we never did, that we lost touch, and that now it is too late.

I admire the loyalty and responsibility displayed by the Spartacist comrades towards Dick in his later years. I know you will prove reliable custodians of Dick's literary legacy. I am curious to find out what Dick has to say in the manuscript on the Reformation he left you. I speculate that he picks up on and develops Trotsky's suggestion that Calvinism was the Marxism of the seventeenth century, the outlook of a militant, revolutionary class bent on taking power. But whatever he does with the Reformation I'm sure will be worth reading and thinking about.

Again, my appreciation for the care you took of Dick and the honor you showed him. That was well done.

David Herreshoff

TROTSKY

Soviet Power vs. Bourgeois Parliamentarism

LENIN

The Western press has hailed the recent vote in the USSR as the "Freest Election Since '17 Revolution" (New York Times). *They want to erase from history the only instance in which the working people themselves governed, through freely elected soviets, which under Bolshevik leadership took power in the 1917 October Revolution. In his classic polemic against the social democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin exposed the illusory "democracy" of even the most democratic capitalist parliamentary government and counterposed the system of soviet power. Under Stalin the "soviets" were turned into rubber stamps for the parasitic bureaucracy which usurped and betrayed the Bolshevik Revolution, and now Gorbachev is trying to turn them into a pseudo-parliament.*

The Soviet government is the *first* in the world (or strictly speaking, the second, because the Paris Commune began to do the same thing) to *enlist* the people, specifically the *exploited* people, in the work of administration. The working people are *barred* from participation in bourgeois parliaments (they *never decide* important questions under bourgeois democracy, which are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles....

The Soviet form of organisation automatically *helps* to unite all the working and exploited people around their vanguard, the proletariat. The old bourgeois apparatus—the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc. (these real privileges are the more varied the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed)—all this disappears under the Soviet form of organisation. Freedom of the press ceases to be hypocrisy, because the printing-plants and stocks of paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie. The same thing applies to the best buildings, the palaces, the mansions and manor-houses. Soviet power took thousands upon thousands of these best buildings from the exploiters at one stroke, and in this way made the right of assembly—without which democracy is a fraud—*a million times* more democratic for the people.

—V. I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 475 **14 April 1989**

"Hitler's Birthday" in Hayward—A Planned Provocation

Travesty of Anti-Fascist Protest

For Anti-Fascist Unity in Action

OAKLAND, April 11—David Duke's "Populist Party" says it's holding a recruiting meeting in the South Bay Area on Hitler's birthday. The fascist meeting is scheduled for the Hayward Public Library on April 20, and it looks like a carefully planned provocation for a showdown. Internationally, Nazis, violent skinhead psychos and other racists are gearing up to "celebrate" genocide on the 100th anniversary of Hitler's birth. This year, the 20th is also the first day of the Jewish holiday of Passover, and the Hitlerites will be claiming that the Holocaust never happened. Cloaking themselves in rhetoric of "traditional American values" (while singing the Nazis' "Horst Wessel Song") the "Populists" will be railing against immigrants, spewing race-hate against black people, recruiting for their electoral front for lynch mob terror.

AS WE GO TO PRESS: Observers at the April 11 Hayward city council meeting report that the Populist Party may have changed its plans to meet at the public library and instead meet "privately." This allegedly followed a proposal from the mayor that the fascists post several thousand dollars bond for potential damages.

Alameda County Populist Party chairman Bill Hubbell claims he didn't know that April 20th was Hitler's birthday when he scheduled the meeting. If you believe that, maybe you believe in the tooth fairy too. Populist Party founder Willis Carto wrote that "Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And of America." Hubbell claims they're not white-supremacists. But in the '88 presidential elections, the Populist Party candidate was David Duke, the former KKK "Imperial Wizard" who now appears in three-piece suits instead of white sheets. Grotesquely, these fascists have chosen to meet in a library—Hitler propagandist Goebbels proclaimed the Nazis' "new era" in 1933 amid the flames of burning books.

What's needed in Hayward is a mass, militant, democratic and orderly mobilization, based on the power of the integrated labor movement and minorities, of all opponents of fascist terror. The key is anti-fascist unity in action. Yet the "John Brown Anti-Klan Committee" is wrecking this prospect of united anti-fascist action by looking for a bloc...with the police! A leaflet they're distributing tells people to "call the Hayward Public Library...and Mayor Alex Giuliani" (who was a local policeman for 20 years) to "demand this meeting be stopped." Stopped by whom? It is the Hayward cops, backed up by the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, who will be called upon to execute any order to "ban" the fascists from the library.

Bundesarchiv

Adolf Hitler, Nazi führer, murderer of millions.

What the city and the cops should be encouraged to do is keep out of the way as the anti-fascists exercise their democratic protest rights. A powerful demonstration of unionists, minorities, socialists, would drive home that the fascists' recruiting drive is bitterly opposed and resented by thousands. A protest based on the principle of the united front—everyone has the right to bring their own leaflets, placards, a chance to speak from the platform. But instead of common action, the John Brown Committee is splitting anti-fascist unity with its proposal to ban the meeting, driving liberals and civil libertarians into defending the "rights" of the fascists (not that they need much persuading). And once the capitalist state starts banning meetings, who's going to be next?

WV Photos

San Francisco, 19 April 1980: Spartacist-initiated labor-centered mobilization stopped Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday.

Now the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has jumped into the act with their usual violence-mongering *against the anti-fascists*, and claiming the fascists' strength is "exaggerated." The police then pick this up as authoritative "information," and say they're preparing for a violent confrontation on April 20 (Hayward *Daily Review*, 11 April). The ADL is helping set the stage for a brutal cop attack on anti-racist protesters. And the John Brown Committee might consider who are the "friendly" neighborhood racist cops they are calling on. They're the ones who through brutal intimidation have for years kept blacks from living in "whites only" towns. And can these New Leftists have forgotten People's Park, where the Alameda County Sheriff's Department shot down James Rector and hauled off hundreds of protesters to Alameda County's Santa Rita Prison Farm?

The Hayward Library director says her meeting room is open to all groups and there should be no discrimination on the basis of political or religious belief (Hayward *Daily Review*, 7 April). Calling on the authorities to cancel the meeting puts the librarians in the impossible position of either helping the fascists or recreating what the FBI is trying to do with its "lists" of book borrowers. If the government stayed out of it, then the librarians could come out and join the protest rather than being asked to carry out *police* functions as a purported expression of anti-fascist sentiment!

The question of appealing to the state to prevent fascist meetings in public buildings is not new. In California, the issue was fought out back in 1945 when Gerald L.K. Smith, leader of the fascist Silver Shirts, was on tour, speaking at high schools from Los Angeles to Oakland. There was a dispute among radicals at this time over pressuring the schools to refuse the fascists permission. The decisive opinion which emerged was:

> "We are not concerned primarily with whether or not the School Board does or does not grant a permit. What we are primarily concerned with is the fascists holding the meeting....
>
> "The important point is that we would attempt to arouse the working class against the fascists.... What the Board does is their business not ours."
>
> —*Bulletin of the Workers Party*, 22 March 1946

And that's what happened. In Oakland, 3,000 people massed outside Technical High School in a defiant united-front demonstration of unionists, black, Jewish and other minority groups. In Los Angeles, *Labor Action* (12 November 1945) reported that, "'America's No. 1 Fascist' was left reeling on the ropes as 20,000 massed pickets outside and several hundred inside his meeting demonstrated their will to continue this struggle against native fascism to the end."

The program of labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists has been the hallmark of the Spartacist League throughout the Reagan years. The key has been heavy union endorsements and participation. In Philadelphia last November, the united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and widely supported by Philly labor spiked KKK/skinhead plans to rally at Independence Mall. In January, 3,000 workers, black youth and others turned out for the PDC-initiated protest in Atlanta against a KKK march which targeted Martin Luther King Day. And in Chicago on March 3, David Duke's appearance at a Populist Party cabal was met by a united-front protest, demanding "No Hitlers in Chicago!"

No "Hitler's Birthday" in Hayward!

As KKK "Wizard" in 1977, Duke organized a Klan "border patrol" to terrorize Hispanic immigrants. Today his two-bit local henchman Hubbell, an engineer at the Lawrence Livermore nuclear weapons lab, rants about "this country being flooded with people from Mexico and Central America," and calls for sealing the borders. In meetings like the one in Hayward, the Populist Party hopes to capitalize on white racist fear and the nativist anti-immigrant sentiment of the "English Only" movement that swept California. Hubbell rails against "demands by one race for another to subsidize it financially or politically" (Hayward *Daily Review*, 7 April). Clearly he is *not* referring to the 200 years in which the black race "subsidized" the white slaveholders through slave labor.

The Populist Party fascists probably figured on a friendly reception in what was once a lily-white corridor running down the East Bay to San Jose. Historically, Hayward had a reputation as a town of mean, white, racist Southern "Okies." But today the population of Hayward is over one-third minority (7 percent black, 10 percent Asian and 20 percent Hispanic in 1980). It's about halfway between Oakland, with its large black population, and Fremont, with its 2,000-strong UAW local at NUMMI auto. Teamsters, cannery workers, warehousemen, bus drivers, BART workers are part of a powerful integrated labor movement in the East and South Bay. Here lies the power to stop the fascists through a united mobilization of all opponents of racist terror.

The growth of unions and minority populations in southern Alameda County is a recent phenomenon. Blacks first came to the Bay Area in large numbers during World War II when the labor shortage opened jobs in the shipyards to women and blacks. Fleeing the Klan-ridden, non-union South, black workers found unionized jobs, settling mainly in Richmond and northern Alameda County (Berkeley and Oakland). Crossing 110th Street from Oakland into San Leandro was, and still is, like going back across the Mason-Dixon line. Black workers who tried to move into San Leandro in the '70s were

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Outraged black and white longshoremen march through Savannah, March 29, after union picket was run over by a scab operator. Steve Bisson Photos

Savannah ILA Fights Scab Operator

ATLANTA—Over 1,000 angry members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and other unionists chanting "ILA, all the way!" marched through the streets of Savannah, Georgia on March 29. It was the largest union demonstration in the history of this port city. Black and white workers and their families turned out after a longshoreman picketing a non-union stevedoring operation was run over by a tractor-trailer driver taking scab cargo out of the port. The ILA march on city hall was joined by Boilermakers, Paperworkers, seamen, building tradesmen and Machinists striking against Eastern Airlines.

The scab outfit, Carolina Atlantic Transportation Services (CATS), is trying to extend its Wilmington, North Carolina-to-Puerto Rico barge service into Savannah. It is the first time ever that a non-union outfit has tried to muscle into the docks run by the state of Georgia—and longshoremen are determined to shut CATS down. On March 24 in Wilmington, 40 ILA members picketing CATS tangled with sheriff's deputies, police, narcotics agents and North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation agents.

Three days later in Savannah, when word spread of the arrival of the first scab barge, the *Tide Mar*, 200 longshoremen turned out at the port's Ocean Terminal at 1 a.m. Later that morning, after the scab barge and towboat were escorted into port by the Coast Guard, the 18-wheeler with scab cargo accelerated out of the gate and ran down Bernard Cook, a second-generation member of ILA Local 1414. Cook was knocked unconscious and taken to the hospital, heavily bruised. The picket line exploded in anger, and the scab trucker was chased and caught 63 miles away in South Carolina by Local 1414 business manager Bob Eason.

The introduction of non-union stevedores by the Georgia Port Authority is an open challenge to the ILA and all unions in this "right to work" state. But it is not just a localized attack: in Houston, Baltimore and Jacksonville, Florida, the ILA is under attack from scab stevedoring operations and port authorities demanding givebacks on key work rules. And New York ILA tugboat men have been hung out to dry in a 14-month-old strike against a 40-60 percent wage cut.

The fight in Savannah comes as the negotiations with the bosses begin on the ILA contract which expires this fall. In 1986, the longshore strike was quickly scuttled by the ILA tops, who had earlier imposed a union-busting two-tier wage scale on the South Atlantic and Gulf ports. During the strike, our *WV* supplement "From PATCO to Hormel—Too Much, Let's Win This One!" was snapped up by hundreds of thousands of unionists and blacks who hoped the strike would crack Reagan reaction.

In the racist, open shop South, if the heavily black ILA is driven back, blacks and all working people will take it on the chin. The ILA in the South represents a beacon of *black labor power*—it has the muscle to lead the fight for black freedom through hard class struggle and the building of a fighting workers party. In Norfolk, Virginia the ILA mobilized heavily in defense of school busing. The Savannah ILA could likewise play a key role in the ongoing battle over integration of Chatham County schools.

To defend their union, longshoremen must play hardball. Bowing to the injunctions and pleading with the Democrats—black or white—will not keep Savannah a union port. Don't let the maritime bosses whipsaw local against local—For a single contract at the highest rates! The ILA must shut down the scab CATS operation with mass pickets that *nobody* crosses! For a port-wide shutdown—Savannah must remain all union! ■

New York Transit: Death on the Tracks

We reprint below a leaflet published on April 3 by the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition in Transport Workers Union Local 100.

Two of our union brothers were killed last week by a system that substitutes workers' blood for capital investment. Stewart Melsinker had one year left to make his pension. David Davis had a year and a half in the TA [Transit Authority] and made telephone maintainer from signal helper a month ago—he hoped he could get away from the third rail. They died on the curved tracks at Astor Place station. The train that struck and hurled their bodies had been in service more than 25 years. Melsinker and Davis had followed procedure and called Brooklyn Bridge, but the TA can't be bothered to inform train operators that there are men on the tracks. The motorman who threw his train into emergency as soon as he saw Melsinker and Davis was taken to the hospital in a state of shock, but all the TA cared about was ordering this union brother to piss in the cup to test for drugs and a scapegoat.

The TA spends millions on technology and beakies to spy on us, but they won't spend a dime on saving workers' lives! Melsinker and Davis are *victims of a deliberate policy*. It could have been any one of us!

[TA bosses] Kiley and Gunn and their Democratic Party bosses Cuomo and Koch have made the New York City transit system a deathtrap for workers and riders. The TA uses safety rules to hang us, like they did in 1980 with Jesse Cole who was bleeding to death in his crumpled cab while management held a press conference on the sidewalk above. They blame the dead for not following safety procedures and hound the living if they try to. The day after Melsinker and Davis were killed, management forced angry signal workers in Brooklyn onto the treacherous structures in the rain: the TA said it wasn't raining, only "misting."

The whole system is rotting but the only maintenance the TA moves on is cosmetic repairs. Collisions and near misses are business as usual because signals don't work. The signal failure that caused the No. 1 to ram revenue cars on the Broadway line at 103rd Street March 3, injuring 45 riders and workers, was a direct result of a year's backlog of repairs in signal. The wiring on the subway's antiquated signals is one big patch job, but the TA has cut the number of workers in the department by 25 percent since 1987. On the structures throughout the system the boards are rotten. In the shops and barns every step could be deadly with live 600 [volts] snaking through open bugs and jumpers. Every breath is drawn from clouds of poisonous fumes and steel dust.

Manning scales have been cut through attrition and forced overtime. Motormen and conductors and bus drivers spend up to eight hours straight in a cab or behind the wheel. Jim Dwyer laid it out in *Newsday*: in 1988 train operators, conductors and tower operators logged 94 percent more OT than in 1986, while jobs were cut more than 6 percent. In a third of serious accidents, the worker hanged by the TA had put in more hours or had less rest between shifts than would be permitted on almost any other railroad in the country. The TA slashes jobs so it can pour millions into debt service on the bonds it has floated.

While the New York TA rattletrap system is falling apart, planes are dropping out of the sky, and the profit-hungry airline bosses push air traffic controllers and machinists far beyond human endurance to perform their precise work. American transportation is disintegrating along with the entire capitalist system. This is what the Eastern Airlines machinists have taken on in their strike which is a fight for *all of labor*. Our place is alongside them on mass picket lines, but when we raised a motion at the March UMD [United Motormen's Division] meeting calling on the union to shut down the Train to the Plane and the bus links to the airports, we were ruled out of order. [TWU Local 100 president] Sonny Hall's idea of solidarity is coffee and donuts for the pickets!

Meanwhile token booth clerks are burned alive and blamed by management for not using "automatic" fire extinguishers that don't work. Rip out the turnstiles! Turn the token booths into information booths—that'll make them "fireproof."

All this takes place in the name of "productivity" and there's a vicious racist component to it too. The more blacks, Hispanics and foreign-born workers replace retiring white workers, the more hooby traps the TA sets and the lower wages go. New hires are routinely told to walk the tracks their first day in service and they're lucky if they ever make it to flagging school. Training has gone to hell because as far as the capitalists are concerned, transit workers are expendable. Before setting foot on the job, every worker should have union-run training—at full pay!

Workers must have the power to say what's safe and to stop work when it isn't—our lives depend on it. But the Local 100 leadership bows to the no-strike Taylor Law and it is killing us. Sonny Hall says: "Do It and Grieve It

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Afghanistan and the Left

Shone/Gamma-Liaison

The Russian Question Pointblank

As the last Soviet troops pulled out of Afghanistan in mid-February, at the American Club in Peshawar, Pakistan, the "capital" of the CIA's holy warriors, there were celebrations featuring a toothless dancing bear and a betting pool on when Kabul would fall. But after six weeks of brutal siege by Afghan reactionaries together with Pakistani and Saudi forces, the heroic defenders of Jalalabad continue to hold fast. The London *Guardian* (10 April) quoted one *mujahedin* spokesman describing the attack as a "disaster," while another "deeply fears that the victory which seemed so imminent just a few weeks ago is dissolving in the chaos of Jalalabad."

As we have said, the battle for Afghanistan is a life-or-death struggle: "Country or Coffin" is the war cry of the government soldiers in Jalalabad. On February 7, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote to representatives of the Afghan government with an "urgent offer to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" in defense of elementary social progress which would be drowned in blood by a mullah victory (see *WV* No. 471, 17 February). And on April 8, the PDC issued a call on "all defenders of women's rights, all partisans of social progress to materially aid the victims of Washington's bloody crusade" (see front page).

When Soviet troops went into Afghanistan, the battle lines were sharply drawn. On one side stood the Soviet Union and the beleaguered radical-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime. They faced an imperialist-backed onslaught by counterrevolutionary landlords, mullahs and fundamentalist fanatics fighting for serfdom, the veil, bride price, enslavement of women and mass illiteracy. The Red Army intervention opened the possibility of social liberation in this deeply backward country, as well as defending the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist encroachment on its southern flank.

The "Russian question" was posed pointblank. Swept away by the winds of Cold War, most of the left—including those who had previously enthused over the PDPA's "April Revolution" in 1978—openly echoed Carter/Reagan's ultimatum that the Soviets get out. But the international Spartacist tendency proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called for extending the social gains of the October Revolution. We warned that if the Kremlin ordered a withdrawal, it would be a betrayal not only of the Afghan peoples but of defense of the Soviet Union. Today, we bitterly condemn Gorbachev's pullout and we continue to call for military victory to the Kabul regime in its war against the U.S.-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats.

Today, anti-Soviet "socialists" like Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, whose American cothinkers are the International Socialist Organization, salivate in anticipation: "The Mojahedin victory will encourage the opponents of Russian rule everywhere in the USSR and Eastern Europe" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 February). As always, this "third camp" sounds a hell of a lot like a communiqué from the CIA. In crowing over "Russia's Victnam," Cliff tries to hide the fact that the U.S. was driven out of Indochina by a *victorious social revolution*, while Gorbachev abandons Afghanistan in order to placate U.S. imperialism. But what does Cliff care, since he foresees an Islamic state in Afghanistan that "would be both staunchly anti-imperialist and somewhere to the right of Khomeini's Iran" (which the SWP has supported for years).

For some fake-Trotskyists, Afghanistan greased their slide into explicit "third campism." Significant sections of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat openly denounced the Soviet Union as "state capitalist" after taking a cue from British USec leader Tariq Ali, who demanded "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" in 1980. (Ali subsequently split to become an unofficial promoter of Pakistan premier Benazir Bhutto. The Mandelites subsequently took up his "troops out" line.) Centrist Sean Matgamna went from denouncing the Soviet intervention to liquidating into the Labour Party. Recently, having discarded even vestigial lip service to defense of the Soviet Union, Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (2 February) grotesquely amnesties *mujahedin* atrocities in advance, claiming "the Islamic militants are spurred on by an understandable thirst for revenge"!

Workers Power: The Quest for the "Third Road"

There were a few, partial exceptions to this spectrum of capitulation. The pliable pro-Moscow Stalinists supported Soviet intervention in 1979, and now equally support Moscow's withdrawal leaving the embattled women and leftists of Afghanistan in the lurch. More contradictory are the Workers Power and *Leninist* groupings in Britain. Workers Power arose as a split from the Cliffites, using the uproar over Afghanistan to declare its formal adherence to Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state while "condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan" (*Workers Power*, February 1980). *Leninist*, on the other hand, came out of the pro-Moscow Stalinist milieu. Yet today Workers Power and *Leninist* join in denouncing Moscow for pulling out, while denouncing the Spartacists for hailing the Soviets' going in!

Afghanistan was the dividing line in Cold War II, between defense and extension of the gains of the Russian Revolution, on the one hand, and support to imperialist-backed feudalist counterrevolution. The social democrats were unambiguously against Soviet intervention; we Trotskyists were emphatically for. Looking for a patch of dry ground in the middle, the waffllers come up with a convoluted mass of contradictions. Thus *Workers Power* (February 1989) writes:

> "Workers Power opposed the invasion of Afghanistan in 1980. Unlike those, such as the Spartacist League, who 'hailed the Red Army' we warned that the invasion was counter-revolutionary....
>
> "Now we call on workers everywhere to denounce the military retreat, despite the war-weariness of the Soviet troops. Soviet and Pakistani workers must organise internationalist aid, including military aid without strings, to those resisting the Mojahedin."

This centrist confusionism was dissected by Spartacist spokesman Jon Branche at a March 20 debate in London between Workers Power and *Leninist* on the question of Afghanistan:

> "Workers Power says it was counterrevolutionary to go in, counterrevolutionary to leave, the counterrevolutionary Soviet troops should have stayed in there to fight the counterrevolutionary *mujahedin*, until a revolutionary force arose that could throw out the counterrevolutionary troops. This is gobbledygook. That's not what was going on in Afghanistan.
>
> "But because you cannot take a clear position on defending the Soviet Union, you have said that there is supposed to be a third, 'revolutionary,' force in Afghanistan. You have never been able to produce even the embryo of one, because in Afghanistan there was no third road. The question posed was for or against the Soviet Union against imperialism, the defining question of the Cold War."

The "methodology" of Workers Power recalls that of American Socialist Workers Party honcho Jack Barnes, who back in 1980 renounced the SWP's initial lukewarm support for Soviet intervention on the grounds that reading our headline "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" convinced him that the SWP was "off base." So using the "anti-Spart" yardstick as their guide, the eccentric reformist Barnesites quickly got back on base with the bourgeoisie by coming out for Soviet withdrawal (see "SWP's About-Face on Afghanistan," *Spartacist* No. 31-32, Summer 1981).

Workers Power complains that the Red Army went in "not to defend the PDPA's limited reform programme, still less to carry out an East European style social overturn, but to restore stability in its buffer state." But in the context of raging civil war, to stabilize Afghanistan as a buffer state the Soviet forces would have had to destroy the *mujahedin*. And a prolonged Soviet occupation would open the possibility of social revolution. As for East Europe, when the Red Army occupied the region in the course of defeating Nazi Germany, Stalin did not plan to carry out a social revolution there. The expropriation of the bourgeoisie in East Europe came in response to Truman/Churchill's anti-Soviet drive via the Marshall Plan. But Workers Power would have denounced the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan even if a social overturn had been intended; WP has denounced every Stalinist-led social revolution since World War II as "counterrevolutionary."

Behind Workers Power's insistence that the Soviet intervention was counterrevolutionary lies a deeply ingrained "third camp" prejudice, political baggage from their Cliffite origins. During

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Workers Power and Leninist denounce Spartacists for hailing Soviet military intervention against CIA's holy warriors.

Jalalabad...

(continued from page 1)

Jalalabad. The U.S. and its anti-Communist allies have been poised for the kill. Their "freedom fighters" rain thousands of American rockets on this strategic city whose fall would open the road to Kabul. Bush has already named an envoy to the rebel "government," while the Pakistani president has called for the federation of Afghanistan into a dominant Pakistani state. But the Afghan army and the people of Jalalabad are heroically fighting back. They have repelled the onslaught; the battle still rages.

The *mujahedin*, heavily armed by the U.S., organized by Pakistan and bolstered by Saudi Arabian and other foreign forces, are inflicting terrible suffering on the population. On March 30, rockets struck a Sikh temple in Jalalabad where several hundred Sikhs and Hindus had gathered; 22 people, most of them women and children, were killed.

Recently, the Afghan government issued an appeal:

> "In order to aid the victims of these attacks a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance has been launched on a national and international plane by the concerned parties and the authorities of the Republic of Afghanistan."

In response to this appeal, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has launched a campaign to raise funds for the civilian victims of Jalalabad. We call on all workers, oppressed minorities and defenders of democratic rights to support this undertaking. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

For the last nine years, Washington and its allies have poured billions into supporting the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, and now feudal, imperialist-backed states in the region are throwing their own soldiers into the civil war. The Western media glorified the *mujahedin* as they killed Russian soldiers. But now that the Soviet troops have pulled out, even *Wall Street Journal* reporters tell of the horror facing Afghan women in Pakistani refugee camps whose husbands with their reactionary social values prefer them to die rather than let them be examined by a male obstetrician. Even Western officials call rebel leader Hekmatyar a "fascist." His thugs used to throw acid in the faces and shoot the legs of young women at Kabul University who refused to wear the stifling head-to-toe veil.

At an International Women's Day rally in Kabul this year, Fatima, a 25-year-old second lieutenant in the Afghan army, declared: "We have nothing but death for these bigots who only want their dollars from the U.S. and the freedom to have half-a-dozen wives each."

This war originated after modernizing nationalists of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) took power in April 1978 in a country where the working class had no social weight. They sought to carry out basic democratic measures—restricting the bride price, teaching young girls as well as boys to read, land reform. In response Islamic mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords launched a bloody civil war. In 1979 the Soviet Union was called to intervene in force to prevent Afghanistan, its southern neighbor, from falling to U.S.-backed *mujahedin*. The Spartacist League hailed the Soviet military intervention for opening the possibility of social revolution in this hideously backward country. However, under Gorbachev, the Soviet forces have been withdrawn in order to appease the American capitalist rulers.

TASS from Sovfoto

AFP

May 1979 demonstration in Kabul honors Noor Mohammed Taraki, an enlightened intellectual who sought to embrace Marxism and founded the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Despite several and serious differences with the PDPA, we must find ourselves on the same side in opposing the military triumph of reaction, a position which is the basis for our overall revolutionary defensism. Two months ago, the PDC wrote to the Afghan government offering "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" to defend elementary social progress which is in grave danger in Afghanistan. While the Kabul government took this offer as presently unnecessary, it has now asked the Partisan Defense Committee and others to participate in an international campaign of humanitarian aid. We have wholeheartedly undertaken this effort and urge you to generously give your support. Every penny, every dollar collected will be sent to Kabul, Afghanistan; all administrative expenses will be paid by the PDC.

Take a stand with the fighters and people of Jalalabad whose lives are on the line. Give direct material aid to the wounded and mutilated citizens there. This struggle is in the interests of the whole of the working people.

Partisan Defense Committee
8 April 1989

Contributions payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund can be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

Afghanistan and the Left...

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the Polish crisis of 1981, WP denounced the Jaruzelski regime for its "counterrevolutionary" suppression of Solidarność, even while acknowledging that every wing of Solidarność stood for a return to capitalism. Support to this Vatican-led, massively CIA-financed outfit was dictated, according to WP, by "the existence of a mass base." The same logic led Workers Power to support Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in Iran: if it's popular, tail it. But in Afghanistan, the "mass base" was under the control of the *mujahedin*. So in order to avoid siding with the Soviet army, Workers Power fantasized about a third force, calling for "the self organisation of the Afghan proletariat and feudal elements [!] to organise their own state power, independent of the Stalinists and the imperialists" (*Workers Power*, February 1980).

Leninist: Blinded by Nationalism

Leninist takes a similarly equivocal position over Afghanistan. But where Workers Power is capitulating to the pressures of social democracy, in this case the inspiration is Third World Stalinism. (Indeed, directly so, since their mentors are the Turkish TKP, a split from the "official" Communist Party.) Thus *Leninist* claims that a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat already existed in Kabul at the time of the Soviet intervention, in the form of the Khalq (Masses) wing of the PDPA and particularly its leader Hafizullah Amin, who was deposed and assassinated when the Red Army moved in. *Leninist* (17 February) denounced "some elements who hailed the Soviet intervention," including "the Trotskyite Spartacist League [which] said it secured Afghanistan's path to socialism":

> "Blinded by dogma it [the SL] refused to see the PDPA as any sort of revolutionary party and thus, whatever life proved to the contrary, incapable of carrying out a revolution. Thus in its eyes Afghanistan became a 1945 Poland, socialism came with the Red Army's tanks."

The falsifications and theoretical confusions in these few sentences are manifold.

To begin with, *Leninist* equates socialism (a classless and stateless society) with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then they attribute to us a position we have never held. What we actually said was:

> "Of course, the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin did not send 100,000 troops into Afghanistan to effect a social revolution, but simply to make secure an unstable, strategically placed client state."
>
> —"The Russian Question Point Blank," *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980

Moreover, we do not equate the question of "revolution from without" in Poland and Afghanistan. Poland had a powerful, historically socialist industrial proletariat which failed to conquer power in large measure because of Stalin's repetitive decapitation of the Polish Communist Party. But in backward Afghanistan, whose level of social development was somewhere between tribalism and feudalism—one-sixth of the population was nomadic—there was no *internal* social base for the relatively minimal reforms pursued by the PDPA, much less for proletarian revolution.

What really rankles *Leninist* is that we said straight-out that with the Red Army intervention, the fate of Afghanistan would "be decided in Moscow, not Kabul." Their highest principle is "non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries," and they criticize the USSR for "big power arrogance." At bottom they are nationalists, who can't conceive of an internationalist intervention, not even by the revolutionary Bolsheviks. Thus *Leninist* not only imagines a proletarian revolution in 1978 Afghanistan, but argues: "Like the Mongolian Revolution of 1921 it must be put in the same category as the October Revolution...." The October Revolution was based on the highest level of organization in soviets of a significant industrial proletariat. However, the analogy between Afghanistan and Outer Mongolia is highly instructive since it completely refutes—indeed, demolishes—the *Leninist*'s argument. Mongolia was the purest case imaginable of "revolution from without."

Outer Mongolia in 1920-21 was even more backward than Afghanistan, with most of the population consisting of nomadic pastoralists. In early 1921 the pro-Soviet Mongolian People's Party was driven out of Mongolia by a White Russian adventurer leading a ragtag force partly officered by the Japanese. A few months later the "Mongolian People's Government" was brought back literally on the bayonets of the Soviet Red Army.

In Afghanistan, the 1978 "April Revolution" consisted of a handful of demonstrations by restless masses of students and a military coup by Khalq army officers. The base of the PDPA consisted overwhelmingly of the educated petty bourgeoisie, schoolteachers and students, and Soviet-trained army officers who, having some direct comparative experience of how truly backward their country was, sought far-reaching modernization. The working class as such had no social weight. And as soon as the PDPA regime attempted to implement its reforms—particularly education for girls and the lowering of the bride price—in the countryside, it found itself confronted with massive popular resistance organized by the landlords and the mullahs.

It was only the entry of the Red Army which provided an external social base for far-reaching political revolution—a kind of social revolution given the prefeudal class structure prevailing in the country. Yet, for *Leninist*, this was precisely the point at which the revolution became endangered. The killing of Amin, says *Leninist*, represented "the extinguishing of the flame of the revolution." Amin had as much in common with his despotic namesake in Uganda as with revolution. Indeed, if one is to believe the plausible account by former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko in an interview in the London *Observer* (2 April), one of the factors that finally convinced Brezhnev to intervene was the murder of PDPA founder and historic Khalq leader Noor Mohammed Taraki by the power-hungry Amin in October 1979. Taraki was an enlightened intellectual who saw himself as Marxist from the early 1950s. He was an admirer of Lenin's October Revolution who mistakenly identified it with the Soviet Union after decades of Stalinist misrule.

For Communist Internationalism!

Having already announced the death throes of the Kabul regime, *Leninist* (6 March) responded to our offer to organize international brigades for Afghanistan by sneering that this is "cynical posturing...all very easy to organize from the Bronx or some such

WV Photos

At Women's Rights March in Washington

PDC Launches Jalalabad Aid Campaign

On Sunday, April 9 over 300,000 people rallied in Washington, D.C. in defense of abortion rights. Supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee launched a campaign for material assistance to the civilian victims of Washington's war on Afghanistan. More than 25,000 leaflets with the PDC's appeal were distributed to the crowd of over 300,000 as we marched with our banner proclaiming, "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA Cutthroats!"

The plight of the youngest victims of imperialism's war drive was featured in an article that appeared in the *New York Times* the same day, recounting a visit to the Mother and Child Health Clinic in Kabul:

> "A morning at the clinic and a visit later to the capital's only children's hospital underscored one of the most troubling aspects of the war. In the nine years that the guerrilla fighters have been battling the Kabul Government for control of the country, many of the harshest consequences have fallen on civilians, more than one million of whom are believed to have died. And among the civilians, many of the hardest hit have been children suffering from malnutrition, lack of adequate medical care, or wounds received in the fighting."

Afghan children have the highest infant and child mortality rate in the world: almost one-third die before their fifth birthday. "Even for a Kabul child, life is hard," the writer commented, noting that the poor can't afford to buy food in the bazaars. The spectre of starvation hangs over embattled Jalalabad, which cannot receive supplies by ground transportation because of the *mujahedin* blockade.

In Afghanistan, it was opposition to women's rights in particular that sparked the bloody opposition from Muslim fundamentalists to the Kabul regime's modernizing reforms. In the U.S., women's rights are under attack as Christian fundamentalist bigots target abortion clinics. The day of the D.C. demo, two Florida clinics were torched. And the Bush government is asking the Supreme Court to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion nationwide.

While the march organizers looked to the Democratic Party, the Spartacist League carried banners declaring: "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" The same Democratic Congress which cut off federal aid for abortions for poor women (the Hyde Amendment) has sent *billions* to finance the CIA's Afghan warriors who send U.S. missiles crashing in on mosques and temples in Jalalabad. Our fight is worldwide. We urge you to send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

place." The Bolsheviks' program was world socialist revolution, its instrument the Communist International. But from international brigades to revolutionary war, they did not renounce military measures to extend the conquests of October. Thus Trotsky, then Commissar of War, wrote to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in August 1919:

> "There is no doubt at all that our Red Army constitutes an incomparably more powerful force in the Asian terrain of world politics than in the European terrain.... We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. However, the international situation is evidently shaping in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal."
>
> —*The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922*, Vol. 1 (1964)

Revolutionary war ("export of revolution"), as envisaged by the Soviet army leader Tukhachevsky, is not a tactic for any and all situations, particularly not where there is a developed proletariat. But if it ever applies anywhere, Afghanistan is sure it.

If Workers Power are classic left-centrists of the first water, *Leninist* are Stalinist-nationalists without an anchor. While Workers Power supported counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność as a "lesser evil" to the Stalinist regime, *Leninist* supported the suppression of the pro-socialist 1956 Hungarian workers uprising. Today, *Leninist* finds itself simultaneously arguing for political revolution against the Gorbachev bureaucracy and praising Stalin's virtues, at one instant arguing that the Great Russian fascists of Pamyat have a legitimate place under soviet democracy and at the next mimicking our call for independent workers mobilizations to crush Pamyat.

Only the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers states coupled with the perspective of proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies can provide a compass for would-be revolutionaries. While *Leninist* seeks to revive the Third International of Stalin and Workers Power disowns the banner of Trotsky's Fourth International, our struggle for the reforging of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, is the road forward. As Gorbachev offers up one country after another in a futile drive to appease U.S. imperialism, it is the Trotskyists who mobilize for internationalist support to the Afghan peoples fighting counterrevolutionary terror. ■

Hayward...

(continued from page 3)

driven out by systematic cop harassment. And black workers getting off swing shift at Fremont GM used to make sure they had a couple of cars of friends following them on the way back to Oakland, in case they were pulled over by the cops.

Latinos and the expanding Asian population in the South Bay Area are particularly subject to attack. Immigration cops regularly raid factories in southern Alameda County and even drag suspected "illegal aliens" from the Fremont BART line. Filipinos, Vietnamese and Cambodians are an increasing proportion of the school population: according to the Hayward school district, enrollment of "Pacific Islanders" has increased from under 2 percent in 1966 to almost 15 percent today. The history of anti-Asian racism on the West Coast is particularly virulent, dating back to riots against Chinese workers (and the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882) when their virtual slave labor was no longer needed to build the transcontinental railroads.

Labor, Minorities, Militants Can Stop the Fascists

The Bay Area is one area on the West Coast with a heavy concentration of union labor and blacks. In 1980 when the Nazis tried to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, they were stopped cold by a mass labor-centered mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League and trade-union supporters, and built against the bitter opposition of Democratic Party mayor Feinstein. Since then the fascists have been unable to mount a public provocation in San Francisco. Instead, they've shifted to working the fringes of the Bay Area, like the recent "Aryan Woodstock" skinhead rally in Napa Valley. Outfits like the John Brown Committee adopt militant postures in rural Napa County. But in the urban centers where there are the forces of labor and minorities to *defeat* the fascists, and where you have to go up against the Democratic Party, these popular-frontists either make themselves scarce, or call on the Democratic mayor to "ban the Klan."

The ADL peddles scare stories about the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee and its origins as an outgrowth of the New Left Weathermen. In fact, what's salient about this group is the contradiction between its provocative rhetoric and occasional antics, and its groveling appeals to the bourgeois state. In both cases, they show a touching faith in the supposed benevolence of the ruling class and its minions. Here is the latter-day Weather Overground twice removed, the people who used to go around proclaiming "Death to the Klan—Stop the Killer Cops," now bringing in the same cops to ban the fascists! This putative bloc with the police is an egregious form of popular-frontism, going via the Democratic Party to the cops. But, then, the Weathermen were always really "liberals with bombs," as the Russian Marxists said of the Narodniks.

The John Brown Committee leaflet calling on the Hayward mayor and library to cancel the fascist meeting is ostentatiously pitched to the San Francisco popular-front crowd, featuring a picture of the TransAmerica building and characterizing the Populists as "sexist, homophobic and anti-Semitic." This leaves out the fascists' central hatred for blacks, Asians, Hispanics and unions. But the John Brown people are also pretty cavalier about what's going to happen to the people they're bringing over on the BART. In contrast, when they had an opportunity to join a real united-front, labor-backed protest against fascist/Populist Duke in Chicago on March 3, they boycotted it and tried to undercut it by spreading false rumors that Duke wasn't coming to town.

Anti-fascist militants must learn the lessons of history. From the united-front mass mobilizations that stopped the Silver Shirts in the '40s, to the mass labor/black mobilizations that have spiked the KKK/skinheads from San Francisco to Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.—the key to stopping the would-be Hitlers like David Duke and his stormtroopers is united, mass militant action, forged in struggle, independent of the capitalist state. ■

Library of Congress

The 54th Massachusetts, most celebrated black regiment in the Civil War, leading assault on Fort Wagner, South Carolina.

Soviet Writer

Petrograd, 1917: Red Guards with banner, "Long Live the Universal Arming of the People and the Workers First of All."

REVOLUTION AND THE RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

"Remember that the musket...is better than all mere parchment guarantees of liberty. In your hands that musket means liberty; and should your constitutional right at the close of this war be denied... your brethren are safe while you have a Constitution which proclaims your right to keep and bear arms."

—Frederick Douglass appealing to blacks to join the Union Army, August 1863

America's capitalist rulers are taking aim at the fundamental right of the people to arm themselves. This right to bear arms was born of revolution, constituting a vital defense against tyranny. Naturally, despotic regimes prefer to rule over defenseless subjects: an armed people can fight back. Today, the government which sponsors counterrevolutionary terrorists and drug traffickers in a crusade against Communism wants to disarm the population in the name of a "war on drugs and terrorism." And it is the Marxists, who champion the cause of all the exploited and oppressed, that oppose gun control from the standpoint of the struggle for workers revolution.

Currently spearheading the gun control drive is the han on so-called "assault rifles." As usual, the gun-han forces seized upon an emotion-packed criminal incident to fuel a campaign of hysteria—the January massacre of five Asian American schoolchildren by a racist nut wielding a semiautomatic AK-47 rifle in Stockton, California. Needless to say, the maniac might just as well have misused an ordinary shotgun for his horrible slaughter, but the fact that he used a military-type weapon was played to the hilt in the media to whip up support for a ban of this particular category of weapon.

What's new here is the *active political campaigning* by the country's police chiefs to disarm the civilian population. Heading them up is Los Angeles chief Daryl Gates, notorious for his racist defense of the LAPD's use of the deadly choke hold against blacks and Latinos. The campaign has been picked up by the Bush administration's anti-drug "czar" William Bennett, and the federal government has now banned imports of 49 models of semiautomatic "military-like" weapons. In Washington, D.C., curfews are being imposed on youth while the president drops hints of calling out the National Guard in the name of the "war on drugs." The drift toward police bonapartism in the U.S. has just lurched into a higher gear.

"I don't want that gun on the street," Chief Gates decreed (*New York Times*, 28 January), and he quickly received backing from police groups across the country. For the TV cameras, cops staged demonstrations of the supposedly "excessive" power of these "assault" rifles by blasting away cinder blocks and watermelons, not telling viewers that virtually any good hunting rifle could do the same thing. The police claim they are "outgunned" by drug gangs on the streets, but anyone who's seen the L.A. cops' paramilitary operations, using an arsenal of gunship helicopters and tanks, knows that's baloney.

Gun Control Kills Blacks

The guns they are talking about banning are civilian versions of military-style rifles, such as Colt's AR-15, which is patterned after the army's M-16. They can carry large magazines of 20 or more bullets, but the civilian version is only semiautomatic, meaning a single bullet is fired with each trigger pull; in the fully automatic military version, a stream of bullets is fired as long as the trigger is pulled back. The distinction between a common semiautomatic hunting rifle and an "assault rifle" is blurry, since the former can also accept large magazines and many of them are more powerful than the military weapons. Thus the popular .30-06 *manual, bolt-action* hunting rifle packs *twice* the kinetic energy of a "military-style" AK5.

Polls show that even people who favor banning "assault rifles" know it will not stop the "drug mafia" from getting their guns the same way they get their drugs—smuggling them in with the help of corrupt police departments and army commanders with friends in high places. (In the Iran/contra scandal, the Reagan/Bush/CIA team in Central America smuggled guns to the contras and returned with drugs for profit.) So the anti-gun propagandists resort to loaded questions, asking "whether there is any purpose in civilians' owning military-style weapons except to kill people and why law-abiding people would want to own them" (*New York Times*, 3 April).

It's really not news that guns were invented to kill people. And in this class-divided society, it has more than occasionally been necessary for "law-abiding" citizens to defend themselves with violence, even against the so-called legally constituted authorities. Are memories really so short? Recall the bloody Ludlow, Colorado massacre of 1914 in which 21 men, women and children, families of striking miners, were killed by the machine gun fire of the state militia, who were really Rockefeller's hired guns. But the workers were armed by the United Mine Workers, and to the bosses' horror for ten days some 1,000 strikers fought back bullet for bullet.

We also remember the 1979 Greensboro Massacre, in which five leftist civil rights workers and labor organizers were gunned down in cold blood by a Klan/Nazi group. An FBI informer led the fascists to the murder site, and an agent of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms showed them how to use and transport the semiautomatic weapons. And what about the Philly cops, who in 1985 raked the MOVE commune with 10,000 rounds in 90 minutes, using fully automatic M-16s and M-60 machine guns, and incinerated eleven black people, including five children, in a fire ignited by C-4 plastic explosive provided by the FBI. But of course none of the "concerned" anti-gun lobbyists are advocating taking away guns from the *cops*.

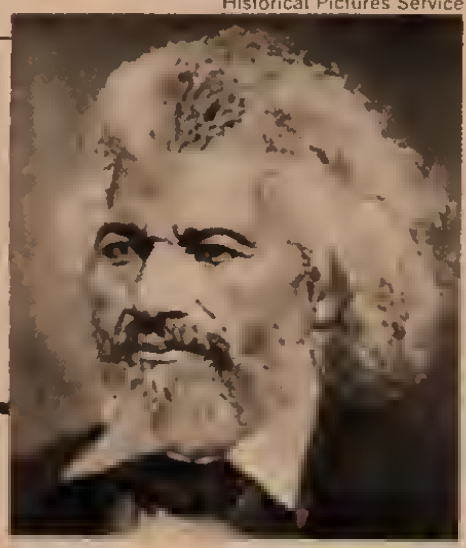
White middle-class liberals preach total pacifism from the relative safety of their condos and suburban ranch houses—they don't expect the cops to come bursting into *their* homes. But the ruling class does not believe in pacifism and has carefully armed *its* state to the teeth. The whole issue of gun control revolves around the question: do you trust *this state* to have a monopoly of arms? And the answer is refracted through the deepening class and racial polarization of this society. The core of the state, after all, is "special bodies of armed men," as Lenin explained in his 1917 pamphlet *The State and Revolution*, commenting on the writings of Marx and Engels. And this is *not our state*, but the capitalists'; they assert the state's monopoly of armed force in order to maintain their class rule.

The whole history of gun control is the story of the ruling class trying to *disarm* the population, particularly in

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

MEN OF COLOR, TO ARMS! NOW OR NEVER!

Historical Pictures Service



Abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass campaigned for blacks to join Union Army. Armed blacks were key to Northern victory against slavocracy.

periods of social struggle. The ban on automatic weapons is usually linked to gangsters like Al Capone, but it never stopped them from getting their hands on Thompson submachine guns, just as the mob today has its Uzis. More to the point, the 1934 ban on automatic weapons came in the Great Depression when the spectre of working-class revolution haunted Washington (in fact, that year saw three citywide general strikes led by ostensible communists). The federal gun control act of 1968 came at the peak of black ghetto upheavals. And the perennial push to ban "Saturday Night Specials" is just an attempt to make guns more expensive and hence less accessible to the lower classes.

Gun laws are fossilized traces of the evolution of society and the state. In a recent book on Afghanistan, Pakistani leftist Raja Anwar writes: "In a society where every group and every citizen is armed, no government can possibly function" (*The Tragedy of Afghanistan* [1988]). Anwar knows whereof he speaks in his richly detailed firsthand account of this country of heavily armed tribal peoples, but his conclusion is wrong. The conclusion should be that the government must have some relation to the governed, good or bad. Thus in Nicaragua there are several hundred thousand guns in the hands of the population, and while the shooting range outside Managua is filled every weekend with people practicing their (fully automatic) AKs, these guns have been used to defend a revolution against the contra terrorists.

Today the police are concerned about "assault rifles" mainly because they are turning up in the black ghettos, at least in California. What gets cops upset is that a semiautomatic rifle might have given a Malcolm X the chance to defend himself, or might let a housing project resident fend off cop assaults when a "TNT" squad comes illegally bursting through the door. In the recent period cops have run amok across the country, gunning down people at will. And when a Larry Davis managed to defend himself against the murderous cops, and was acquitted by a Bronx jury last year, the killers-in-blue staged a massive armed demonstration of cop power.

For years, as liberals railed against every sort of firearm, opposition to gun control was led by the National Rifle Association, which brags about training police. But this time the NRA's right-wing political and cop connections were of no avail against the "bipartisan" consensus of the capitalist parties—concerned about "violence" as the economy spirals downward—to push for civilian disarmament. So in quick succession unprecedented bans have been passed on "assault rifles"—dubbed "Rambo guns" by the same media which promoted the Rambo image during the Reagan years. First Stockton, then L.A., and in March the California legislature voted a statewide ban. In New York City, which already requires strict licensing of rifles and shotguns, the city council is considering a similar ban, pushed by racist mayor Ed Koch and police chief Ben Ward.

On the national level, the day after Bennett announced the import ban, Colt Industries said it would voluntarily stop selling its AR-15 to civilians (police and military can still buy it) in order to be "consistent with U.S. Government policy." (Colt is a scabherding outfit whose workers have been on strike for over three years.) And in Congress, Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum, among others, is pushing a bill which would treat semiautomatic weapons like fully automatic weapons (already banned). Liberal Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy endorsed the anti-gun ban under the slogan "Support Your Local Police" (*New York Times*, 22 March). And sensing the political winds, President Bush, a life member of the NRA, backhandedly endorsed the "outcry" against the guns, "semiautomated [sic] weapon or automated, whichever it was."

In an attempt to justify this massive assault on Americans' constitutional right to "keep and bear arms," the bourgeoisie is rewriting its own Constitution in the media. We are told civilians can own arms only if they are "particularly suitable for, or readily adaptable to, sporting purposes," as specified in the 1968 federal gun control law. A "stricter" interpretation of this act was the administration's basis for cutting off imports of the "assault" weapons. So we are told it's OK to use firearms to hunt deer or shoot at paper targets but not for self-defense. "I do not believe that an AK-47, a machine gun [sic], is a sporting weapon," was the line ex-president Reagan mouthed for the TV cameras.

WV Photo

Avenge the Greensboro martyrs! Klan/Nazis (right) gunned down five civil rights and labor activists in Greensboro, North Carolina, 3 November 1979. A week later, Spartacist-initiated united front (above) in Detroit stopped Klan from celebrating Greensboro massacre.

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

The Second Amendment's Revolutionary History

Four centuries ago the Renaissance and the Reformation combined with the "gunpowder revolution," as military historian John Keegan noted in his book *The Mask of Command* (1987). This threatened the state by putting untold power in the hands of the common man, Keegan noted, particularly when combined with the proclamation of a right to bear arms, "a genuinely seditious principle." Military power could no longer be confined to a few skilled noblemen and their retinues. A precursor to the gun was the crossbow: "In seconds an amateur with a crossbow could wipe out years of costly training, to say nothing of generations of noble (even royal) breeding," wrote Robert L. O'Connell in the *Military History Quarterly* (Winter 1989).

Both the Church and the English aristocracy tried to ban the crossbow, but the rifle was a far more serious threat, particularly after the Industrial Revolution made mass production possible. The 16th and 17th century rulers in Madrid, Vienna, Paris and London met this threat by establishing standing armies "to monopolize the power unleashed by the gunpowder revolution" (Keegan). It was the struggle against these tyrannies which produced the revolutionary principle of the "right to keep and bear arms," codified by the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. What's going on today is a calculated *counterrevolutionary* attack by a decaying ruling class on these constitutional guarantees.

The clear intent of the Second Amendment (ratified in 1791), as expressed in its language, was not sport or hobby but a people's militia:

> "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

The constitutional right is not about hunting or target practice: the American colonial revolutionaries wanted the whole people armed, including with military arms, in order to be able to *kill British soldiers*, and to forestall the threat of any standing army, which they rightly regarded as the bane of liberty and the basis of tyranny. Indeed, what triggered the American Revolution were attempts by the British army, in particular General Thomas Gage, to force colonists to surrender their arms. As noted in a recent article by Stephen P. Halbrook:

> "The Revolutionary War was sparked when militiamen exercising at Lexington refused to give up their arms. The widely published American account of April 19, 1775, began with the order shouted by a British officer:
> "'*Disperse you Rebels—Damn you, throw down your Arms and disperse*'."
> —*American Rifleman*, March 1989

There is a continuum between the English Civil War, the American Revolution and the American Civil War. Oliver Cromwell's English bourgeois revolution beheaded a king in 1649 and gave birth to democratic principles, codified decades later in the English Bill of Rights of 1689 when the revolution was already ebbing. As a guarantee against Catholic/royalist excesses, the English Bill of Rights listed "true, ancient and indubitable rights," including:

> "6. That the raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.
> "7. That the Subjects which are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Condition, and as are allowed by Law."
> —quoted in Stephen P. Halbrook, *That Every Man Be Armed* (1984)

Carrying forward the English tradition, the American revolutionaries expanded on this right, in light of their own experience in struggle against the British king, when they drew up the Constitution in 1787. In the state conventions which ratified it, a "militia" was understood to mean the armed people, not a "select" militia like the present-day National Guard (which can be federalized and keeps its arms stored in armories controlled by the government). The right to "keep and bear arms" was universally recognized as an

continued on page 10

UPI

Bullet-riddled door of office where Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed by Chicago cops and FBI, 1969 (left). Massacre of Philadelphia MOVE, May 1985: Cops opened up with machine guns, while firebomb was dropped on black commune, killing eleven men, women and children.

Valerio/Philadelphia Inquirer

Right to Bear Arms...

(continued from page 9)

individual right. As Patrick Henry summed it up, "The great object is, that every man be armed."

As in any class society, there were some big, categorical exceptions to these "universal" rights. The Second Amendment assumed it was English-speaking white Protestants who had the guns, to be used against Indians, black slaves, Spanish, Dutch and French invaders and, needless to say, the British former colonial masters who continued to threaten the young republic. Nevertheless the American war of independence released a world-shaking democratic spirit, reflected in the military sphere by the arming of masses of civilians who could be trusted, out of ideological conviction, to fight for their government in loosely controlled guerrilla-type units. As was noted by Friedrich Engels, who was no mean soldier himself (being a heroic and able officer on the revolutionary side in 1848):

> "While the soldiers of European armies, held together by compulsion and severe treatment, could not be trusted to fight in extended order, in America they had to contend with a population which, untrained to the regular drill of line soldiers, were good shots and well acquainted with the rifle. The nature of the ground favored them: instead of attempting manoeuvres of which at first they were incapable, they unconsciously fell into skirmishing. Thus, the engagement of Lexington and Concord marks an epoch in the history of infantry."
>
> —"Infantry," an article for *The New American Cyclopaedia* (1859)

Abolition of Slavery by Arming the Slaves

But the Americans' so-called democracy accepted slavery, written into the Constitution itself. It was generally recognized that if the slaves got guns it would mean the end of slavery, so they were denied this legal right through the device, juridically approved by the Supreme Court in the infamous Dred Scott case in 1857, of claiming that "the people" meant only "citizens," and "citizens" did not include black slaves. Chief Justice Taney noted with horror that if blacks were citizens they would be entitled to a long list of rights, including the right "*to keep and carry arms wherever they went.*"

John Brown was among a small vanguard in the 1850s who saw that only force of arms would put an end to slavery, and he became a prophetic martyr for leading the famous raid on a federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in 1859. Meanwhile, ex-slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, a close friend of Brown's, openly defended a man's "right of self-defense" when fugitive slaves were being hunted by agents of the slaveholders, even if this meant "shooting down his pursuers," as occasionally happened. "Slavery is a system of brute force," he said, "It must be met with its own weapons."

Library of Congress

Kansas State Historical Society

In "Bleeding Kansas" during the 1850s, John Brown and other armed Free Soilers fought marauding slaveholders in prelude to Civil War.

Thus when the Civil War came, and the Northern bourgeoisie became so militarily desperate in 1862-63 to crush the slaveholders' rebellion against the Union that Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation and agreed to the forming of black regiments, Douglass seized on this historic opportunity. "Men of Color, To Arms!" was his slogan as he campaigned for black volunteers for such famous regiments as the 54th Massachusetts. And it wasn't only in the army that blacks fought—during the racist anti-draft riots in New York in 1863, according to one black newspaper of the time:

> "The colored men who had manhood in them armed themselves, and threw out their pickets every day and night, determined to die defending their homes.... Most of the colored men in Brooklyn who remained in the city were armed daily for self-defense."
>
> —James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (1965)

In the post-Civil War Reconstruction period, the central struggle in the South was between the newly emancipated blacks seeking to exercise political power and the remnants of the slaveholders' government seeking to put the former slaves back "in their place." This struggle pivoted on black people's possession of arms. Hence the reactionary "black codes" passed in various Southern states tried to outlaw possession of firearms by blacks. An 1865 Florida statute, for instance, made it unlawful for "any Negro" to possess "firearms or ammunition of any kind," the penalty for violation being the pillory and the whip.

In response, the federal government's Freedmen's Bureau widely distributed circulars which read in part, "All men, without distinction of color, have the right to keep and bear arms to defend their homes, families or themselves." But the question would be decided by military power: the racist white state militias, aided by the private Ku Klux Klan, were already disarming blacks, whose only defense was their own arms and/or the occupying Union Army. What was going on in the South was graphically described in one letter cited in Congressional hearings in 1871:

> "Then the Ku Klux fired on them through the window one of the bullets striking a colored woman...and wounding her through the knee badly. The colored men then fired on the Ku Klux, and killed their leader or captain right there on the steps of the colored men's house...."

Marzani & Munsell

Charlotte Observer

Ex-Marine and NAACP leader Robert F. Williams (inset) organized armed defense of civil rights workers in Monroe, North Carolina in 1957.

In this case, as in many others, the Klan leader turned out to be "a constable and deputy sheriff."

While Congress adopted all sorts of paper measures protecting blacks, including the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which guarantees "equal protection of the laws," it betrayed the promise of black liberation in the Compromise of 1877, when Union troops were withdrawn from the South. Because they could not defend their rights by force of arms, black people were denied all their rights. It took a long and often bloody struggle by the civil rights movement 80 years later to restore some of the blacks' rights won in the "Second American Revolution" which was the Civil War.

Disarming the Population

In the 19th century Karl Marx had expressed the hope that America would be one of the few countries where working people could take power more or less peacefully because the ruling class had virtually no standing army but relied on militias. Yet by the turn of the century the U.S. had entered the imperialist club and quickly developed a standing army. And over the years Second Amendment rights, supposedly inviolate, have been increasingly constricted by layer upon layer of laws which made gun-owning and armed self-defense more and more of a class privilege.

The most notorious example is New York State's Sullivan Law, which makes it illegal to carry a pistol for self-defense, unless you're one of a handful of well-connected people who can get a license to "carry" from the police department: people like real estate mogul Donald Trump and *New York Times* publisher Arthur O. Sulzberger ("Businessmen Opt to Pack a Gun," *New York City Business*, 11 March 1985). The law was passed back in 1911 after a man who felt he had been unjustly fired from his city job as night watchman shot the mayor with a revolver. Hizzoner survived, but the incident was seized upon by "prominent" citizens such as John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (the same one responsible for the Ludlow massacre) to launch a campaign for gun control. And the *New York Times* led the pack.

Today, also, while "Punch" Sulzberger has his armed guards, as well as a pistol stashed in his desk drawer, his newspaper editorializes against "Rambo Guns" (15 March)—all in the name of fighting "crime," which certainly hasn't decreased in New York City since 1911. The *Times* has an amazing capacity for nonsensically disconnecting the question of guns from its social context. Thus Stephen Kinzer, for five years the *Times*' man in Managua, calls it a "social problem" that in Guatemala "300,000 people are licensed to carry firearms and another 300,000 do so illegally" ("Guatemala: What Has Democracy Wrought?" *New York Times Magazine*, 26 March). He doesn't relate this to the fact that there have been rightist death squads, a guerrilla insurgency for 20 years, and an insanely savage, heavily armed army.

The *Times*' A.M. Rosenthal has gone a step further by suggesting (17 March) that today the Second Amendment means nothing but arming a "drug militia." And on April 7 the paper printed a letter from a Catholic bishop explicitly calling for repeal of the amendment. The *Times*' unstated goal is in all circumstances a thoroughly armed government and a thoroughly disarmed population.

And it's not only such mainstream imperialist spokesmen, but also the radlibs and even "left" groups, which want gun bans. The *Nation* (3 April) front-paged their position: "How Citizens Can Beat the Gun Lobby." And most of

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the reformist left has kept mum on this issue, because they're closet liberals. After eight years of the Reagan/Bush administration, the days are gone when social activists at least made the obvious observation that "crime" is rooted in social conditions and cannot be eradicated by police measures.

In talking about who is "outgunned," the real balance is, in Jeffersonian language, how many guns are in the hands of the people, and how many in the hands of the government. Yet today the reformists are all signing up for the Democratic/Republican "war on drugs," which is nothing but a rationale for vicious police repression of the whole population, particularly blacks and Hispanics. In fact, street crime could probably be cut in half overnight simply by decriminalizing drugs and giving them out free to addicts. But such a measure would fly in the face of bourgeois "morals," as well as undermine the rationale for increased police powers.

Behind the renewed call for gun bans is racism; as we have said before, gun control kills blacks. With the rise of the civil rights movement, gun control again became closely associated with ruling-class fears of black liberation. Robert F. Williams, the head of the Monroe,

WV Photo

New York City subway clerk James Grimes. State's attempt to victimize him for defending himself with a gun was beaten back.

North Carolina NAACP, was hounded out of the country for organizing a black defense squad against racist attacks. When Malcolm X tried to get around the stringent New York pistol law by carrying a carbine for self-defense, the city quickly passed an ordinance against carrying "long arms" in public. Not long after, in 1965, Malcolm was assassinated. In Louisiana and a few other Southern states in the mid-'60s the Deacons for Defense and Justice were successful in using firearms to protect the civil rights movement from Klan attack. Among the Deacons' standard weapons was the M-1 carbine, an "assault rifle" which black men had learned to use in the army in World War II and the Korean War.

While the U.S. formally upholds on paper the right to "keep and bear arms," there still are a number of capitalist countries where the right is much more of a reality because of exceptional circumstances (mainly a more muted class struggle). Switzerland has 600,000 "assault rifles" capable of full-auto operation in private circulation, and in Denmark the Home Guard militia keeps their "assault rifles" and even submachine guns in private homes (there are bitter memories of the Nazi occupation). Yet a total of 13 killings in 25 years have been linked to the 60,000 Danish Home Guard weapons in circulation.

The Turning Point: 1848

As the call for a people's militia was adopted by the rising proletarian movement, the bourgeoisie abandoned its own slogan that "every man be armed." As noted by Friedrich Engels, the workers' demands for social equality contained "a threat to the existing order of society":

> "...the workers who put it forward were still armed; therefore, the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeois, who were at the helm of the state. Hence, after every revolution won by the workers, a new struggle, ending with the defeat of the workers.
> "This happened for the first time in 1848."
> —Engels' 1891 introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*

With the appearance of the proletariat as an independent actor on the scene, "the armed people" became archaic as the population was polarized along class lines. 1848 marked the beginning of the modern world in which we still live, and the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat remains historically unresolved to this day.

The defeat of the 1848 revolutions in Europe was followed by a bloodbath revealing the "insane cruelties" of which the bourgeoisie is capable, wrote Engels. "And yet 1848 was only child's play compared with the frenzy of the bourgeoisie in 1871," when the workers of Paris rose up and formed the Commune. One of the Commune's key decisions came on 30 March 1871, when it "abolished conscription and the standing army, and declared the sole armed force to be the National Guard, in which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to be enrolled." When the Commune fell before the combined French government and Prussian troops in May 1871, the disarming of the working class was followed by a massacre of defenseless men, women and children in which some 30,000 died.

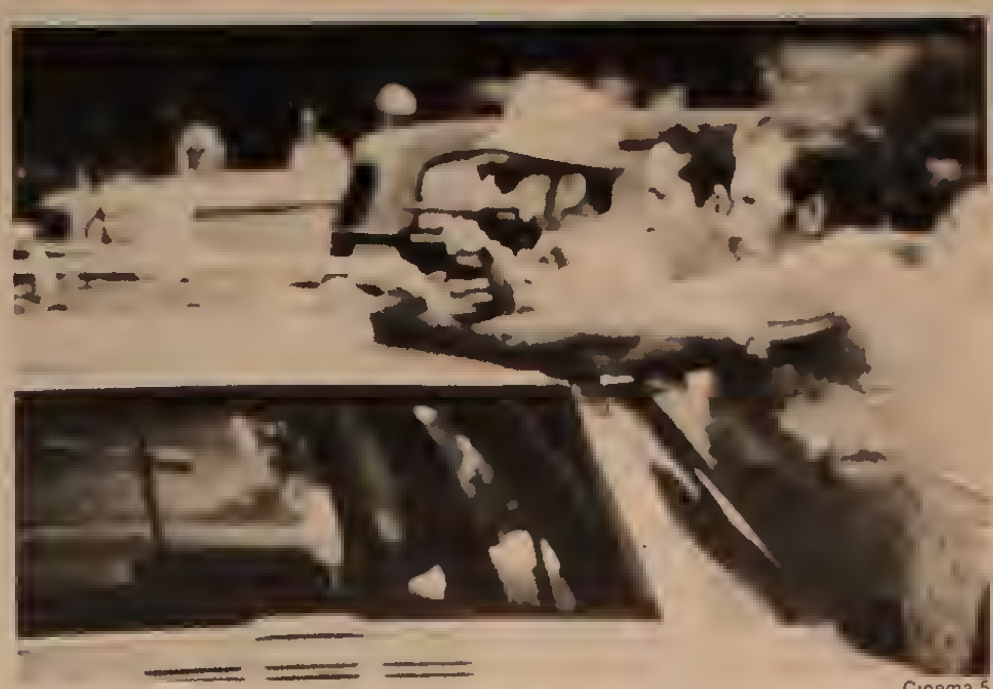
Noting the direct correlation between stricter gun control legislation and rising class struggle in Britain, George Orwell commented in 1939:

> "When I was a kid you could walk into a bicycle shop or ironmonger's [hardware store] and buy any firearm you pleased, short of a field gun, and it did not occur to most people that the Russian revolution and the Irish civil war would bring this state of affairs to an end."

While formal licensing came later, already in the 19th century (particularly following the 1819 Peterloo Massacre, in which Hussars killed and wounded hundreds at a popular demonstration in Manchester) repressive laws were passed allowing police to search for arms and prohibiting "military" training of the populace. Needless to say, after the Firearms Acts of 1922 and 1937 (directed against the IRA) the British-imposed gun control laws in Ulster, among the hardest in the world, have not dented the widespread use of arms in that never-ending fighting rooted in Britain's centuries-old oppression of Ireland.

It was an armed working class which made the Bolshevik Revolution, in accordance with Lenin's call:

> "Following the path indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organise and arm *all* the poor, exploited sections of the population in order that they *themselves* should take the organs of state power directly into their own hands, in order that *they themselves should constitute* these organs of state power."
> —"Letters from Afar, Third Letter Concerning a Proletarian Militia" (March 1917)



Cinema 5

Harlan County, Kentucky, 1973: Coal miners show company goons that scabherding is dangerous to your health.

The Soviet Red Guard workers militias fought the first battles of the ensuing civil war. Like all militias, the Red Guards were not much good at first, but in war one's strength is always relative to the enemy's, and the Whites suffered from low morale. Militiamen can become professional fighters if they survive long enough to gain experience. As the founder of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, commented in December 1921, "In the initial stages we learnt manoeuvring from them [the Whites]." And the Soviets eventually triumphed over the combined strength of 14 imperialist/Allied expeditionary forces and the tsarist White Guards.

Though the Bolsheviks advocated a socialist militia "in connection with the abolition of classes," they were forced by the fight against counterrevolution to build a standing army. Trotsky explained in the foreword to the fifth volume of his military writings (*How the Revolution Armed, 1921-23* [1981]) that the problem was rooted in the poverty and backwardness of Russia, wherein "the Red barracks constitutes an incomparably higher cultural setting than that to which the Red Army man is used at home." But when Stalin usurped political power at the head of a conservative bureaucracy, he made the standing army into a fetish, going so far as to mimic the Western capitalist armies' ranks and privileges. Trotsky denounced this:

> "No army...can be more democratic than the regime which nourishes it. The source of bureaucratism with its routine and swank is not the special needs of military affairs, but the political needs of the ruling stratum."
> —*The Revolution Betrayed* (1937)

Having restored the officer caste 18 years after its revolutionary abolition, Stalin then beheaded the Red Army on the eve of Hitler's invasion.

In the shadow of the oncoming world war, Trotsky's Fourth International insisted in its 1938 Transitional Program: "The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves." Its program for revolutionary struggle against imperialism and war included the call for: "Substitution for the standing army of a *people's militia*, indissolubly linked up with factories, mines, farms, etc." Its demands for military training and arming of workers and peasants under the control of workers' and peasants' committees were coupled with the demand for "complete independence of workers' organizations from military-police control."

The American bourgeoisie of the 18th century could afford the Second Amendment when there was not much wage labor, blacks were not free and a small farmer class approximated "the people." But today, in capitalism's death agony, as the economy falls apart and labor/black explosions threaten, they want to take the masses' guns away. In this atmosphere, the NRA lobbyists now find themselves politically disarmed in Congress, state legislatures and city councils as they plead for their "sporting" weapons while urging an even greater "War on Crime" by the cops and the feds (*American Rifleman*, April 1989). Marxists, in contrast, oppose racist gun control and defend the right of labor/black armed self-defense.

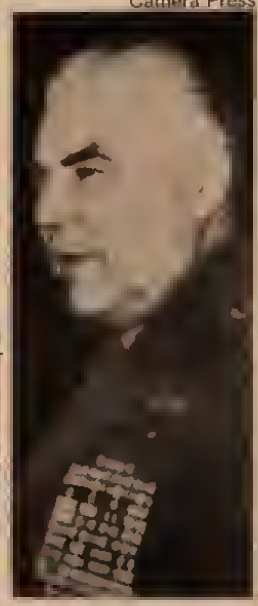
Since guns are tools for killing people, a good part of the desire for a socialist world order—i.e., the abolition of society based on class division and national oppression—is so that the use of guns might indeed become a mere hobby.

The guns the working people had better worry about today are those in the hands of the capitalist rulers, who want a total monopoly, at home and in the world. The former chief of the U.S. Strategic Air Command, General Curtis LeMay, called for bombing Vietnam back to the Stone Age, which the Pentagon attempted. And Washington howled against Soviet Marshal Malinovsky for declaring that the USSR must be prepared to defend itself with nuclear weapons. Yet only the Soviets' own development of an atomic arsenal has been able to deter the first-strikers in Washington who are gearing up for a final nuclear *Götterdämmerung*.

Having guns is no magic talisman, but an unarmed population faces merciless slaughter at the hands of this vicious ruling class whose state is armed to the teeth. For as Karl Marx summed it up in *Capital* (1867), "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new." ■

PBS

Camera Press



Nuclear credibility: Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky, Soviet defense minister in the 1960s, infuriated Pentagon by advocating and deploying nuclear forces to counter imperialist first-strike threat.

Soviet Elections...

(continued from page 1)

market-oriented "reforms." American Sovietologist Jan Vanous noted: "One of the most conservative elements may be the workers, who sense that, with any change, things will first get worse. That is in fact what they are seeing; their worst fears are being confirmed..." (*Soviet Economy*, April-June 1988). Soviet workers want to *conserve the social gains* of the Bolshevik Revolution, most concretely economic security, a low and stable cost of living, and a relatively egalitarian society.

But working-class resistance to perestroika has to date remained passive, unorganized, without a political expression. That is why the political scene has been dominated by Gorbachevite reformers, pro-Western liberals, nationalists of all stripes, Pamyat fascists and populist demagogues like Yeltsin. An authentic Bolshevik party must be built anew in the Soviet Union, to combat not only the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution but *all* forms of nationalism and chauvinism, liberal and pacifistic illusions, and outright capitalist restorationism. Such a party would raise on its banner, in Trotsky's words, "the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and regeneration of Soviet democracy on a far higher economic and cultural basis than in 1918."

Who Lost? Who Won?

When television newsmen asked one woman how she had voted, she replied, "Against what we have now." That pretty well sums up the popular mood. Much of the Western bourgeois media presents the election results as a repudiation of Communist rule. Gorbachev, however, contends the vote was a rousing endorsement of his "new thinking": "In a word, comrades, people have accepted the policy of perestroika with their hearts and minds. That, if you please, is the main political result of the elections.... Those [officials] lost who have been slow to reconstruct themselves, who haven't broadened their ties to the workers" (Baltimore *Sun*, 31 March). There is a certain validity in this last statement.

Leningrad party chief Yuri Solovyev was a member of the old Grigori Romanov gang which ran the city under Brezhnev. Romanov and his cronies are best remembered for taking Catherine the Great's dinnerware from the Hermitage Museum and smashing it in a drunken party. Solovyev & Co. are openly hostile to the Gorbachevite intellectuals and have been friendly protectors of the Pamyat fascist thugs. The Kiev officials who went down to defeat are part of the despised Vladimir Shcherbitsky regime in the Ukraine, a holdover from the Brezhnev era. No fan of glasnost (openness), Shcherbitsky locked up some Ukrainian nationalist agitators when Gorbachev visited his bailiwick in February. But while some local party bigwigs were repudiated in the elections, removing them from their bureaucratic posts is another question.

Thai/Time

Boris Yeltsin, Stalinist apparatchik turned populist demagogue.

Turnley/Newsweek

G. Neri

Lithuanians march behind flag of right-wing, bourgeois state of the interwar period (above). Greatest nationalist danger in the Soviet Union is that of Great Russian chauvinism: fascist Pamyat führer Dmitri Vassiliev agitates for anti-Semitic pogroms.

Given the worsening economic conditions, how is it that the conservative opponents of Gorbachev's new course, and not the partisans of perestroika, were singled out for defeat? The answer is twofold. First, Gorbachev and his propagandists have convinced people that the wretched economic conditions were largely inherited from the Brezhnev "era of stagnation." There is an important element of truth here. However, as we shall see, perestroika has made things *worse*.

Secondly, the conservative *apparatchiks*—represented in the Kremlin oligarchy by Yegor Ligachev—want above all to restore *tight bureaucratic control* over Soviet society. The Ligachev people have not claimed, even demagogically, to defend the interests of the working class against the inevitable effects of perestroika in the economic sphere—plant closures, layoffs, price hikes. Instead they have concentrated their fire against glasnost in the political sphere. Last year Ligachev sponsored the notorious "Andreyeva letter" praising Stalin and denouncing the relative newfound freedom in the Soviet press and media. The conservative bureaucrats are thus seen as aiming to bring back police-state conditions, if not of Stalin's day, then of Brezhnev's.

While the old-line bureaucrats were the big losers in the elections, the results were not a vote of confidence in Gorbachev. This is especially obvious with regard to the explosive nationalities issue. Perestroika has fueled a resurgence of nationalism and national antagonisms throughout the USSR. The bureaucratic centralism of Stalin and Brezhnev acted to crudely level the economic differences between the various regions. With decentralization and "market socialism" now the order of the day, the more advanced regions—notably the Baltic republics—see the opportunity to gain at the expense of more backward regions.

In Estonia and Latvia, much of the nationalist agitation is directed at the large population of Russians who emigrated there, drawn by the region's booming economy. Nationalist "popular fronts" in these Baltic republics call for total economic autonomy and restrictive immigration laws as well as language laws which would reduce the Russian inhabitants to second-class citizens. These movements, and even more so the Sajudis movement in neighboring Lithuania, identify with the right-wing, bourgeois Baltic states of the interwar period.

In the elections Sajudis won a large majority of the delegates allotted to Lithuania. The Estonian and Latvian Popular Fronts won a somewhat smaller majority, in good part because the Russian inhabitants of these republics voted for the established Communist leaderships. In fact, the Russians have formed their own countermovement, the Interfront. The stage is thus set in the Soviet Baltic for the kind of communalist violence we have seen in the Caucasus. Trying to quell the communalist bloodletting, Moscow imposed martial law in the Armenian capital of Yerevan last winter and imprisoned the firebrands of the Karabakh Committee. In response, Armenian nationalists called for a boycott of the elections, and many voters heeded their call. Armenia had the lowest voter turnout in the Soviet Union.

But the most potentially dangerous nationalism of all for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is that of the dominant nationality, the Russians. The spearhead of anti-Communist Russian nationalism is Pamyat (Memory), whose führer Dmitri Vassiliev declares, "the Great Russian Revolution was not great, and it was not Russian. It was organized by Jews." Pamyat's program: a pogrom against Soviet Jews, the purging of all Western influence in Russia, and a strong leader in the Kremlin like Stalin, or Ivan the Terrible. The Soviet workers must crush Pamyat!

These days, Gorbachev seems to be scrambling to keep in front of the tumultuous forces unleashed by his policies and promises: "We must not commit stupidities, attempt great leaps forward, or overreach ourselves because we could put the people's future at risk" (*New York Times*, 27 March). On the one hand, he has postponed for two or three years the explosive issue of raising consumer prices. On the other hand, last month he took a significant step toward *de*collectivizing agriculture by granting farmers lifetime leases on land, which they can bequeath.

The contradictions exposed by perestroika reflect the contradictory position of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy caught between the unrelenting pressures of world capitalism and the socialized economy created by the 1917 October Revolution. The nationalistic Kremlin oligarchy, from Stalin to Gorbachev, has driven the Soviet Union to such a condition that it cannot simultaneously improve living standards, modernize industry and agriculture, and maintain the military preparedness necessary to counter the growing imperialist threat. To achieve these goals—each necessary to defend the Soviet Union—requires a proletarian political revolution which will sweep away the parasitic bureaucracy, and restore the Bolshevik program of world socialist revolution.

Boris Yeltsin and Populist Demagogy

That Boris Yeltsin should emerge as the most prominent oppositional figure in Gorbachev's Russia was certainly unexpected. In late 1985 Yeltsin was brought in from Siberia to run Moscow precisely because he was a staunch Gorbachev loyalist and ardent advocate of perestroika. He zestfully axed scores of entrenched *apparatchiks* while currying favor with the local citizenry with a "populist" style. He visited hospitals and criticized the poor quality of medical care. He visited butcher shops and criticized the shortage of good meat. Of course, neither hospital care nor the supply of meat improved much. But then, like his protector Gorbachev, Yeltsin could blame all economic ills on the effects of the "era of stagnation."

Suddenly, in November 1987 it was announced that Yeltsin had been removed as chairman of the Moscow Communist Party. It seems he had sharply attacked Ligachev—then officially the number two man in the Kremlin—for obstructing perestroika. To preserve the unity of the ruling group, Gorbachev dumped the stormy petrel. In the old Stalinist manner, Yeltsin abjectly confessed his sins: "I am very guilty personally before Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, whose authority is so high in our organization, in our country and in the entire world" (*New York Times*, 14 November 1987). In the new Stalinist manner, Yeltsin was not shot as an "enemy of the people" but only demoted to a post in the construction ministry.

The fallen Moscow party boss, however, would not accept the role of living political corpse. He began giving interviews to the Western press, denouncing Ligachev as a closet opponent of perestroika. Then Yeltsin grasped the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies as a chance to make his political comeback. Furthermore, he ran against the manager of the Zil automobile plant which produces the handcrafted limousines for the party elite.

On Sunday, March 19, 2,000 pro-Yeltsin demonstrators defied an official ban and gathered in Moscow's Gorky Park. As they marched toward the Kremlin, their number grew spontaneously to 10,000. They chanted "Hands off Yeltsin!" and carried pictures of their new hero with the slogan "candidate of the people." Perhaps even more impressive than the size of this rally was its *broad* social composition—intellectuals, factory workers, grandmothers trying to survive on meager pensions. Clearly, Yeltsin is a man with something to offer for everyone.

A marine scientist participating in the pro-Yeltsin demonstration stated, "The

very fact that he is somebody they [the ruling circles] don't like makes people fight for him." But this purely negative explanation cannot fully account for the scope of Yeltsin's support. Yeltsin also claims to offer a solution to the economic crisis *without pain and sacrifice*—perestroika on the cheap.

The principal economic architects of perestroika, like Abel Aganbegyan and Leonid Abalkin, advocate increasing the incomes of engineers, technicians and managers at the expense of most workers, and encouraging private capitalist entrepreneurs. Yeltsin instead rails at the privileges of the bureaucratic elite (the *nomenklatura*), such as their special shops: "The ruble of a janitor should be worth the same as the ruble of a party leader."

While the Baltic nationalist demagogues advocate regional autonomy, Yeltsin campaigned for economic protectionism for Muscovites. He demanded that the city's factories *limit* temporary resident permits, now given to tens of thousands of workers, in order to reduce the pressure of demand for housing, food and other consumer goods. Such a reactionary and *in*egalitarian measure would enhance the *already privileged* status of legally established Moscow residents.

The official spokesmen for perestroika insist that the country's economic health can be restored only by closing unprofitable enterprises and by increasing rents and food prices. Yeltsin, however, demands, "we must... improve living standards and concentrate our resources on this, even if it means reducing investments, financial allocations or expenditures in other areas" (*Time*, 20 March). This would be to repeat the very policies which led to the so-called "era of stagnation."

Ironically, Yeltsin, who still describes himself as a strong supporter of perestroika, is now advocating the same economic policies carried out by the latter-day Brezhnev regime! Beginning in the mid-1970s, Brezhnev cut back investment in new plant and equipment in order to match the rapid American military buildup *without* reducing living standards. The planned increase in investment fell from 7.5 percent in the 1970-75 Five Year Plan to just 2 percent in the 1980-85 Plan. In this way Brezhnev & Co. undermined the economic strength and dynamism of the Soviet Union. But at least they tried to maintain Soviet military power in the face of the Cold War II offensive launched by Carter and carried forward by Reagan.

Yeltsin, however, is also calling for sharp cuts in Soviet military spending. And this over and above the unilateral cuts already made by Gorbachev! It is here that Yeltsin stands united with the most right-wing, pro-Western elements in the Gorbachev camp (and outside it). Many partisans of perestroika denounce the present level of Soviet military spending as not only economically wasteful but also provocative toward Western imperialism. Stodgy old Leonid Brezhnev is now depicted in the Gorbachevite press as some ultraleft adventurer who foolishly provoked such peace-loving types as Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan by flaunting Soviet military power. The Yeltsin campaign thus combined populist demagogy with dangerous pacifistic illusions in the benevolent nature of Western imperialism.

Perestroika Makes Things Worse

In the late 1970s, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, and in much of East Europe (e.g., Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia), attempted to buy social peace under conditions of declining economic growth. Thus the Brezhnev regime tried to foster the *illusion* of rapidly rising incomes by increasing money wages and salaries while freezing rents and the prices of food and other consumer goods. A kilo (2.2 pounds) of rye bread has cost about a quarter for decades, a kilo of potatoes is half that, and the Moscow subway is still less than a dime. With money incomes rapidly expanding, state shops were quickly sold out, while the waiting lines outside them grew ever longer.

Much of the excess demand flowed into the flourishing black market (the so-called shadow economy). As a spin-off, the late '70s saw the rise of criminal gangs which Russians now call "the mafia." Most of the surplus money was salted away in bank accounts: there was simply nothing else to do with it. The growing gap between money income and real output was thus covered over by a form of *forced saving*. By the beginning of the '80s the Soviet Union had become an extreme case of *suppressed inflation*. And this condition has grown far worse under Gorbachev. Soviet savings banks are accumulating 20 billion rubles a year, *twice* the rate of the early '80s.

Burnett/Contact

In Moscow's private markets, two pounds of tomatoes costs more than a day's pay for the average Soviet worker.

One factor causing this is the unforeseen economic effects of the anti-alcoholism campaign. Sales of heavily taxed vodka made up 15 percent of the state's retail trade. Now, Soviet drinkers are buying cheap moonshine vodka—about two-thirds of the total imbibed—and saving more money. But it is not just vodka that can no longer be found in state shops. Last winter the principal government newspaper *Izvestia* reported: "By turns or in combinations, towels, toothpaste, toilet paper, lotion, sugar and electric bulbs have disappeared from the shelves. Now, you cannot buy detergent and cheap soap. What will it be tomorrow?"

Why the severe and growing shortages? First, in order to maximize profits under the new perestroika rules, enterprise managers have shifted their output from cheaper to more expensive items. Hence no more cheap soap. Secondly, the rise of small-scale private capitalists (they're called "cooperatives" but this fools no one) has *diverted* both foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods away from the socialized economy.

Despite a poor harvest this year, total agricultural production has *not declined* under Gorbachev. However, a March 1986 decree allowed both collective farms (*kolkhozy*) and state farms (*sovkhozy*) to sell a *larger share* of their output in the rural free markets or through private traders. You can buy any kind of food in any quantity in Gorbachev's Russia if you're willing to pay the price. But who can afford it? A kilo of tomatoes selling in Moscow's private markets costs *more than a day's pay* for the average worker!

In early 1987 a new law permitted private entrepreneurs to manufacture consumer goods as well as engage in various services (e.g., repairman, hairdresser, taxi driver). The latter had long been common although illegal. But now petty capitalists are absorbing inputs for consumer goods that would previously have gone to supply the state shops. The other side of the shortages is sharply increased accumulation of unspendable money. Soviet citizens now hold about 300 billion rubles in savings accounts. Probably another 100 billion is tied up in old socks or stuffed in mattresses. This amounts to *well over half* the total annual national income of the USSR! To soak up this vast hoard of monetary purchasing power, prices would have to rise 100, 200, 400 percent—god knows how much.

No wonder the Gorbachev regime wants to postpone the dread "price reform" as long as possible. Western bourgeois ideologues are disappointed that the Kremlin reformer-in-chief has not yet opted for the "free market" solution. The London *Economist* (11 March) lectures the Soviet leader like an English headmaster speaking to an obtuse student: "Now Mr. Gorbachev may have only one weapon left to force Russia's idle classes off their backsides: price reform. Yet he seems reluctant, or unable, to use it." Last fall a high-powered panel of American Sovietologists assured Gorbachev that doing away with price controls would not lead to massive political unrest: "this is one of the most patient populations in the world," according to Ed Hewitt of the liberal think tank Brookings Institution.

Soviet working people are not so patient when it comes to sharp increases in their cost of living. Practically every Western article on the current Soviet economy mentions that official food prices have been frozen since 1962. Yet almost none indicate why this particular benchmark year. In 1962 Khrushchev raised the price of meat by 30 to 40 percent in order to finance higher procurement prices for the collective farms. The response was strikes and violent protests in many Soviet cities.

The most serious conflagration took place in the industrial city of Novocherkassk in the Donbass region of the Ukraine. The protest movement was spearheaded by workers from the huge Budenny Electric Locomotive Works and women from the textile mills. After the locomotive factory workers succeeded in driving off local militiamen, units of the army and the KGB political police were brought in to quell the protests. At one point thousands gathered in the city square. John Kolasky, a member of the Canadian Communist Party then studying in Kiev, has given an account of what happened in Novocherkassk based on eyewitness reports:

> "The city secretary of the party appeared and began to address the crowd. Some tried to shout him down; others hurled objects at him. Suddenly the KGB detachment opened fire into the crowd. Shooting also began from other directions. In one area, when soldiers were ordered to fire, one officer pulled out his party membership card, tore it up, and then shot himself. Many soldiers refused to obey the command.
> "According to reports, at least several hundred were killed. Martial law and a curfew were imposed, troops and tanks patrolled the streets and the area was completely sealed off."
>
> —quoted in M. Holubenko, "The Soviet Working Class: Discontent and Opposition," *Critique* No. 4, Spring 1975

The protests and repression over the price hikes damaged Khrushchev's popularity and weakened his political authority. This contributed to his ouster from power two years later in a palace coup engineered by Leonid Brezhnev.

The Novocherkassk events are little known in the West. But they are well known to Soviet officials, and doubtless very much on the minds of Gorbachev and his entourage these days. Imagine what would happen today if the KGB shot down Soviet workers protesting price hikes! So the regime desperately wants to buy time. Abel Aganbegyan, one of the main architects of perestroika, maintains that "price reform" will be implemented a few years hence when the supply of consumer goods has increased sufficiently to prevent runaway inflation. Fat chance! Perestroika has not led to increased productivity. Quite the contrary.

Industrial Reform Produces Bureaucratized Anarchy

Announcing the new Law of State Enterprises in June 1987, Gorbachev proclaimed the "transition of many branches of the economy to new methods of management, to full profit-and-loss accounting and self-financing" (*khozraschet*). The idea was that in order to maximize profits (or at least avoid losses) enterprise managers would reduce costs while producing better quality goods geared to consumer demand. But Soviet managers have no desire to compete for customers and have done their best to perpetuate the

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Soviet press reports strikes as workers resist speedup and layoffs which accompany perestroika (left). Gorbachev and his wife Raisa visiting a factory in Estonia.

TASS from Sovfoto

Soviet Elections...

(continued from page 13)

old system. Thus the bulk of their output goes to fulfill "state orders" negotiated with the industrial ministries which formerly administered the plan. The journal *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* (January 1988) claimed:

> "What has happened in reality? The ministries have succeeded, without any difficulty, in putting the old content into the new name, and under the guise of an order have allocated enterprises the former plan for products."

Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya was wrong to maintain that nothing has changed except terminology. Under the old, centrally administered system, a serious effort was made to match planned inputs to planned outputs. Enterprises received most of the raw materials and goods-in-process from the central supply agency Gossnab. But now there is no mechanism for matching inputs and outputs since the enterprises and ministries do not coordinate their production decisions and orders with one another. Say a shoe factory contracts to supply the ministry of light industry with several thousand pairs of work boots. There is no guarantee it can procure the quantity and quality of leather it needs from various tanneries. And there is no central agency responsible for meeting its supply needs.

Thus the Soviet press reports a marked increase in factory down time, wasting countless man-hours, due to lack of supplies. In short, enterprise "self-financing" has resulted in ministerial empire-building and bureaucratized anarchy. Moscow wits have revived an old joke to describe the effects of the "reform." It seems the Kremlin leaders decided to change the traffic system so that henceforth driving would be on the left instead of right. Being cautious, they implemented the reform in stages. To start with, only half the cars would follow the new rule.

The main aim of "full profit-and-loss accounting" is not so much to spur managers to become more efficient. Rather it is to reduce labor costs by laying off "redundant" workers and forcing those remaining to work harder for fear that they, too, may lose their jobs. A leading "reform" economist, Nikolai Shmelyov, stated quite bluntly:

> "Today it is, I believe, clear to everyone that we owe disorderliness, drunkenness, and shoddy work largely to excessively full employment. We must discuss fearlessly and in businesslike terms what we could gain from a comparatively small reserve army of labor."
>
> —quoted in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Gorbachev's Economic Plans* (1987)

As Brookings Institution's Ed Hewitt put it cynically but accurately: "Look, perestroika is a very polite phrase for firing a lot of people, moving people around and closing a lot of bad enterprises" (*Washington Post*, 6 November 1988).

A closely related aspect of perestroika is the hard-sell campaign to draw Western and Japanese multinationals into joint ventures in the USSR. A few months ago the Gorbachev regime announced that foreign investors can now have up to 80 percent ownership in such joint ventures. But Western capitalists want more than a bigger share of the expected profits. They want to run Russian enterprises like they run their own corporations.

Leading Soviet labor economist Vladimir Kostakov recounts that an American businessman told him a year or so ago: "You want Americans to participate in joint ventures. Would I be able to dismiss your workers?" (*Soviet Economy*, January-March 1988). Talk about capitalist arrogance! Here's a man who has invested not one dime in the Soviet economy, but he is yearning to throw Russian workers into the streets.

But Soviet workers do not intend to let themselves be dismissed by their own homegrown bureaucrats, not to speak of American, German and Japanese capitalists. For Soviet workers, a job means a lot more than just a paycheck. The workplace is the center of economic and, to a large extent, social life. Large enterprises provide free health clinics and nurseries, low-cost housing, cheap vacations and countless other benefits.

Even more so than stability in the cost of living, the Soviet proletariat considers job security as their *fundamental right*, as a basic attribute of the Soviet system. Hence the Gorbachev regime is moving very cautiously on "price reform," layoffs and closing unprofitable enterprises. Nonetheless, the worsening economic situation, especially food shortages, could easily spark an explosion from below given the inflammatory conditions of the Soviet Union under Gorbachev.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

to the State Building. Today, 116 people await their fate on death row in Illinois. While the state has not executed anyone in over 20 years, there are those itching to dust off the electric chair. Death row inmate Charles Walker has given up his right to appeal, and Governor Thompson has declared he will not stand in the way of any executions.

Contingents at the April 8 march came from throughout Illinois and surrounding states and included many high school students. A spirited 25-strong contingent, supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee, Labor Black Struggle League and the Spartacist League, marched under the banner reading, "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" The liberal organizers of the demonstration objected to our placard "Gun Control Kills Blacks! For the Right of Armed Self-Defense!" Falsely viewing the bosses' government as a "neutral" arbiter of class struggle, such supporters of gun control would disarm working people and minorities in the face of capitalist state repression.

Two former death row inmates spoke at the rally—they are living testament to the barbaric institution of legalized state murder which has executed over 85 innocent people since the beginning of the century. Darby Tillis, who endured five trials and four years on death row before being found innocent, brought to the podium hundreds of petitions against the death penalty collected by Amnesty International. Delbert Tibbs, the Chicago black writer, who had been arrested and convicted in Florida in 1974 in a blatant racist frame-up, spoke movingly at the rally. Tibbs pointed to the class nature of capital punishment when he said, "Nowhere in our history do we know of a millionaire being executed."

Both Darby Tillis and Delbert Tibbs signed letters on the spot calling to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. As the urgent appeal by the Partisan Defense Committee, "In the Name of Justice," puts it, the name of Mumia Abu-Jamal "should be a rallying cry in the fight against racist injustice. Mumia Abu-Jamal—synonymous with the fight against the barbaric death penalty." Mumia's fight must become our fight. Tell it at your workplace, union hall, dormitory, student union, on the airwaves and in print: "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Mumia Must Not Die!"

To join the urgent campaign to save Mumia's life, write and send donations to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

WV Photo

At Philadelphia demonstration last December commemorating the victims of MOVE massacre, protesters call for defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

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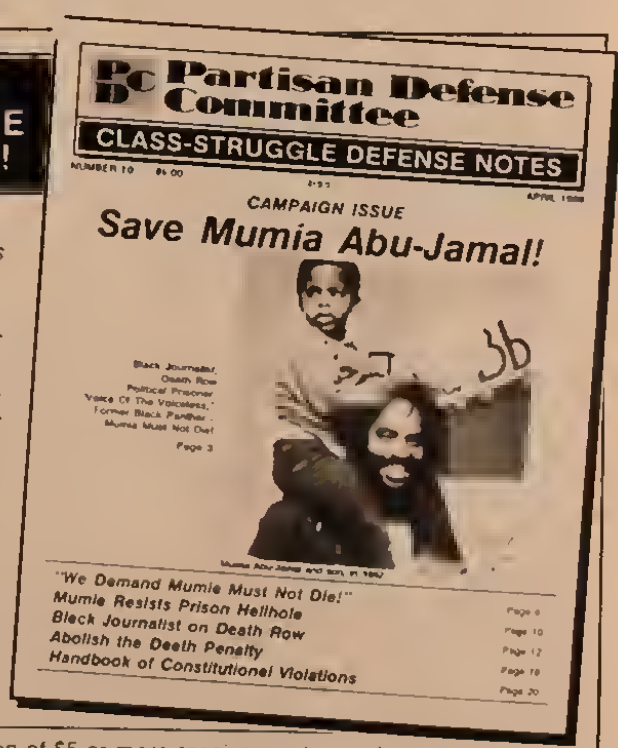

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Eastern Strike...

(continued from page 16)

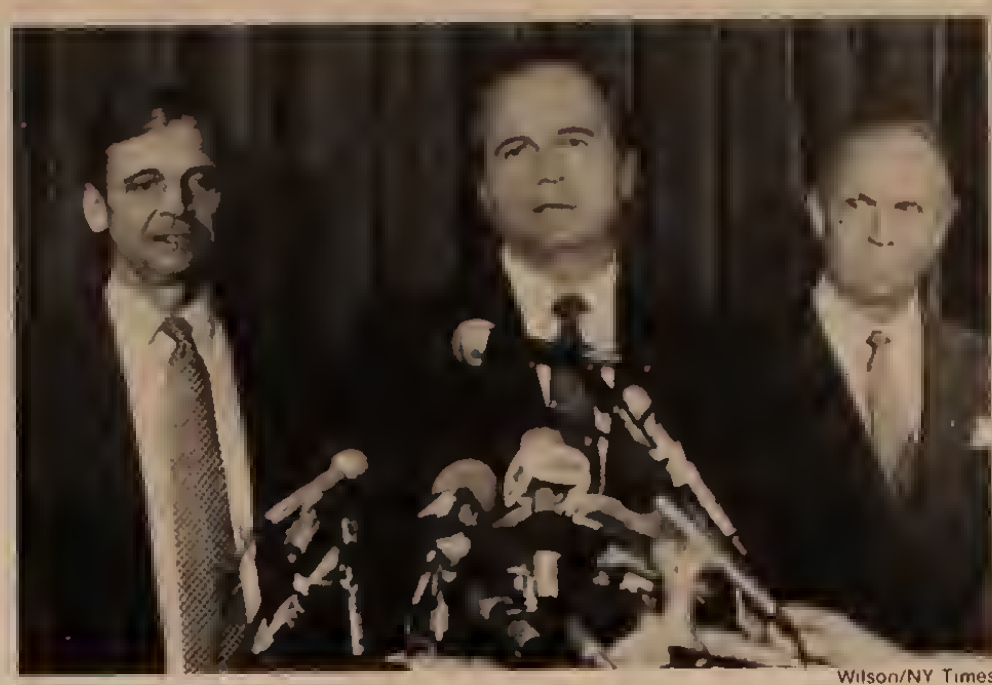
the unions, the junk bond vultures moved in. The roster of raiders salivating over Eastern reads like a "ten most wanted" list of capitalist high rollers: real estate megamogul Donald Trump; Carl Icahn, the corporate raider who broke the flight attendants' 1986 strike at TWA; Hyatt Hotels king Jay Pritzker; Denver oil billionaire Marvin Davis. But the board of Lorenzo's Texas Air wanted Ueberroth.

Last November, four months before the strike began, IAM District 100 chief Charles Bryan and the heads of ALPA and the TWU began secret negotiations with Ueberroth, then major league baseball commissioner, who presented them with autographed World Series baseballs. Carl Pohlad, the owner of the Minnesota Twins baseball team and a Texas Air director, brought Ueberroth and the union bureaucrats together.

This betrayal "gives" the unions a 30 percent stake in Eastern in exchange for the massive concessions. The whole deal is a replay of the "worker participation" scheme foisted on the workers six years ago by then Eastern chairman Frank Borman, when Charles Bryan got a seat on the board of directors, and the workers got the shaft. This union "stake" in Eastern disappeared without a trace when Lorenzo took it over. As one striker's T-shirt proclaimed: "Different Frank, Same Shit."

Ueberroth declares, "We look at labor as our partners," and, especially coming after Lorenzo, many Eastern workers would like to believe him. Don't be fooled! Ueberroth is the anti-labor, drug-testing millionaire who ran the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. After he turned a cool $225 million profit in that flag-waving "free world" extravaganza, *Time* magazine crowned him "Man of the Year." During Ueberroth's reign as baseball commissioner he used the whip of drug testing against the players (he was the one who suspended Dwight Gooden). He also oversaw the owners' collusion against the right of ballplayers to escape their indentured servitude by means of "free agency."

Bankrolling Ueberroth is Jet America owner Thomas Talbot, "who apparently represents the interests of Kirk Kerkorian, head of the MGM/UA Communications Company," according to the *New York Times* (8 April). In his 1985 book, *Made in America*, Ueberroth pays tribute to his "mentor" Kerkorian—"he taught me the value of taking business risks." According to Dan Moldea, author of *Dark Victory—Ronald Reagan, MCA and the Mob* (1986), Kerkorian bought MGM with his Las Vegas hotel and casino profits, and "was a long-time friend of Charles 'The Blade' Tourine, a top New York mobster and an associate of Meyer Lansky." The unsavory cast of characters led the *Washington Post* (2 April) to note that "the fate of one of the largest airlines in the world could be determined by a casino mogul, a secretive Las Vegas financier, the owner of a travel agency, a baseball commissioner, an obstinate corporate executive and a guy from Queens."



Wilson/NY Times

Shady corporate operators Frank Lorenzo, Peter Ueberroth and Thomas Talbot. Would you buy a used airline from these men?

At his press conference announcing the deal, Ueberroth paid tribute to the king of debt. Drexel Burnham junk bond executive Michael Milken, for giving Ueberroth the advice that "turned the corner so that we could get it done." Milken, currently under federal racketeering charges for insider trading, recently stunned Wall Street when the feds revealed that in a single year he earned more than *half a billion dollars*—more than the gross national product of many small countries. Even Trump and David Rockefeller yelped.

The "Junking of America" is a direct result of the massive anti-Soviet war buildup, begun under Democrat Carter and pushed through the roof by Reagan. The trillions of dollars invested in a 600-ship navy, MX and Star Wars first-strike weapons systems hasn't left much to put into basic industry. Manufacturing, construction and mining now account for less than 30 percent of economic output, compared with 50 percent in 1946. On Wall Street, the annual Drexel Burnham junk bond gathering of the greedy is known as the "predators ball." They are aptly described by Alexander Cockburn as "the takeover tycoons, these latter-day receptacles of the spirit of the Auschwitz industrial park. Capitalism made us do it" (*Nation*, 3 April). These are the "partners in workers' participation" that Winpisinger and the labor traitors have crawled into bed with.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

The solidarity among Eastern workers stands out in part because strikes today, if they happen at all, are drawn out, isolated, set up and stabbed in the back by the labor traitors. At Colt Industries in Connecticut, strikers belonging to the United Auto Workers (UAW) have been out since 1986. New York tugboatmen are fighting alone, while their longshore union brothers are told to continue to work the docks. The *Wall Street Journal* (27 January) gloats that the Mine Workers used to be known as "barroom brawlers," but now 2,000 Pittston miners are kept on the job for over a year without a contract, while the union is run by "numbers-crunching union leaders, more at home in suits than overalls and a miner's hat."

The policies of these "labor lieutenants of capital" (in Daniel De Leon's apt characterization of 80 years ago) have cut union membership in half since the AFL and CIO merged 35 years ago. Their new "strategy" is "affiliated membership," where you pay dues and get a union card, but have no union and no contract! The "Corporate Campaigns" of useless consumer boycotts and appeals to stockholders are sure death. The UAW bureaucracy's racist protectionism, along with the "team concept" and "employee involvement," has turned the union that pioneered the sit-down strike into company agents in the plant (and the board of directors).

Even as the union bureaucracy continues to throttle labor struggle, the bourgeoisie is worried that the intense shortage of skilled workers and a falling unemployment rate will fuel a labor offensive. The tight labor market for skilled mechanics and pilots was an important factor in the Eastern strike. Noting that real wages have fallen *15 percent* since 1973, while capitalists are reaping record profits, *Barron's* (10 April) worries that the workers' attitude has gone "From Give-Up to Gimme." With key union contracts coming this year in steel, longshore, telephone and aerospace, *Barron's* warns that employers have "no other choice" but to "pay up."

But in the Midwest "rust bowl" and across the country tens of thousands of black workers have been on the street for years, thrown out of the plants two recessions ago. The falling unemployment rates trumpeted in the capitalist newspapers exclude millions who have been "dropped" from the workforce as "discouraged workers," or forced into part-time, non-union jobs. Black mothers imprisoned in ghetto hellholes without childcare aren't considered "unemployed." Estimates of actual unemployment run to more than double the government's figure—over 11 percent, according to labor reporter William Serrin (*Nation*, 23 January).

In the last decade, the labor bureaucracy has left a graveyard of strikes that could have been won—PATCO air controllers, Greyhound bus drivers, Hormel meatpackers, International Paper workers all fought hard. But it takes more than staying power to win against this decaying, capitalist system. Once again, the Eastern strike has posed pointblank the need for class-stuggle leadership. Any serious class battle must be waged *politically*, taking on the capitalist labor boards, no-strike laws and strikebreaking injunctions. This means a fight to take workers' struggles out of the hands of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, ousting these class traitors and forging a workers party to fight for a workers government which will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America. ■

New York Transit...

(continued from page 4)

Later." That means "Die First and Grieve It Later." Hall's first response to the Astor Place deaths was to alibi the bosses by saying that because of noise abatement programs "you don't necessarily hear the train coming as quickly." Now Hall is blustering about a "slowdown"... on the curves. But the last "job action" called by the Hall regime was when VP Jefferson issued a leaflet suggesting that trains should enter and leave stations at 5 miles per hour to protest scapegoating for "draggings." Train operators who took this seriously were investigated by the TA; they were set up by the union bureaucrats.

The only way workers have ever won anything, including safety in the workplace, is by wielding their power in defiance of the bosses' laws. For a few years after the winning 1966 strike, which smashed the Taylor Law of the day, transit was the best job in the city, and a hell of a lot less hazardous than it is today. *We must fight for elected union safety representatives, backed by the entire union, with the power to shut down any unsafe working condition on the spot.* We spend every day in the tunnels and barns and under the buses and cars and we know what works. Without us, the city doesn't move. You can bet if we ran transit, we'd make it run safe!

Stewart Melsinker was buried Sunday April 2nd. Several transit workers attended his funeral. The funeral for David Davis will be Wednesday, April 5th. All 37,000 of us should be there. That would go a long way toward preventing the TA's productivity drive from claiming any more of us as victims. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

200 March Against Death Penalty in Chicago

CHICAGO—An urgent campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been launched by the Partisan Defense Committee. On March 6 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied ex-Black Panther and journalist Abu-Jamal's appeal to have his death sentence overturned. Called the "voice of the voiceless," for his Philadelphia radio broadcasts against racist injustice, Mumia is America's only death row political prisoner.

While Mumia's case is garnering national support, among those endorsing in the Chicago area are aldermen Bobby Rush and Danny Davis; Larry Regan, president of Steelworkers Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana; Henry English, president of the Illinois Black United Fund; Winston Nagan, member of the Board of Directors of Amnesty International U.S.A.; and Patricia Vader, director of the Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty. The campaign has received attention in Chicago's black press and radio.

On Saturday, April 8 over 200 gathered in Chicago's Seneca Park for a march and demonstration against the death penalty called by Amnesty International and the Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty. The diverse crowd marched down Michigan Avenue

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WV Photo

At protest called by Amnesty International, April 8, contingent from the Labor Black Struggle League and PDC raises the call to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Solid on the Picket Line, Given Back at the Bargaining Table

Eastern Strike: What's Ahead for Labor?

APRIL 11—For six weeks the Eastern workers have remained solid on the picket line. From Boston to Miami, the ranks of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), backed up by the flight attendants and pilots, sent corporate raider Frank Lorenzo's plans to break the Eastern unions into a tailspin, forcing him to sell off the airline. Ever since Reagan smashed the PATCO air controllers in 1981, every significant strike—Greyhound bus drivers, Arizona copper miners, Hormel meatpackers—had been broken or weakened by massive scabherding. But *not this time*. The Eastern strike is widely seen as a sign of renewed labor militancy and economic clout. The business weekly *Barron's* (10 April) headlined: "Push for Power: Labor Flexes Its Muscle."

But what have the strikers actually gained? The announcement of the buyout of Eastern Airlines by Peter Ueberroth and his collection of shady millionaires was greeted with cheers from jubilant Machinists. But this buyout is "Made by Lorenzo" and the junk bond dealers who have raped the airline industry. As liberal Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith observed, "Whoever buys Eastern will have to add the cost of financing the deal to the company's already massive debts"—over $2.5 billion. A Wall Street analyst said that Ueberroth may end up liquidating the airline: "Right now, Eastern is worth more dead than alive" (*New York Times*, 10 April).

As we go to press, the buyout is before

WV Photo

Rally at San Francisco Airport, March 18. Machinists strike against corporate cannibal Frank Lorenzo won widespread popular support.

federal bankruptcy judge L. Burton Lifland, who has threatened to "knock heads" to end the strike. Lifland is set to rule on the union tops' demand that he appoint a trustee to run the airline. A likely candidate is former secretary of war and CIA heavy Frank Carlucci, a Company man if ever there was one.

Once again they are going to soak the unions to pay for it. The IAM tops' deal with Ueberroth cuts wages a whopping $160 million, with another $60 million in benefit and pension givebacks from the IAM, the Air Line Pilots Association and the flight attendants in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 553. This is as much or more than the wage-cutting bastard Lorenzo demanded! And the IAM tops are criminally silent on the jobs of the hundreds of union officers and militants Lorenzo has fired.

IAM president William Winpisinger, who never wanted this strike and has begged for Congress and the labor hoards to take it off his hands, fought to prevent the one thing that would guarantee a resounding victory: *shutting down the airports by extending the strike*. Rail workers, ready to honor picket lines in a secondary strike, were told to stand down. Other airline workers who were eager to to join the battle and extend the strike industrywide were ordered to bow before the capitalist courts and the no-strike injunctions.

Workers across the country have poured out for demonstrations of solidarity with the Machinists—everybody saw the Eastern strike as the chance to avenge the defeats of the last decade and win big. Eastern workers repaid this solidarity, joining demonstrations of longshoremen in Savannah, marching on the health care workers' picket lines in Cleveland. But the labor bureaucracy has kept the strike narrowly focused on the justly hated Lorenzo—the last thing they and their Democratic Party allies want is an explosion of class struggle. Rip up this junk bond sellout—keep Eastern grounded and extend the strike!

The Junking of America

In March, when it became clear Lorenzo was losing the showdown with

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 476 — 28 April 1989

Life-or-Death Battle Against CIA's Cutthroats

Afghanistan: Jalalabad Must Not Fall!

APRIL 24—After seven weeks of bitter siege warfare, the Afghan provincial capital of Jalalabad continues to hold fast. Attack after attack by the CIA's counterrevolutionary "holy warriors" (*mujahedin*) has been repulsed by the heroic defenders of this beleaguered city as they are pounded by Pakistani artillery. On April 16, the Afghan government news agency Bakhtar reported the reopening of the Kabul-Jalalabad highway, which had been blocked by guerrilla-laid mines. A column of 270 trucks carrying food, weapons, ammunition and fresh reinforcements was able to reach the city. And the *New York Times* (19 April) reported that a convoy of 1,000 armored vehicles and 500 supply trucks arrived in Kabul from the Soviet Union.

The defense perimeter around Jalalabad is today the front line in the war against imperialist reaction, a front line in humanity's struggle for social progress. A victory for the *mujahedin* in Jalalabad, opening the road to a drive on Kabul itself, would not only mean a bloodbath for thousands in the Afghan capital. It could foreshadow the butchery or re-enslavement of all those throughout Afghanistan who have freed themselves from the chains of feudalist reaction: women who have taken off the suffocating veil, girls who have learned to read and write, young people who have chosen to step into the 20th century.

Prashant Panjiar

Afghan government troops defend strategic Salang highway linking Kabul to Soviet Union.

Washington and its Pakistani ally in Islamabad thought the taking of Jalalabad would be a cakewalk. Their *mujahedin* killers were armed with billions of dollars of high-tech American weaponry and directed by Pakistani military intelligence. Puffed up by their "victories" in massacring and raping defenseless civilians and slaughtering

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500,000 Teachers Strike Against Starvation Wages

Labor Showdown in Mexico

WV Photo

Teachers march in Mexico City, April 19, demanding 100 percent wage increase and union democracy.

MEXICO CITY, April 25—Ever since the 1982 debt crisis sent Mexico reeling from oil boom to bust, as real wages were cut in half and unemployment spread, Mexico's rulers and their imperialist backers in Wall Street and Washington have feared the outbreak of popular protest. Now, a month after the "debt bomb" exploded with hunger riots in Venezuela, the imposed government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, described by *Business Week* (20 March) as "arguably the most unpopular president in modern Mexican history," is locked in a test of strength with hundreds of thousands of striking teachers, dissident members of the largest labor organization in Latin America, the National Union of Educational Workers (SNTE).

On April 17, about half a million teachers in 15 states and the federal district walked out in response to the call of the opposition National Coordinating Committee of Educational Workers (CNTE), in a strike affecting ten million students. The teachers are demanding a 100 percent wage increase and union democracy. In a last-ditch effort to head off the strike, Education Secretary Manuel Bartlett offered an insulting 10 percent wage hike, and 18 percent in benefits (inflation last year was over 50 percent by official figures). But for the teachers, whose $150-per-month salary is only slightly above the minimum wage, this "increase" is a pitiful 40 cents a day. They will still have to work two jobs to survive. The striking teachers gave their response at a huge April 19 march in the capital, as 200,000 chanted "10 percent, ha, ha, ha!"

The teachers' demands are overwhelmingly popular in this country

continued on page 10

Wilmington, North Carolina

"ILA Is Here to Stay!"

WILMINGTON, North Carolina, April 14—Six hundred members of the International Longshoremen's Association and their supporters marched here today to protest the incursion of the scab Carolina Atlantic Transport Services (CATS) into ILA strongholds on the South Atlantic coast. Chanting "ILA—All the way" and "ILA is here to stay," the unionists marched from the main gate of the North Carolina Port Authority to City Hall. Along the route they were cheered by residents of this city's integrated housing projects. Black longshoremen from Miami, Jacksonville, Charleston and Savannah were joined by members of the largely white ILA clerks and checkers locals: up and down the coast ILAers know it's time to draw the line against the threat of non-union outfits like CATS.

CATS, which operates the scab tug and barge *El Pato* ("The Duck"), is owned by the former head of the North Carolina Port Authority. The ongoing battle to keep Wilmington and Savannah solidly ILA has been marked by cop and scab violence against union pickets (see "Savannah ILA Fights Scab Operator," *WV* No. 475, 14 April). In Wilmington, the port authority has called out every police agency in the state to intimidate the union. So far over 25 longshoremen have been arrested, and a judge has handed down an injunction limiting Local 1426 to four pickets and prohibiting unionists from even stepping on port property except as part of an "approved" work gang.

On April 8, as 30 longshoremen waited to work a ship late at night, over 200 cops—city, highway patrol, county sheriffs, state narcotics agents—invaded the docks, closing off the gates, hiding behind containers and driving dangerously close to the ILA members. The Local 1426 president told *WV* that the unionists "were scared for their lives," and left the docks single file, making sure no one was left behind. North Carolina cops have a long, bloody history of assaults on blacks and labor, from the reign of terror unleashed against the Communist-led textile strike in Gastonia in 1929 to the cops' conspiracy with the Klan in the murder of five leftists and civil rights activists in Greensboro in 1979.

600 ILA longshoremen and supporters march against scab stevedores, April 14.

Greg Washington

With the ILA contract coming up in September, scab stevedoring outfits like CATS are a threat to the entire union, and especially the black labor power which the ILA represents in the racist, "open shop" South. A massive display of union muscle on the picket line can shut down CATS for good, and turn the injunctions of the capitalist courts into worthless scraps of paper. A victory here could be the spark to ignite a fight by the ILA from the Gulf to New York. ILA—All the Way! Pluck the Duck! Shut Down the Ports!■

TROTSKY

"May Day on the March"

Ever since the 1886 Haymarket massacre in Chicago of workers demonstrating for the eight-hour day, May 1st has become the international workers' holiday. (In the United States, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy has promoted "Labor Day" in September as the red-white-and-blue alternative to red May Day.) In Germany in 1913, Rosa Luxemburg published an essay in which she foresaw that out of the looming imperialist world war would come workers revolution. When war actually began, the German Social Democracy, like many other sections of the Second International, capitulated to its own bourgeoisie in a frenzy of social-chauvinism. But the internationalist program advanced by Luxemburg and Lenin was realized in October 1917 in Russia with the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution. Luxemburg and her comrade Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German Communist Party, were martyred in the suppression of the Spartacist uprising in January 1919.

LENIN

The brilliant basic idea of May Day is the autonomous, immediate stepping forward of the proletarian masses, the political mass action of the millions of workers who otherwise are atomized by the barriers of the state in the day-to-day parliamentary affairs....

The whole development, the whole tendency of imperialism in the last decade leads the international working class to see more clearly and more tangibly that only the personal stepping forward of the broadest masses, their personal political action, mass demonstrations, and mass strikes which must sooner or later open into a period of revolutionary struggles for the power in the state, can give the correct answer of the proletariat to the immense oppression of imperialistic policy.... And the more the idea of May Day, the idea of resolute mass actions as a manifestation of international unity, and as a means of struggle for peace and for socialism, takes root in the strongest troops of the International, the German working class, the greater is our guarantee that out of the world war which, sooner or later, is unavoidable, will come forth a definite and victorious struggle between the world of labor and that of capital.

—Rosa Luxemburg, "The Idea of May Day on the March" (30 April 1913)

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No. 476 **28 April 1989**

Victory to Pittston Miners Strike!

APRIL 25—In southwest Virginia and West Virginia, 1,700 coal miners are locked in a battle to defend their union, the United Mine Workers, from a concerted union-busting assault by the Pittston Coal Company. As we go to press, *over four hundred miners*, including UMW District 28 president Jackie Stump, have been arrested after shutting down Pittston's McClure, Lambert and Moss No. 3 mines in Virginia on April 24-25. The strike is spreading, as UMW members are shutting down other mines which are filling orders for Pittston.

The strike began April 5, after miners worked 14 months without a contract. Pittston Co., which also owns the Brinks armored car company and the Burlington Express commuter airline, has brought in gun-toting thugs from Vance International Security—the same outfit that hired contra mercenaries fresh from Central America to terrorize miners during the 1984-85 A.T. Massey strike. Scores of Virginia state troopers have invaded the coal fields, jailing picketing miners on felony charges. But the strikers are not taking the cop/company goon attacks lying down. In Logan County, West Virginia, some scab coal trucks have met with accidents, and a railroad trestle at Buffalo Creek Hollow caught fire.

But the Pittston strike is threatened by UMW president Richard Trumka's disastrous strategy of "selective strikes" plus "Corporate Campaign"-style consumer boycotts and pleading with big capitalist banks and stockholders. Pittston refused to sign the industry-wide agreement last January, and cut off medical benefits to 1,500 retirees, widows and disabled miners. But Trumka kept miners on the job, except for a six-day memorial work stoppage last June to commemorate the seven miners killed at Pittston's McClure No. 1 mine in a methane explosion in 1983.

Even the 500 Pittston miners in UMW District 30 in Kentucky are being kept on the job—Trumka has only called the strike over narrow "unfair labor" charges before the National Labor Relations Board. Bowing to the bosses' courts and labor boards is what has decimated the UMW—over *half* the union has been wiped out in the 1980s. Trumka follows in the footsteps of the hated Arnold Miller, the pro-Labor Department "reformer" who dragged the union into the bosses' courts and crawled before the injunctions in the 1977-78 110-day coal strike.

Trumka has gutted the UMW tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all." He has abandoned the five Kentucky miners railroaded in the capitalist courts for defending picket lines during the UMW's first "selective strike" at A.T. Massey. Four of these brothers, Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland, are serving 35-45 years in the Ashland, Kentucky prison. Last December, the week before Christmas, the UMW International (which has not printed a word in defense of these brothers) *withdrew strike benefits* from Donnie Thornsbury's family! His wife, Vanita Thornsbury, told *WV* that she has been forced onto welfare. On January 6 their appeal was denied by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. Paul Smith, a fifth miner who was acquitted of the same trumped-up charges a year ago, faces capital charges of murder in Kentucky. He is appealing this outrageous double jeopardy. Free the Kentucky miners!

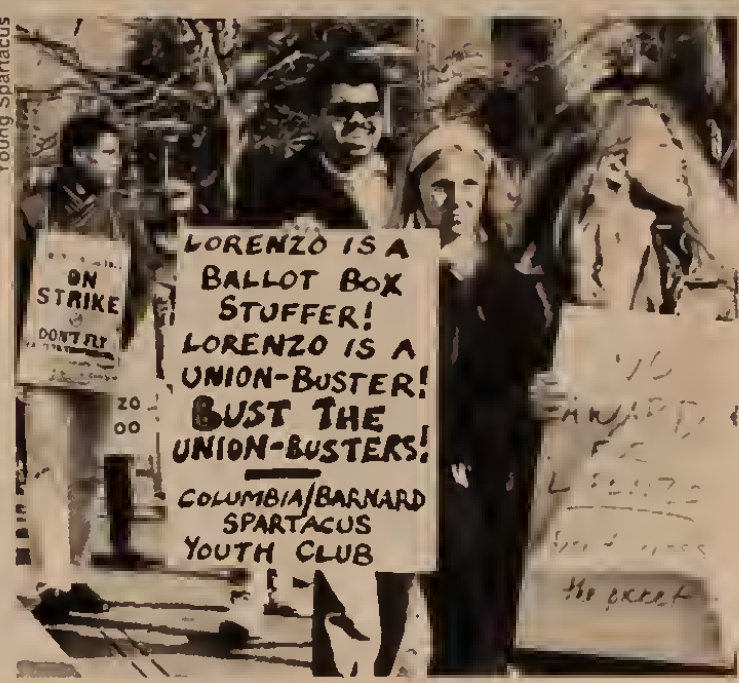
The *entire* UMW must be mobilized in defense of the Pittston strikers—this is a battle the union must not lose. In 1973, the Brookside miners in Bloody Harlan, Kentucky, fought for 13 months to force Duke Power to accept a standard UMW contract. They won when the UMW finally called out 120,000 miners and shut down every union mine in the country in a five-day "memorial" strike. Union caravans must pour into southwest Virginia and send Pittston's gun thugs packing. For an industrywide coal strike, to win a common unionwide contract at every mine! Victory to the Pittston strike!■

Lorenzo, Ueberroth, Icahn—They're All Union-Busters

Eastern Strike: No Giveback Deals!

The 8,500 striking members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), backed by the pilots and flight attendants, have stood solid on the picket line against Eastern Airlines and union-buster Frank Lorenzo for eight long weeks. But everything that Eastern strikers have fought for is in danger of being sacrificed, as the union misleaders crawl from Congress to the labor-hating judges to federal bankruptcy court to *give away* what the Machinists have won on the picket line.

For weeks the Eastern strike has been bogged down in federal bankruptcy court in New York, where IAM president William Winpisinger and District 100 chief Charles Bryan have gone begging to a rogues' gallery of junk bond raiders and union-busters like TWA's Carl Icahn to take over the debt-laden Eastern. Bryan offered former baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth and his crew of shady financiers *$1 billion* in givebacks over five years, in exchange for 30 percent "ownership" of the debt-laden airline. But the deal blew up in their faces on April 12, when Judge Burton Lifland refused to move Lorenzo aside and appoint a trustee (Reagan's secretary of war Frank Carlucci!). Ueberroth likened Eastern to a "load of fish" sitting around without a buyer.



April 12 picket protests Eastern boss Lorenzo's speech to Columbia Business School.

Now, Lorenzo is preparing to liquidate the airline, selling off the most valuable planes, routes and airport gates, and folding the rest into non-union Continental. But "Wimpy" and Bryan continue to sit in bankruptcy court, peddling givebacks to "anybody but Lorenzo." But every one of these capitalist sharks—Ueberroth, Icahn, Pritzker—would sell off Eastern's assets and slash wages and thousands of jobs to pay off the spiraling debt in junk bonds.

In the face of the strikebreaker Lorenzo and his threats to liquidate Eastern, playing by the bosses' rules is sure defeat. The jobs of thousands of Eastern workers are on the line: to win, the Machinists, flight attendants and pilots must rip the strike out of the hands of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The Eastern strike is widely seen as a chance to reverse a decade of defeats under both the partner parties of American capitalism. The 22,000 Transport Workers Union members at American Airlines recently rejected a giveback contract. United flight attendants, Teamsters, airport food service workers—all want to fight. Militants must form elected strike committees throughout the industry and *extend the strike*. Whether Eastern is sold off or carved up, the unions must demand that every single striker be guaranteed a union job, with wages and benefits equalized throughout the industry at the highest level. *Shut down the airports!* ■

Not "Ban the Klan" But "Fight the Klan!"

Letter to the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee

David Duke's "Populist Party" had said it was holding a "recruitment meeting" at Hayward Public Library April 20, the 100th anniversary of Hitler's birth. This was a deliberate fascist provocation particularly threatening blacks, Latinos, Asians and the labor movement in California's East Bay. The Populists told the press at the April 11 city council meeting that they were canceling their meeting. Subsequently, they announced they were going ahead, only to inform the library on the afternoon of April 20th that it was called off.

In response, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, New Leftists descended from the old Weatherman faction, had appealed to the Hayward city council and mayor to "stop the meeting." In our last issue, we warned that it was a "Travesty of Anti-Fascist Protest" (*WV* No. 475, 14 April) to call on the authorities—and that means the Hayward cops, backed up by the Alameda County sheriff's department—to "ban" the fascists from the library. Despite the Populists' last-minute cancellation, some 200 anti-fascist protesters went ahead with their plans, and a short, chaotic protest was held outside the library.

Two different groups, organized by the Progressive Labor Party and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, marched from the Hayward BART station to the public library. They were joined by assorted leftists and anarchist youth, as well as a dozen NAACPers, and picketed in separate clumps for about a half hour. Shortly after the demo began, most of the crowd took off after two skinheads, then drifted back. There was a heavy police presence (almost one per demonstrator), including 30 cops in riot gear guarding the entrance. A few scuffles broke out and four people were arrested.

In an article the next day in the Hayward *Daily Review* (21 April), Lisa Roth, spokesman for the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, said, "If the Hayward City Council didn't want these kinds of things to happen, they shouldn't have allowed racists and Nazis to organize in their city." This remark says it all about the John Brown Committee's repeated appeals to the bourgeois state throughout the course of the Hayward events. Does Ms. Roth know where she is? The cops were there to drive her and her comrades out of town, not get rid of the fascists.

When the John Brown Committee calls on the bourgeois state to ban meetings of right-wing extremists, they might consider that banning communists could be a popular demand in this country, where more than half the people don't believe in evolution (according to noted anthropologist Donald Johanson in the Spring 1989 newsletter of the Institute of Human Origins). The way to stop the fascists is to mobilize mass labor/minority protest—keep the state out of it! We really tried hard to get this point across in a letter to the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, published below. But some people just don't seem to want to learn.

---

18 April 1989

John Brown Anti-Klan Committee
San Francisco, CA

Attention: Lisa Roth, spokeswoman

Fight the Klan!

The fascist threat in the Bay Area is real, immediate and growing. At least two fascist organizations are actively at work experimenting and learning.

The White Aryan Resistance of Klansman Tom Metzger and his would-be Nazi youth leader son are trying to shape violent young skinheads with their punk-rock culture into racial stormtroopers. The "Populist Party" of David Duke Ku Klux Klan elements is pushing to win a layer of embittered whites in favor of a program centered on white job preference, race segregation in housing and the ill-treatment of darker-skinned and foreign-born people in general.

Deteriorating social conditions of desperate housing shortages, pathetic wages alongside grotesque affluence describe the Bay Area. Masses of working people and their families are locked into misery and locked out of a better life by racial and language barriers. The potential for class struggle for social and economic betterment is clear, but so is the organization by fascists of deep reaction and bigotry.

It is in this context that, as we noted in *Workers Vanguard* of 14 April in the article about "Hitler's birthday" in Hayward, we believe your organization made a very serious error in demanding that government authorities stop this fascist meeting. An appeal to the government is necessarily an appeal to its police powers, concretely in this case the Hayward Police Department and the Alameda County Sheriff's Office.

This terribly wrong-headed call necessarily invites in the police, encourages those like the Zionist Anti-Defamation League to violence- and red-bait the anti-fascists. "Civil libertarian" lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union jump in to give expert legal counsel and advice to the fascists. Groupings such as librarians, currently involved in trying to reduce FBI pressure on libraries, are polarized along false lines. And spokesmen for liberal black organizations such as the NAACP make evenhanded or ambiguous declarations about such fascist meetings.

From all this the fascists learn, benefit and tend not to make too many of the same mistakes over again. "Hitler's birthday" could be used as a powerful focus of many-sided anti-fascist unity. Now in Hayward it threatens to just become a police confrontation, and with correspondingly far fewer anti-fascist demonstrators.

To smash fascist attempts at racist terror, it is necessary to unite in mobilizing and counterposing a powerful, integrated labor movement, drawing in militants from the black, Latino and Asian communities, acting independently of government forces and their political backers.

We urge you to reassess calling upon the government to stop fascism. Not "Ban the Klan" but "Fight the Klan!" Many more struggles lie ahead and it is with this truth in mind that we write you.

Yours for anti-fascist victory, for workers power!

Al Nelson
Bay Area Spartacist League

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Feds Dust Off Sedition Laws

RICO Witchhunt Targets Ohio 7

One of the most insidious judicial attacks in years on the rights of the left and labor movement is currently being played out in a courtroom in Springfield, Massachusetts. The trial of Raymond Luc Levasseur, his wife Patricia and Richard Williams, now dragging through its fourth month, caps a federal vendetta going back over a dozen years against these leftist opponents of racism and imperialism. The feds claim that they, along with Carol and Tom Manning and Jaan and Barbara Laaman—collectively known as the Ohio 7—were members of the Sam Melville/Jonathan Jackson Unit and the United Freedom Front, which took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism including military and corporate offices in the late '70s and early '80s.

In late March, a star government witness, one Felipe Norguera, took the stand. Norguera admitted to lying repeatedly to FBI agents and a 1985 grand jury and denied hearing of or discussing any bombings by the Ohio 7. Ray Levasseur and Williams are already locked away for the rest of their lives on charges stemming from the same alleged crimes for which they are now being tried again. Yet the government is committed to spending at least another year in court and millions of dollars more to put the three leftists away for *up to 60 years more* on trumped-up "conspiracy" charges under the RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) and "sedition" laws. The feds have persecuted the Ohio 7 with a vengeance: wiretaps, dragnets, preventive detention, kidnapping and interrogation of children, prison sentence piled atop prison sentence—all in order to breathe new life into the defunct sedition laws.

NY Public Library

Socialist leader Eugene Debs was jailed for opposing U.S. entry into WW I. Debs ran for president from behind bars in 1920.

Before their arrests in Ohio and Virginia in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts throughout the eastern seaboard and Midwest—*one in five* households in western Massachusetts was questioned. The children were treated like junior "terrorists" themselves. The three Laaman kids were dragged from a birthday party at gunpoint with their hands up and locked away for six weeks. The Mannings' three small children were kidnapped and held incommunicado for nearly two months, released only after a hunger strike and protests by parents and outraged teachers and social workers. The cops held the Levasseur children hostage for six weeks, trying to bribe 11-year-old Carmen with $20 and a pizza to tell them where Thomas Manning was.

Paul Shoul

Free the Ohio 7! Left to right: Jaan Laaman, Richard Williams, Barbara Curzi-Laaman, Carol Manning, Tom Manning, Pat Gros Levasseur, Raymond Levasseur.

Like many young men of their generation, Raymond Levasseur and Thomas Manning served in Vietnam, developing firsthand repugnance for the bloody crimes of U.S. imperialism. As the trial opened on January 10, in a crowded federal courthouse ringed by nearly a score of U.S. marshals, Levasseur, representing himself, recalled his working-class origins in the textile mills and shoe factories of rural Maine, and his later radicalization:

> "I went to Vietnam and I served a full tour of duty, 12 months.... I saw another side of U.S. foreign policy. Bombings, killings, search and destroy, devastation, poverty, hunger. I was part of a foreign occupation Army.... I came back enraged by what I saw."

He became involved with the Southern Student Organizing Committee and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and later helped organize a prisoners' rights organization, and the Red Star North bookstore in Portland, Maine. After intense cop harassment and the emergence of a police death squad which, he suspected, had him on its hit list, Levasseur decided to go underground.

The Springfield trial is the latest in an endless series of prosecutions. After a record 13 days of deliberations following a three-month trial in Brooklyn on the bombing charges three years ago, the jury brought back convictions on less than half the counts in the indictment. A subsequent trial of Thomas Manning and Richard Williams in New Jersey for the 1981 killing of state trooper Philip Lamonaco resulted in a hung jury for Williams, who the cops claimed was the gunman. And Manning, who says he shot Lamonaco in self-defense after the cop tried to blow him away, could only be nailed on a felony ("stealing" his gun back from the cop) during which a killing took place. But that was enough to put him away for life on a charge of "felony murder."

The RICO conspiracy laws are a stacked deck permitting the government to continually retry defendants for the same alleged criminal acts. As Patricia Gros Levasseur pointed out:

> "We're being reindicted under the same charges as in Brooklyn, though now they're calling the acts arson rather than bombings—because only arson is admissible under RICO statutes."
> —*Critical Times*, May 1988

Raymond Levasseur and Richard Williams are already serving 45-year sentences on the bombing charges; Thomas Manning and Jaan Laaman, 53 years; Carol Manning and Barbara Laaman, 15 years. Patricia Gros Levasseur, the only one currently out on bail, has a five-year sentence hanging over her head for "harboring a fugitive"—her husband! In total, the Ohio 7 (for varying reasons, the other four have been removed from the current case) have already been condemned to prison terms ranging to over 90 years. Why the massive effort to prosecute these people yet again?

Sedition Laws—An Attack on Freedom of Speech

For some years now, this country's rulers have used the sweeping RICO "conspiracy" laws to railroad radical activists and shackle the labor movement. The Reagan/Bush team embarked on a domestic program of social/legal counterrevolution aimed at rolling back civil liberties across the board, designating all political opposition as "terrorism" and intimidating the population as a whole. Nor was it restricted to courtrooms and Congress, as the firebombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia bitterly testified. Basing themselves on a ruling-class consensus for the anti-Soviet war drive, what they wanted was domestic "order," class peace and the suppression of potential "troublemakers"—e.g., the black population and youth who are slated to be cannon fodder in the next imperialist adventure. Today, in the name of the "war on drugs" Bush seeks to impose virtual martial law on the black population of Washington, D.C.

Reagan's attorney general, Edwin Meese, was not only the nation's "top cop," but a cop's cop who yearned to construct a perfectly "constitutional" police state for its own sake. Meese's legal agenda read as though he was trying to re-create in real life the anonymous and arbitrary police state chillingly depicted in Franz Kafka's surrealistic nightmare *The Trial*: everyone is presumed guilty of some crime, sometime, somewhere. Meese waged unrelenting attacks on constitutional protections against illegal search and seizure and against being tried twice for the same crime ("double jeopardy"). He particularly went after the *Miranda* ruling—that suspects must be informed upon arrest of their legal rights against self-incrimination and to a lawyer. This really ate at the man who declared that "if a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect."

The capstone of this fortified arsenal of police powers was to be the revival of the discredited "sedition" laws, historically the government's weapon of choice to silence "reds" and "anarchists." The Ohio 7 are charged under the sedition act of 1948 (based on the 1940 Smith Act) with conspiring to "overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States." Ray Levasseur demolished this ludicrous charge in his opening arguments: "The government wants you to believe that three people are going to conspire to overthrow the most powerful government on the face of the earth."

Sedition laws are classic war measures to stifle political opposition. The 1918 Sedition Act was used to indict some 2,100 people, including prominent Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, for speaking out against American entry into World War I. It outlaws any "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the U.S.," the flag or even "the uniform of the army or navy." Around the same time, state "criminal syndicalism" and "anarchy" laws targeted the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and early American Commu-

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For more information, (212) 406-4252

nists. In the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, CP and anarchist leaders around the country were prosecuted and imprisoned. Thousands of foreign-born radicals (including American citizens) were rounded up during the 1919-20 Palmer raids, and hundreds deported.

After the postwar red scare served its purpose in suppressing the left, the conspiracy laws were put on the back burner. Then in 1940, on the eve of the U.S.' entry into World War II, the notorious Alien Registration Act, or Smith Act, was passed. This was "the first peacetime sedition law in American history since 1798" (Robert J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America* [1978]). The first victims of the Smith Act, which was later used wholesale during the McCarthy witchhunt, were the Trotskyist Minneapolis 18, avowed revolutionaries and leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters; their jailing was intended to serve warning on the labor movement at large to fall into line behind the coming imperialist war.

With the onset of the Cold War following World War II, anti-labor and anti-immigrant legislation flourished. Taft-Hartley made it unlawful for trade union officials to be members of communist organizations. The Internal Security (McCarran) Act set up concentration camps for Communists in the event of a "national emergency," and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 once again excluded communists, anarchists and homosexuals from entering the U.S. The 1954 Communist Control Act, brain child of liberal Democrat Hubert Humphrey, declared the CP a "proscribed organization," "not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities...of the laws of the United States."

"Seditious conspiracy" laws are so blatantly in violation of first amendment rights of free expression that they have been virtually impossible to implement except in times of war or war hysteria. The granddaddy of them all, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, was aimed against Jeffersonian opponents of John Adams' Federalist administration and made it a criminal offense to "write, print, utter or publish...any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States." It died with Jefferson's election two years later (but not until 1964 did the Supreme Court finally rule that it had violated "the central meaning of the First Amendment"). In *The System of Freedom of Expression* (1970), Yale law professor Thomas I. Emerson observed: "The fact is that sedition laws are, in the final analysis, a relic of government by monarchy. They are designed to destroy political opposition."

In the past 30 years, the only time the seditious conspiracy law was used to convict anybody was in the case of the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN in 1980. According to Justice Department spokesman Joseph Krovisky, "After that, you have to go back to the 50's" (*New York Times*, 22 May 1987). That's what it's all about, returning to the witchhunting days of the McCarthy era. McCarthyism was buried under the pressure of the mass civil rights movement and the growth of the predominantly student-based antiwar movement of the 1960s. As a result of the 1957 *Yates* decision, "prosecutions under the Smith Act collapsed" (Emerson). But the American ruling class has been trying to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" since virtually the day after its humiliating defeat in Indochina. Now the government is using its vendetta against the Ohio 7 group as a large step toward illegalizing leftist political activity.

Marxism vs. New Leftism

The Ohio 7 are committed radicals with a long history of opposition to racism and imperialism, including civil rights work in the South, defense of prisoners' rights and anti-apartheid solidarity actions. In the early '70s, they joined neighborhood defense efforts in Boston against rampaging anti-busing racists. The Ohio 7 endorsed the political strategy of the United Freedom Front. Despairing of organizing the proletariat in struggle, they decided that the road to fighting this racist, exploitative system was "clandestine armed resistance" by a handful of dedicated leftists. Richard Williams stated at his sentencing in the Brooklyn trial, "While it would be very heartening to have the masses in this country recognize and support armed struggle—to be fed up enough with the state of the world and the role this government has in it. That has not been a prerequisite for us" ("Sentencing Statements of the Ohio 7," April 1986).

The politics espoused by the Ohio 7 were once the common coin of uncounted thousands of petty-bourgeois radicals during the heyday of the antiwar movement and the New Left. Considering white workers as "bought off" by American imperialism, the largely white, student-based New Left wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary outlook. Instead they looked to "Third World peoples" abroad and at home as surrogate "vanguards" in the struggle to defeat and destroy rapacious American imperialism, and saw the American left as little more than a support group "inside the belly of the beast." But while the Jane Fondas today apologize for the "distress" caused by their visits to Hanoi and the Jerry Rubins have become stockbrokers, the Ohio 7 have remained true to the politics and principles which impelled them into the radical movement years ago. Misguided though their strategy was, at least they meant it.

Now they are paying heavily at the hands of the state for their anti-racism and anti-imperialism, while the New Leftovers who once chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—NLF is gonna win" today regard the Ohio 7 as an unpleasant reminder of their leftist past. Articulating the sentiments of this crowd, James Miller, author of *Democracy Is in the Streets: A History of the SDS*, whined: "All I know is their politics aren't mine and I don't want to be associated with them" (*Boston Phoenix*, 21 October 1988). It was precisely because the feds saw them as isolated and unpopular in the rad-lib milieu, and because they had already been convicted, that the government went after the Ohio 7 as the test case for resuscitating the sedition laws.

The Sedition Committee

Patricia Gros Levasseur (right) and her three children. Feds grabbed her kids for interrogation; now she's only allowed to see them with attorney present.

While today's ex-New Lefters were still grooving on multi-vanguardism and vicarious guerrillaism, the Spartacist League was then, as now, fighting to win radicalized youth to the model of Lenin's Bolshevik Party which led the proletariat and the many oppressed nationalities of the tsarist empire in establishing the Soviet workers state. Lenin forged a vanguard party of the working class as a *tribune of the people*, fighting every manifestation of national and racial oppression through a program of proletarian revolution.

Jaan Laaman recalled "the proud heritage of having my grandfather, who unfortunately died before I was born, be involved in the independence struggle of Estonia against the czarist Russian empire, as a member of the Bolshevik Party." But the Bolshevik Party was steeled in political struggle against the Narodniks' politics of "excitative terror" which intoxicated many of Russia's radicalized youth at the time. In "Where to Begin" (1901), Lenin, while not denying "the significance of heroic individual blows," explained that the strategy of individual terror "disorganises the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution." The Narodniks' bombings and assassinations led not to revolution but to organizational disintegration. In the 1960s as well, "urban guerrillaism" (albeit largely vicarious) and "going underground" were signs not of the "coming revolution" but of petty-bourgeois *despair* of bringing the working class to revolutionary consciousness.

The Spartacist League stands in the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. In recent years, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have initiated a string of successful mobilizations centered on the social power of the integrated labor movement to stop fascist marauders in major cities. We have fought for militant solidarity with struggles against imperialist reaction from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. When the FBI's 1983 "Security and Terrorism Guidelines" targeted the Spartacist League, we fought for the right of the workers party to organize. Our successful 1984 lawsuit against the FBI forced the government to formally concede that Marxists are not terrorists—an important protection for the entire left and workers movement.

It is notable that, unlike the Reagan/Bush-inspired abortion clinic bombers whose aims are reactionary and whose methods are murderous, the UFF targeted only unoccupied buildings and preceded its actions with warnings (although a 1976 explosion at Suffolk County Courthouse in Boston went awry, causing 22 injuries). Jaan Laaman stated, "It's clear that the U.S. government and especially its military forces are legitimate targets, whether they are scurrying around the borders of Nicaragua or here in N.Y.C." While considering the strategy of individual terror against the ruling class and its agencies futile, Marxists condemn criminal acts of indiscriminate terror like the Fraunces Tavern bombing in New York City in 1975, attributed to the Puerto Rican FALN.

Patricia Levasseur noted, "we never had any Redeye missiles; we had no tanks; no helicopters; and no hundred million dollars." The United States government rained nuclear death on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; it assassinated and incinerated two million Vietnamese workers and peasants. It murdered 38 Black Panther activists in cold blood and framed those it couldn't kill, like Geronimo Pratt, sending them to rot in jail. Now with the seditious conspiracy case of the Ohio 7 this dangerous government is trying to move a big step closer to its police-state dreams of outlawing leftist political views. An injury to one is an injury to all! The left and labor movement must demand: Drop all charges! Free the Ohio 7!

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the defense of the Ohio 7 and to a Christmas holiday fund set up for the children. We urge our readers to send contributions to: Sedition Committee, Box 4690, Springfield, MA 01101. ■

Cleveland...

(continued from page 12)

defending himself and a friend against a racist attack January 20. After a gang of whites armed with sticks jumped out of a station wagon and began beating up one of his friends outside a grocery store in Collinwood, Shon Hickenbottom, 18, threatened the whites with a gun, and they backed off. But when the blacks turned to leave, one of the whites struck Hickenbottom from behind with a stick, shouting racial epithets and threatening to kill him. Afraid for his life, Hickenbottom shot and killed the attacker. The black youth is charged with voluntary manslaughter and felonious assault. But as his father pointed out at a community protest meeting, "If it had been a blank gun, where would my son be today?" The right of armed self-defense is a necessity in this deeply racist country.

In response to the popular outrage, black city council president George Forbes announced that he would "let the community relations experts handle it" while he rammed through a ban on so-called "assault weapons" as part of a nationwide attack on the right to bear arms. The mayor declared a "racial harmony day" on March 4, and the Southern Christian Leadership Council sponsored a march of 500, attended by several unions, including heavily integrated AFSCME Locals 3353 and 3360, representing MetroHealth workers. Also present at the rally were members of the Painters' Union, who repainted the home of Willie and April White for free after it was vandalized.

After working without a contract for over a month, AFSCME struck on March 27. They were outraged by MetroHealth's announcement that it would no longer cover all employee health care premiums, and would reduce the number of sick days for new hires. Starting as low as $5.62 per hour, the health care workers are fighting to stay above the poverty line. When the 2,200 strikers went back on April 18, they won a 9 percent raise over three years and company-paid hospitalization benefits for both full-and part-time workers.

In the face of the mounting racist attacks, even the Cleveland city council felt obliged to call a "prayer breakfast." What these Democratic Party pols are praying for is for blacks to "cool out" and accept the status quo. They're praying everyone will forget that Cleveland is a racist hellhole for its black residents, that tens of thousands of workers are laid off "on permanent vacation." And the racist thugs in the streets often take their cue from the men in blue, the killer cops like Joseph Paskvan, who murdered Michael Woods in 1986.

Yet the "solution" advocated by Cleveland's black politicians, and their reformist hangers-on, is to blame the *victims* of this racist society, by championing the so-called "war on drugs." This is a *war on black people*, as racist cops sweep down on the poverty-stricken public housing "estates," beating and arresting at will. Integrated union power must be the force to smash Cleveland's rampaging racists. A revolutionary workers party must be forged in struggle against *both* parties of racist American capitalism. The grinding poverty and joblessness which characterize the ghettos of Cleveland and the desperate inner cities of America can only be eradicated through socialist revolution! ■

West Germany

Workers, Immigrants Must Smash Nazi Threat!

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 61, April/May 1989, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency.*

The Nazis had advertised a Europe-wide celebration of genocide and race-hatred on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Adolf Hitler. Leading up to April 20, fascists circulated leaflets, targeting immigrant neighborhoods in West Berlin and Hamburg, calling for a second "*Reichskristallnacht*" (the Nazis' 1938 night of anti-Semitic terror) and "driving out all foreigners." In the former German capital a Turkish cemetery was desecrated. Many immigrant-owned shops closed and most children of foreign-born workers were kept at home on the 20th. But around West Germany the Nazis' plans fizzled. What materialized instead were anti-fascist defense actions, which were then attacked by the police. In Hamburg the cops jailed at least 41 immigrants who took measures to protect themselves.

In some places, German and immigrant parents organized joint patrols to guard schools and escort children. Many youths participated in anti-fascist patrols and demonstrations. Berlin police went after members of self-styled *Schutztruppen* (defense squads) which drove around the city on the lookout for attacks against foreigners and historic Jewish sites. Some 100 leftist demonstrators looking to skirmish with fascist bands were arrested in the West Berlin neighborhoods of Neukölln and Kreuzberg. Earlier, on the 19th, a massive cop presence unsuccessfully attempted to hinder a 3,000-strong demonstration of anti-fascist youth in the Hamburg neighborhood of Horn. Similar actions of anti-Nazi defiance took place on the 20th in the working-class neighborhoods of Wilhelmsburg, Kirchdorf and Veddel.

In West Berlin and Frankfurt, many leftists had looked to nascent "red-green" coalitions of the Social Democrats (SPD) and ecologists as a bulwark against reaction. But the cops' batons should have dispelled that illusion. In the face of the fascists' threats, what should have been seen that day were displays of proletarian power. As the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands had urged: "The workers movement must mobilize its forces to prevent these 'celebrations' of racist genocide."

Panorama DDR

West Berlin protest against ominous growth of fascist groups demands: "Nazis Out! Republikaner Out!"

Republikaner: Brownshirts Under Police Uniforms

In recent months, as Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democratic (CDU/CSU) government in Bonn continues to unravel, West German politics have polarized. In West Berlin in late January, the fascist Republikaner umbrella group got 7.5 percent of the vote in municipal elections. That night, some 10,000 leftists and unionists demonstrated their outrage; double that number protested the next day. On March 12, the Nazi NPD (National-Democratic Party) scored similar results in Frankfurt, and as the election figures became known more than 8,000 anti-fascists marched to city hall chanting "Nazis out" and "foreigners stay." Across the country the sinister Nazi resurgence has been met by broad-based protest, frequently with significant trade-union participation. West Germany's well-organized labor movement with its strategic immigrant component has the power to crush the fascists. *But that power must be used.*

In the Rhineland village of Schwandorf last December a Nazi psychopath firebombed a home, killing three members of a Turkish family and a German. Immigrants, leftists, Jews, women, homosexuals: the list of the fascists' intended victims is long. And ultimately they intend to go after the entire organized workers movement.

The resurgence of German nationalism combined with Bonn's deportation and austerity policies has fueled the fascists' growth, as the CDU/CSU has been increasingly outflanked on the right. The Republikaner were formed in 1983 by rabidly revanchist elements from the Bavarian Christian Social Union's "brown" (fascistic) wing, after Franz Josef Strauss had "betrayed German interests" by negotiating a billion-mark trade credit to East Germany. Republikaner *führer* Franz Schönhuber is a veteran of the Waffen SS and its "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler" unit. Since he took over the Republikaner in 1985, Schönhuber has pursued an aggressive policy to try to regroup West Germany's fragmented fascist movement. For goon squads the Republikaner rely on skinheads and cops. On January 18 in West Berlin, Schönhuber boasted of his supporters in uniform outside—even as cops rioted against thousands of anti-Republikaner demonstrators.

Especially sinister are the Republikaner's direct ties to the bourgeois state. Former West Berlin CDU top cop and Nazi friend Heinrich Lummer, a notorious middleman for assorted fascist organizations, was offered the chairmanship of the West Berlin Republikaner after the recent elections. The current West Berlin Republikaner *gauleiter*, Bernhard Andres, is both a cop and a crook, with numerous charges pending, including for forging documents. It's estimated that 20 percent of the West Berlin police and 100 percent of its paramilitary special units voted Republikaner. The reformists who call on the Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Protection of the Constitution) to ban the fascists are in many cases calling on the fascists to ban themselves. *Stern* (16 March) recently revealed that the man in charge of spying on immigrants in the Verfassungsschutz in Cologne is a Republikaner.

The state indeed has a use for "anti-extremist" laws—*against the left*. Take the witchhunt paragraph 129a. Since 1982, Christian Democratic interior minister Zimmermann banned four organizations: Hell's Angels, Michael Kühnen's Nazi ANS, Kühnen's NS and the Turkish leftist organization Devrimçi Sol. But Turkish leftist militants face arrest, deportation and ultimately death, while Kühnen is on the loose, only changing the name of his brownshirts. And it is the Red Army Faction (the so-called Baader-Meinhof group) and anyone Zimmermann defines as their "sympathizers" who rot in jail (when they are not found dead under suspicious circumstances). And in "red-green" West Berlin, the new coalition city government simply renamed the riot police. Meanwhile, the Greens and Social Democrats debate the Republikaner on TV, offering a platform for racist terror. We say, *genocide is not debatable.*

Class Struggle Against the Fascist Threat

The CDU responded to their stinging defeat in West Berlin by trying to be more nationalistic than the Nazis in Frankfurt, running a vicious racist campaign against the demand for municipal voting rights for immigrants. This demand, supportable in itself, is now advanced by the SPD (and taken up by the entire left) as *the* answer to the oppression of immigrants. But it is a typical reformist half-measure which maintains immigrants' pariah status. There must be an implacable struggle

Pemu

Rothenburg police protect Nazis from anti-fascist demonstrators in February (left). Republikaner führer Schönhuber under slogan "Germany first, the time is ripe."

against *every* form of racist discrimination and segregation in employment, housing, health and education, and against the arbitrary deportations and racist police raids. Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families! For the right of asylum for refugees from reactionary terror!

At the March 13 protest in Frankfurt, thousands of demonstrators loudly cheered the Hesse DGB labor federation chief when he threatened strike action to support two Turkish workers at the VDO auto parts plant after they were fired for fighting job cuts. These two courageous militants were on hunger strike for 20 days and only got their jobs back later that week when workers inside the plant occupied the room where the class-collaborationist *Betriebsrat* (plant council) held its meetings. On May 8, the day commemorating the crushing of Nazism (by the Soviet Red Army), the metal workers and commercial workers unions, which together represent 2.5 million workers, will hold mass demonstrations against "neo-Nazis and hostility to foreigners." These protests could be a tremendous demonstration of working-class power and determination—but not if they are merely election rallies for the cutback Social Democrats.

Given the conservatism of the SPD-dominated trade-union bureaucracy and the tailism and economism of most of the left, young anti-fascist militants have formed a myriad of collectives on a local basis. Frequently they oscillate between anti-racist "educational" propaganda directed at a diffuse "public," and inconclusive skirmishes with the fascist bands, in which the cops intervene to smash the anti-fascists. These youth want to fight the fascists but are not sure how. They often acknowledge the power of the unions but do not see the road to mobilizing them against the fascists.

Now, under the pressure of the ranks (and of events), even the DGB tops are beginning to talk a little tough. An editorial in *Metall* (24 February) recounts a skinhead provocation against leafleters of the Metal Workers youth in Hameln in 1987. "Death to the anti-fascists—we're coming to the party," threatened the fascists. "Yeah, they came, but the party went on," says *Metall*. "Because half a dozen skinheads were received by 20 tough marshals." Such disciplined, determined trade-union defense guards are needed in the hundreds and thousands. Worker/immigrant detachments to defend refugees' quarters and immigrant neighborhoods, the meetings and offices of the left and workers movement, could clean out the fascist thugs in the subways, schools and neighborhoods.

The fact that the fascists can get up to 10 percent of the vote in Frankfurt and West Berlin workers districts like Wedding means that the fascists are feeding upon the very real problems of unemployment and lack of housing. In addition to support from the armed gangs of the bourgeois state, Schönhuber, like his French counterpart Le Pen, finds support among petty-bourgeois shopkeepers and semi-proletarian layers, as well as public service employees who fear that government privatization measures will destroy their jobs. The fascists have also been picking up numbers of youth who have been unable to get into the

continued on page 11

Antifa Infoblatt

Der Spiegel

West Berlin demonstration, including Turkish immigrants, demands: "Foreigners Stay—Drive Out Nazis." Fascists have targeted wretched camps where authorities pen up refugees seeking asylum (right).

Republikaner Provocation Against Anti-Fascist Meeting in West Berlin

The following statement was issued by the Committee for the Defense of the Moabit Anti-Fascists in West Berlin on March 7.

From November to the end of January, the racist "election campaign" by the Republikaner followed the same pattern: intimidation, provocation, violence and police traps against the West Berlin population. After one Republikaner provocation two weeks before the vote they attacked a number of anti-fascists, and now six of the *victims* are threatened with the serious charge of *Landfriedensbruch* (breaking the public peace through mob action)! The Republikaner think they have a license to fill their supposed electoral activities with provocative and threatening content since they have support in wide sections of the police. Behind the election posters are fascist gangs, armed with cameras, baschall hats and gas pistols!

On January 14 their target was Moabit, an integrated district inhabited by German and immigrant workers, where fascists have in the past been met with strong anti-fascist sentiment. On this evening, the Republikaner provoked customers in a local restaurant known as a meeting point for anti-fascist and left groups. Through the front windows, the Republikaner aggressively insulted those sitting inside, brandishing their posters. Earlier that evening in the restaurant, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) had shown a video of the successful labor/black mass mobilization in Philadelphia November 5 which stopped provocations by the fascist Ku Klux Klan and skinheads.

When members and supporters of the TLD and other customers went out to protest this disruption, they were violently attacked by the Republikaner. One woman supporter of the TLD was injured with a kick in the head. She required hospital treatment and was examined for a concussion.

In addition to the Republikaner postering team, led by Carsten Pagel, a "backup team" then appeared which had been standing ready in the background. One of them armed with a pistol and another with a camera, they went after the anti-fascists. These utensils are obviously not suited for postering but for premeditated violence, intimidation and setting traps! The Republikaner's drawn pistol later turned out to be a gas pistol. Threatening with a pistol is a serious crime—and that means *any* pistol. Photographs of decent people in the hands of fascists aid subsequent attacks.

All those who had protested against this fascist provocation returned to the restaurant in order to warn the customers (overwhelmingly immigrants) and to ensure the safety of all. The Repuhlikaner continued to run around with the drawn pistol in front of the restaurant, creating a situation in which it was equally dangerous to remain in the restaurant or to leave. Within two or three minutes a shock group of Republikaner stormed into the restaurant, still armed with pistol and camera. Now they were accompanied by six to eight radio patrol police, who also had obviously been on call. The customers, including a number who had not participated in the anti-fascist meeting, immediately expressed outrage at this stormtrooper attack with shouts such as, "It stinks in here!" and "Fascists out!" One Republikaner, now with pistol in holster, paraded back and forth in front of the customers while the police took down IDs. Now the participants in the anti-fascist meeting are threatened with three years in jail for breaking the public peace by moh action because they protested the Republikaner provocation and sought to ensure the safety of customers in the restaurant.

Repuhlikaner *führer* Carsten Pagel, a fervent admirer of Hitler's Hans-Ulrich Rudel, demonstrated a week later what he goes into the streets for. As he pulled a baseball bat out of his jacket on January 21, at almost the same location, he was prevented from using his weapon by spirited anti-fascists.

The string of fascist attacks during the West Berlin elections continued to grow. The Republikaner's notorious racist TV election spot, first broadcast on January 2, set to the background music of "Play Me the Song of Death," brought forth enraged protests, from the SPD/DGB to the CDU's deputy for foreigners. Six days later in the Tiergarten (zoo) district, the memorials to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and that commemorating the victims of Nazi terror at the site of the former Plötzensee prison were desecrated by an "Adolf Hitler Committee" with halves of pigs' heads and scrawled swastikas. The *Tageszeitung* reported on February 2: "After the election of the 'Republikaner' into the city council, the mob obviously has an opportunity; suspected supporters of the right-radical party even went after district council delegates and attacked two from the Tempelhof Alternative List on their way home." The Alternative List delegates, who directly connected the attack with the Republikaner, have pressed charges. The Republikaner are also attempting to intimidate trade-union functionaries. The Repuhlikaner even charged DGB chief Michael Pagels with slander when he called them what they are.

The West Berlin population has repeatedly expressed widespread revulsion against these fascists and their racist attacks. Stop the Republikaner! For mass worker/immigrant mobilizations! Stop all investigations and proceedings against anti-fascists immediately! Defend the Moabit anti-fascists!

Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to April 24 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee and joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany. A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the account. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign are being paid by the respective legal and social defense organizations in each country.

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared, and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in U.S. dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 24 April 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+	Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	=	Total Collected
Australia					
Partisan Defence Committee	A$870.91		A$0.00		A$870.91
Receipts Nos. 1-4	[$688.89]				[$688.89]
Britain					
Partisan Delence Committee	£595.67		£636.45		£1,232.12
Receipts Nos. 1-68	[$1,016.81]		[$1,086.42]		[$2,103.23]
Canada					
Partisan Defense Committee	C$1,506.84		C$1,050.00		C$2,556.84
Receipts Nos. 95401-95443	[$1,266.50]		[$882.53]		[$2,149.03]
France					
Comité de défense sociale	FF6,245.95		FF3,306.70		FF9,552.65
Receipts Nos. 1/1-1/25	[$994.36]		[$526.43]		[$1,520.79]
Italy					
Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria	L.1,103,680.00		L.0.00		L.1,103,680.00
Receipts Nos. 1-54	[$811.20]				[$811.20]
United States					
Partisan Defense Committee	US$1,037.69		US$2,189.73		US$3,227.42
Receipts Nos. 5001-5034					
West Germany					
Komitee für soziale Verteidigung	DM2,5[illegible]51		DM0.00		DM2,507.51
Receipts Nos. 1-29	[$1,348.54]				[$1,348.54]
International Totals (in US dollars)	$7,163.99		$4,685.11		$11,849.10

Urgent Campaign for Victims of Jalalabad Siege

Around the world—in immigrant communities, at factories, workplaces and union halls, among foreign students—a campaign of international solidarity with the embattled working people and emancipated women of Afghanistan is under way. Under the slogan "No to the veil! Defend Afghan women! Support Jalalabad victims of CIA's cutthroats!" this effort has evoked sympathy among sections of the working people against the imperialist rulers who are arming and bankrolling the Afghan *mujahedin*. Over 100,000 leaflets have already been distributed by the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, U.S. and West Germany. To date $11,849.10 has been deposited in special accounts, of which $7,163.99 has already been wired to the government of Afghanistan for material aid to civilian victims of the bloody battle at Jalalabad.

The Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund was launched by the PDC in response to an appeal issued by the Afghan government for a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance. The PDC, which has been active in the United States for more than a decade, is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S. The Jalalabad campaign provided the impetus for initiating similar legal and social defense organizations elsewhere in conjunction with the sections of the international Spartacist tendency.

The women students, mothers and grandmothers in Kabul who have enlisted in the battle against Washington's murderous Afghan rebels should know that the cause of Afghan women has struck a chord. The campaign was kicked off at the massive abortion rights march in Washington April 9, where PDC supporters distributed more than 25,000 leaflets. The issue of women's rights has continued to be on the cutting edge of our efforts.

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison an older Jewish man put two of our campaign leaflets up at his draft resistance table. When an incredulous student asked if he supported the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan he shot back that the Soviet Union was virtually the only country that didn't "feed its Jews to the Nazis." From Hamburg, West Germany a comrade collecting for the Komitee für soziale Verteidigung (Committee for Social Defense) reported a very positive response "particularly among older women for whom the humanitarian appeal of a city destroyed by war recalls nightmares that never vanish."

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee launches aid campaign at massive April 9 abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C.

A substantial portion of the money raised here has come from supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee. In Boston a longtime friend, who had originally pledged $50, gave a check for $300 after hearing a report from Radio Moscow about convoys that had suffered casualties near Kandahar. Especially generous have been the contributions from immigrant workers and their families.

At shopping areas in Toronto's East Indian community, women in saris put bills into Partisan Defense Committee collection buckets. In France, where the efforts are being organized by the Comité de défense sociale, an Afghan woman supporting a family of five on her welfare check donated 100 francs. On April 23, at two demonstrations in London's East Indian Southall community which were called to commemorate anti-fascist militant Blair Peach who was beaten to death by the cops, the Partisan Defence Committee collected close to £300, mostly from Indian women and shopkeepers, as well as Sikh men.

Iranians, who from their own experience in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" know only too bitterly the regime of terror and murder that will come if the Afghan counterrevolutionaries win, have assisted in the campaign. At the University of Hamburg a supporter of the Iranian Rahe Kargar group made a placard in Farsi of the central campaign slogan and came to our defense against a supporter of the Afghan *mujahedin*. Two Afghan students, who complained their community was being terrorized by supporters of Washington's "holy warriors," took bundles of leaflets.

At a teachers union meeting in West Berlin called to protest "racism, anti-Semitism and hostility to foreigners," several young Turkish women donated to the campaign saying, "We know what Islamic terror means." Much of the money raised by the Partisan Defence Committee at workplaces in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia was from postal workers who encompass a rich ethnic diversity including Turks, Greeks, Italians, Arabs and Slavs.

For working people, the PDC campaign provides an opportunity to oppose the bloody designs of their "own" rulers. At a meeting of the Scottish Trade Union Council in Aberdeen, Scotland, £108 was collected. East Indian workers in New York City transit, which management runs with all the concern for safety that Union Carbide showed in Bhopal, organized among themselves to raise money.

Two collections at Transport House in London brought in £24 from dock workers who are headed into a confrontation with the Thatcher government over the abolition of the National Dock Scheme. Donations were also made at meetings of the Waterside Workers Federation in Melbourne. And at a Seamen's Union job pick, every single seaman gave money—one saying that if the CIA was behind the *mujahedin* he was "agin 'em."

In France, an organizer in the rail workers union, whose father was a leader of the Algerian FLN, reports he has raised 570 francs among friends and relatives. Supporters of the French Communist Party in the Stalinist-led CGT union federation, bitter that their own party is doing nothing, have given to the campaign for Jalalabad. The Soviet intervention into Afghanistan sharply divided the European CPs. Among some of the "hard-line" oppositionists our campaign has intersected bitterness over Gorbachev's withdrawal of the Soviet troops, part of his global program of appeasing imperialism. At an abortion rights demonstration in Rome, the Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria raised the equivalent of $300 for Jalalabad. A former leader of the Italian Communist Party youth took our megaphone to call on people to come and donate.

The cause of defending Afghan women and coming to the aid of the victims of the CIA's Afghan cutthroats has united conscious elements across ethnic and national lines: anti-Zionist Jews with North African Arabs, East Indian women and Sikh men, unionists and immigrant communities. But while our campaigners have found curiosity, sym-

Afghanistan...

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unarmed prisoners of war, the rebels initially predicted Jalalabad would fall within two days of the March 5 attack. Two days became seven, one week turned into five, the start of Ramadan (the month-long Muslim fast which began in early April) was revised to the end of Ramadan. Jalalabad stands while the "deadlines" fall.

Now a front-page lead article by senior correspondent Henry Kamm in the *New York Times* (23 April) bitterly admits:

> "The attack has bogged down into a costly siege and has brought into question the ability of the guerrillas to achieve an early victory, or any victory, over the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul."

Swallowing their own anti-Communist "evil empire" hype, the imperialists had thought that the moment the Soviet "occupation" troops pulled out, millions of Afghans would flock to be "liberated" and the Kabul regime would crumble. What has begun to crumble instead are Washington's hopes that the disparate, disunited bands of fanatically reactionary "freedom fighters" are capable of sustaining the sort of concerted, large-scale military offensive needed to rapidly topple the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government.

Kamm reveals, in great detail, that the attack on Jalalabad "was ordered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government at a meeting of civilian and military leaders in Pakistan, and in the presence of the American Ambassador.... No Afghan was present at the meeting." The head of Pakistani military intelligence reportedly opposed the attack on tactical grounds, arguing that the guerrillas were only capable of maintaining a war of attrition based on small-scale ambushes and harassment. Pakistani, Saudi and American involvement in the siege of Jalalabad is an open secret. The Pakistani army's 11th and 18th divisions—over 6,500 troops and scores of tanks and artillery units—have been involved in the assault on Jalalabad. So why the "revelations" now? Because Washington's expectations are being frustrated.

In the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, the U.S. and its NATO allies pulled their embassies out of Kabul, seeking to sow panic and isolate the PDPA regime internationally. They hoped for the establishment of a "provisional government" in Jalalabad in time to be seated at the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers in Riyadh last month. But the rebels have suffered such heavy losses recently—up to 5,000 by government estimates—that one guerrilla commander, Abdul Haq, lamented, "Sometimes now it becomes difficult to convince our people why we should go on fighting at such a cost when even the Russians have gone" (*India Today*, 15 April).

For its part, Najibullah's PDPA regime, left in the lurch by Gorbachev's pullout of Soviet troops, is placing the limited social reforms achieved thus far on the bargaining table in exchange for "national reconciliation." But none of the seven feuding parties in the coalition of Islamic fundamentalists and monarchists based in Peshawar are interested in a deal with the Kabul regime.

Reuters

Members of Afghan women's militia. Women are in the forefront of the battle to defend their social emancipation.

While the guerrillas have been strategically unsuccessful on the battlefield, they have shown their real intentions in a number of massacres of defenseless men, women and children. At Samarkhel, just east of Jalalabad, *mujahedin* massacred two dozen government troops in March even as they surrendered. And the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (18 April) describes an eyewitness account, initially reported by TASS, of one recent atrocity:

> "According to the report, a motor column was supposed to bring dozens of women, children and old people from Jalalabad to Kabul. The buses and trucks were stopped by a 'band of Afghan extremists' led by Saudi Arabian advisers. The drivers were lined up on the shoulder of the highway and shot. Small children were held up by their hair, shot in the face and their corpses thrown into Kabul River. Pretty women from the convoy were dragged off into the mountains by the rebels. The rest of the refugees were shot on the spot."

"Country or Coffin!" is the battle cry of the government forces defending Jalalabad. In Kabul, reporter Shekhar Gupta observed (*India Today*, 31 March) that "only the most hopelessly biased can fail to see that a large section of the army will fight to the finish." But it is not only the realization that they face a fate worse than death if captured by the *mujahedin* that spurs on the government fighters. From the outset ten years ago, the war in Afghanistan has posed a struggle over elementary social progress—land reform, restricting the bride price, teaching young girls as well as boys to read—pitting the Soviet-backed modernizing nationalists of the PDPA against mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords.

The Red Army intervention in 1979 opened the possibility of social revolution in this hideously backward country, while defending the Soviet Union against imperialist provocation on its southern border. Gorbachev's pullout, aimed at appeasing U.S. imperialism, opened the possibility of a counter-revolutionary bloodbath of the Afghan urban population.

But the Kabul regime and the urban population who have had a taste of social emancipation did not simply roll over and play dead. And with the help of Soviet-made MIG-23s, attack helicopters and surface-to-surface Scud-B missiles launched from Kabul, the Afghan army has been drubbing the *mujahedin*. "The guerrilla leaders concede that the Afghans piloting the helicopter gunships and fighter strike aircraft have shown greater determination than the Russians who trained them," writes Gupta.

As an auxiliary to the more than 100,000 troops in the Afghan military and secret police, the government has armed and mobilized a people's militia of some 300,000. And not surprisingly, it is those who have the most to lose if the *mujahedin* win who are among the most enthusiastic and courageous fighters. An article in the London *Times* (28 February) headlined, "Kabul women queue to sign up for battle against the rebels." Less than a week after the government announced the formation of a voluntary women's militia, more than 1,000 women had joined, "united in their hatred for the Mujahidin" and showing "a willingness to die for their cause."

One woman said, "We know that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (one of the seven main Mujahidin commanders) wants women to be hidden away again behind the *chador*, but we will kill to prevent that happening." (Hekmatyar first became notorious in the early '70s when his thugs threw acid in the faces and shot at the legs of unveiled women students at Kabul University.) Another woman, who had already been trained in use of a Kalashnikov, added: "I know that, if I do not take up arms, the enemy will try and kill and rape us, as they have in those parts they have already captured."

Other women militia members, ranging in age from 16 to 50, described how their sons and husbands had been murdered by the reactionaries. "Now at last I have found a way to take my revenge," declared one 36-year-old volunteer named Ramia. At a public ceremony in Kabul on March 8, International Women's Day, the women's militia, many of them proudly wearing their battle fatigues, were presented with their arms, which included rockets, mortars, machine guns and automatic Kalashnikov assault rifles.

Lorch/NY Times

Civilians fleeing mujahedin bombing of Jalalabad. Refugee columns have been massacred by the bloodthirsty "holy warriors."

The fighting at Jalalabad remains fierce. The Afghan people have already suffered incalculable sacrifices, and they will suffer more. But they must not fight alone. The Partisan Defense Committee has launched an urgent international campaign of material aid to the civilian victims of the CIA's cutthroats in Jalalabad (see page 8). The battle for Afghanistan is a battle for toilers and oppressed around the world. Every fighter for social progress, every defender of women's rights has a stake in its outcome. ■

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pathy and surprising support among many layers of working people and minority communities, one sector of society is simply hostile: the anti-Soviet "left." In Lyon, France a campus member of Lutte Ouvrière sneered, "What difference does it make if a woman can take off her veil?" At San Francisco State University, a member of the Russia-hating International Socialist Organization, which is *for* the victory of the *mujahedin*, claimed that women in Iran wanted to wear the veil.

The people of Jalalabad are fighting for their lives against a bloodthirsty mélange of landlords, moneylenders, mullahs, tribal chiefs and bandits who get billions from Washington and its allies, funneled through the rapacious Pakistani military. We urge you to give generously to aid the civilian victims of the CIA's "freedom fighters." Every dime and dollar collected (and every pound, franc, mark, yen and peso) will be sent to Afghanistan. Please send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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Mexico...

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groaning under brutal anti-worker austerity while government-controlled unions police the workers. The CNTE dissidents are fighting an entrenched bureaucracy led by Carlos Jonguitud Barrios, the despotic "moral guide" and "leader for life" who ruled the SNTE for the last decade and a half through his "Vanguardia Revolucionaria" gang. Jonguitud, now a senator of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), crudely expressed the government's fears that the union opposition "has taken the teachers as a spearhead to unite everyone from seamstresses to sexual deviants to attack the system" (*La Jornada*, 2 April). These are not just verbal insults. Vanguardia gunmen have *killed more than 150 dissident teachers* since 1980. And behind the SNTE tops is the Mexican capitalist state.

From the beginning, Bartlett declared the strike "illegal and illegitimate," but the government hasn't dared ban it. The strike has remained solid. So in an effort to contain the rebellion, on the eve of a scheduled April 24 national teachers march, Jonguitud visited President Salinas at home to resign from his union position and as head of Vanguardia. The next day *half a million* striking teachers and their supporters poured into the Zócalo, Mexico City's Constitution Plaza opposite the presidential palace. Passing in front of *Excelsior*, Mexico's leading daily, they chanted, "We aren't one, we aren't 100—sellout press, count us well." Demonstrators waved a banner, "Jonguitud Didn't Resign, We Resigned Him." But despite government efforts to stampede teachers back to work, teachers rejected the new SNTE head, Ester Gordillo. CNTE leader Teodoro Palomino said, "we will continue seeking the wage increase and union democracy."

WV Photo

Oil workers march on presidential palace, January 12, protesting arrest of union leader. Salinas government has declared war on labor.

The teachers' mobilization was triggered when the SNTE tops excluded the opposition from the union's national congress early this year. In response, the CNTE dissidents organized a 24-hour and then a 48-hour strike in February, followed by a 72-hour walkout beginning March 7. In a show of labor strength, that day 150,000 teachers and parents marched on the Zócalo from seven different points, bringing downtown traffic in the world's largest city to a stop. "Mexico City in a State of Coma," headlined *Ovaciones* (7 March). The following day a group of dissident teachers took their protest to the Legislative Palace where they interrupted the pompous parliamentarians with cries of: "We eat tortillas with salt. What do you eat?"

Larry Reider

Smith/Gamma-Liaison

President Carlos Salinas (left), "elected" last year through massive fraud against populist challenger Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas.

The teachers strike could be the spark that ignites a labor counteroffensive against the starvation policies carried out by the PRI regime at the behest of the IMF bankers' cartel. More than six years of devastating attacks on the working class have created the tinder for a social conflagration. The Salinas government's "pact for economic stability and growth" with its 10 percent wage ceiling has literally meant hunger for millions of poor and working people. A serious fight now for a 100 percent increase for *all* Mexico's workers could break the stranglehold of the *charro* (cowboy) labor bureaucrats who ride herd on the ranks. And it could quickly head toward a general strike, not only busting the starvation wage pact but posing the question of power.

SNTE Tops: Counterrevolutionary Rearguard

Carlos Jonguitud seized control of the teachers union by force in 1972, when a gang of his Vanguardia thugs assaulted SNTE offices. Jonguitud is a *charro* bureaucrat par excellence, often compared to oil workers leader Joaquin Hernández Galicia ("La Quina") who was arrested earlier this year in a military assault on his home (see "Mexico Rulers Declare War on Labor," *WV* No. 470, 3 February). But the same day that La Quina was dragged off to jail in his underwear, Jonguitud visited the Mexican president at home. Salinas even spoke at the SNTE congress in February. Where La Quina was a corrupt patriarch who threw a few crumbs to the oil workers, Jonguitud is a murderous gangster who has kept the one million SNTE members in line through bullets and the muscle of "fraternal delegates." The oil workers are Mexico's best-paid unionized workers; the teachers, the worst paid.

The CNTE opposition grew out of teachers' struggles in the southern states of Chiapas and Oaxaca beginning in 1979. The teachers are looked to as community leaders in the countryside against the domination of the political bosses, or *caciques*. And given the close ties under Mexico's semi-corporatist regime between Jonguitud's Vanguardia and the PRI, the *caciques* are often the local SNTE leaders. So the bitter fight for union democracy and a living wage overlaps with the peasant struggle against the landlords with their hired *pistoleros*. Here is where the assassinations of dissident teachers have reached a peak, with 42 killed in Oaxaca alone. One of the demands of the current strike is for an end to the bloody repression and release of four teachers from Oaxaca and Chiapas being held as political prisoners: Rubén Gómez Calvo, Germán Mendoza Nube, Reynaldo G. Diaz and Antonio Roque Cruz.

Over the last decade, the CNTE dissidents have courageously stood up to the PRI government and Jonguitud's "counterrevolutionary rearguard" which has run the teachers union as its fiefdom. Oaxaca teachers of Section 22 waged a heroic 60-day strike in 1986; many of these union fighters have been martyred. But trade-union militancy is not enough to defeat the entrenched bureaucracy backed up by the PRI. While some CNTE supporters earlier invited government intervention, chanting "First La Quina, now Jonguitud," now they are saying "Gordillo is also a little *charro*!" It will take a class-struggle fight for the independence of labor from the bourgeois state to sweep away the labor cops of the PRI-controlled Mexican Workers Federation (CTM). And that requires the leadership of a genuinely revolutionary vanguard party.

Revolutionary Class Struggle Against Capitalist Austerity

The popularity of the CNTE strike reflects the fact that millions of working people, and even sections of the middle class, are looking to the teachers for leadership in fighting against a system which has produced a catastrophic decline in living standards. Having already slashed the number of state-owned companies from 1,100 to 400 as budget minister in the previous six-year reign of Miguel de la Madrid, Salinas is now out to "restructure" the rest to make them more attractive to private investment. What they have in mind is to hail the capitalists out of their financial crisis by throwing workers out of their jobs.

An effective struggle against this capitalist offensive poses challenges which simple trade unionism cannot answer. Take the teachers' fight for a decent wage. The CNTE's demand for a 100 percent raise would only bring them back to the levels of 1982. But to do so would mean a tremendous rise in the education budget. Where is this to come from? Today Mexico spends only 1.9 percent of its gross national product on education. Yet even by government figures, 56 percent of the federal budget goes to pay interest on Mexico's $102 billion foreign debt! Even the bourgeois nationalist opposition led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas has recognized the teachers are being sacrificed "on the altar of servicing an unpayable debt" (*Excelsior*, 21 April).

But former PRI leader Cárdenas and his new Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) only want a "moratorium" on payments until better terms can be negotiated with the imperialist banks. And this slogan is taken up by the "leftists" who tail after the Cardenista popular front. Thus the Zapatista Workers Party (PTZ), followers of the late Argentine fake-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno, calls on "the comrades of the PRD to put forward together the *immediate moratorium on the debt in order to grant wage raises to the teachers and all workers*" (*El Socialista*, April 1989). For this purpose the PTZ even calls on Cárdenas & Co. to organize "a great united national mobilization" and to "demand that a special session of the federal legislature be called." What parliamentary cretinism, appealing to their bourgeois Cardenista "comrades" to implement the capitalist program of suspending debt payments!

The only way to free the Mexican working people from the suffocating pressure of the imperialist debt is by *repudiating* it outright, as the Bolsheviks did upon taking power in October 1917. But what would this entail? It would immediately be met with an imperialist economic boycott. Even a bureaucratically deformed workers state such as Fidel Castro's Cuba has not proposed, much less carried out, such a revolutionary measure, even though Castro declares the debt is "unpayable." To cancel the debt requires a revolutionary mobilization of

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Chicago...

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investigation of more than 130 instances of racist beatings and torture—including electric shock and suffocation—by white cops at the Brighton Park police station on the South Side. Now Daley sits in the mayor's chair.

The deep race/class oppression in Chicago cries out for militant, integrated social struggle. But this is anathema to the Democratic Party politicians—black and white. In "Segregation City," where living on the "wrong side" of the "color line" means your home may be firebombed, the word "integration" was never mentioned by Washington or his protégé Evans. In the summer of 1986, when the KKK mobilized over 3,000 frenzied racist thugs in Marquette Park, Washington told blacks to give the Klan the "silent treatment." The cops enforced his "advice" by beating and arresting leftists and blacks who sought to protest the fascists' racist terror.

The Washington administration was brought in to *suppress* social struggle by forming a popular-front coalition to bind the black ghettos and labor to the Loop financiers—with a little help from the reformist left. When the heavily black Chicago Teachers Union struck with other school unions in the fall of 1984, the walkout was denounced as "racist" by Washington's political allies, who went all out to break the strike. And when black bus driver Cassandra Seay was brutally beaten by the Chicago cops in her own home in July 1987, the pop-front "black empowerment" crowd was silent. Militant unionists in the ATU, including supporters of the Spartacist League, mobilized a successful labor/black defense of Seay, beating back the cops' frame-up.

During Washington's administration, municipal service cuts hit hard at minorities, the poor and working people. But one agency was beefed up: the cops. Likewise, Evans vowed to "get tough on criminals," presenting an anti-drug program calling for "increased enforcement." Jackson got on the law-and-order bandwagon during the campaign, calling for "civilian patrols" to help the cops stop "vulgar behavior" (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 November 1988).

This "war on drugs" is a leading edge of the ruling class' offensive against the unions and the urban poor, the rationale to beef up the repressive machinery of the capitalist state. The Chicago Housing Authority's blatantly unconstitutional drug raids—followed by evictions of families caught in the presence of drugs (and forget about due process)—have already become the model for a nationwide racist crackdown in public housing run by right-wing Republican Jack Kemp. As part of the feds' program of random drug testing of all transportation workers, the Chicago Transit Authority is bringing cops and drug-sniffing dogs in to intimidate the mostly minority transit workforce. In Chicago and across the country, it is the Democratic Party city administrations which are implementing the "drug war" on unions, blacks and the poor.

In the aftermath of Washington's death, the popular-front lash-up he had kept intact through his personal authority underwent a spectacular disintegration, with "Uncle Tom" Sawyer elevated to mayor on the votes of the racists. In this election, with Washington's coalition crumbling all around them, Evans, Jackson and their allies scrambled to keep their black voting bloc intact. "Race is the *only* damn issue in this campaign," attorney Thomas Todd, a former U.S. attorney and Operation PUSH leader, told a South Side rally. Jesse Jackson told blacks to turn out at the voting booth to "keep the keys" to City Hall. But black Chicagoans couldn't "keep the keys" because they never had them.

Jackson is playing a cynical game: he *supported* the re-election of Daley as state's attorney (on a ticket brokered by Harold Washington) just last year. The bourgeois press speculates about whether Jackson's support to Evans means black politicians will bolt the Democratic Party in other cities. But Evans' program was no different from Washington's. Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is a trap to keep blacks and labor imprisoned in the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. In Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles, "black faces in high places" means more of the same for the ghetto masses.

Militant, integrated class struggle can roll back the bipartisan war on all working people. In 1983 we stood alone on the left in warning that "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago" (*WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983). In response to Washington's slogan that his election meant that for black people "it's our turn," we wrote: "If it is to be 'our turn' to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor they must break with the Democratic Party and find within their ranks the class-conscious leaders that can forge a fighting workers party determined to wage *class war* for power."■

WV Photo

Transit union militants lead successful defense of CTA bus driver Cassandra Seay against cop frame-up.

West Germany...

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apprenticeship programs. And the lumpenproletariat, the hard core of the "no future generation," has spawned the skinhead bands that are a reservoir for a future SA.

Bonn's anti-immigrant policies have fanned widespread racism in West German society. It is not surprising that the single most explosive issue creating conjunctural support for the fascists is the question of ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) from East Europe, some 200,000 of whom immigrated to the capitalist West in 1988 alone. (Only "Aryans" need apply—Leonhard Freiberg, a German Jew who had lived in Romania, died earlier this year in Hessen after he failed for 40 years to obtain status as a German national.) The fascists seek simultaneously to recruit from these immigrants and capitalize on resentment against them in the competition for the ever-shrinking pool of jobs, social services and housing.

Permanent mass unemployment demoralizes and disorganizes the working class and provides a recruiting ground for the fascists. To fight unemployment, hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike for the 35-hour workweek in 1984. But the DGB bureaucrats channeled the struggle into piecemeal shortening of the workday by a few minutes every year or so into the 1990s. And only the most privileged workers are getting this, while large sections of the workforce are left out, creating resentment. What is needed is an aggressive, frontal attack on unemployment that can win over a section of the marginal "little" people as well as benefiting all workers. The unions must fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours! All existing work should be divided up among the labor force, and the length of the workweek decided accordingly—at no loss in pay.

What is needed is a revolutionary struggle for power, the fight for a genuinely planned economy based on the expropriation of the capitalist class by a workers government. A Leninist vanguard party must be forged that acts as a tribune of the people. The fascists exploit the division of Germany to recruit to anti-Communist revanchism. The Trotskyists counter with a program of proletarian internationalism—for the defense of the USSR and DDR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! For the revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.■

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the workers inside the imperialist colossus. This was the program of the Communist International, founded 70 years ago, which was later betrayed by Stalin's nationalist program of "socialism in one country" at home and popular-front alliances with the "progressive" bourgeoisie abroad.

Repudiation of the imperialist debt, a sliding scale of wages to match inflation, a sliding scale of hours to combat unemployment (divide the available work among all those seeking jobs): simply to ensure the survival of the working people requires a program that points directly to a socialist planned economy. And that requires proletarian revolution, not limited to the national confines of a relatively backward capitalist country like Mexico but extending to the imperialist metropolis to the north as well. The key is a Trotskyist workers party, forged on the program of permanent revolution, in struggle not only against the ruling PRI, but also against the Mexican (and international) bourgeoisie's backup solution, the Cárdenas popular front.

Militant oppositions to the *charro* bureaucrats of the CTM unions are nothing new in Mexico. In fact, the semi-corporatist structure of the PRI regime, resting in good measure on a state-controlled labor bureaucracy, encourages syndicalist currents. During the 1970s there was a wave of "democratic tendencies" in the unions. But because they were not won to a program of revolutionary class struggle against capitalism, with a slight shift in the political climate they were ultimately reincorporated into the PRI. Today, many of the erstwhile "independent" unions have politically subordinated themselves to the Cárdenas front, the substitute PRI. Others capitulate directly to the ruling party. Thus after selling out the month-long strike by National University Workers last November, STUNAM leader Evaristo Pérez Aurreola accepted a position as an adviser to Salinas. Many leftists have criticized this as a betrayal—more importantly, it is in the logic of a purely syndicalist "opposition" to the regime.

It is not possible to successfully fight for trade-union democracy and independence without a political program of revolutionary class struggle. Writing about the French "independent" unionists of the 1920s, the syndicalists, Leon Trotsky commented that:

> "Independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie cannot be a passive state. It can express itself only by political acts, that is, by the struggle against the bourgeoisie ... the real independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois government cannot be realized unless the proletariat conducts its struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary and not an opportunist party."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism" (1929)

The fight for the Mexican workers revolution is the fight to forge an internationalist Trotskyist party as part of a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.■

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Chicago: Segregation City, U.S.A.

Boss Daley Jr. Takes City Hall

CHICAGO—A Daley is back in City Hall. The April 4 mayoral election was won by Richard M. Daley, the son of the late, unlamented "Boss" of the racist Democratic Party machine. Six years after Harold Washington became the first black mayor of "Segregation City," the racists in Chicago's lily-white neighborhoods are celebrating their "recapture" of City Hall. Daley succeeded in winning the votes of Hispanics, Jews and "lakefront liberals," all of whom were key elements in Washington's popular-front coalition. But mainly, Daley, heavily backed by big downtown real estate developers, was looked to by racists in the "bungalow neighborhoods" as the "great white hope," running in the footsteps of his father. Race was the dividing line, as whites voted for white candidates by better than ten to one, and blacks for black candidates by an equal margin.

The death of Harold Washington in November 1987 set the stage for the special election to fill out the final two years of his term. In the February 28 Democratic primary, Daley easily beat black acting mayor Eugene Sawyer. Widely known as "Uncle Tom" Sawyer, he was boosted into the mayoralty by the racist bloc of white aldermen who had waged guerrilla war against Washington, trying to deny him the normal prerogatives of his office. When blacks stayed home in droves rather than vote for Sawyer, Jesse Jackson, who endorsed him, intoned, "We have a mutiny in our community" (*New York Times*, 1 March). In the April 4 general election, Jackson urged blacks to vote for Democrat Tim Evans, Washington's City Council floor leader and heir apparent, who ran under the "Harold Washington Party" label.

Like Washington before them, neither Sawyer nor Evans addressed the desperate plight of minorities and all working people in Chicago. Also like Washington (and Daley Jr.) they both came out of Boss Daley's machine. All the black Democrats campaigned on the basis of capitalist fiscal responsibility, law and order, and the anti-drug witchhunt. Like the black Democratic mayors from Detroit to Atlanta, they were pledging their loyalty to the racist capitalist rulers of this country. Black attorney Ron Brown, newly elected head of the Democratic National Committee, used the Chicago election to demonstratively back Daley.

Harold Washington's election in 1983 sparked enormous hopes and illusions among Chicago blacks. It was touted by the reformist left as the coming of "black empowerment" and the road to black freedom. But those illusions were dashed as life in the most segregated city in America only continued to get worse: from rampaging cops to the city's campaign against the residents of the massive housing projects, black Democrat Washington ruled to *enforce* capitalist reaction. And all that his political heirs offer is more of the same.

David Walberg

Chicago mayor Richard M. Daley, Jr.

Green Light for Cop and Klan Terror

Daley's victory has already emboldened both the racist cops and Klan/Nazi scum. Just six days after the election, four self-proclaimed Klansmen "celebrated" by murderously attacking Ralph Brooks, a 16-year-old black youth, as he stood in front of his home in the North Side neighborhood of Uptown. Brooks suffered an injured knee, a broken elbow and a skull fracture that may leave him blind in one eye. KKK leader David Duke and his Hitlerite Populist Party rode into town on March 3, on the coattails of Daley's primary victory. That time the race-terrorists were met with a militant, united-front demonstration organized by the Partisan Defense Committee (see "No Hitlers in Chicago!" *WV* No. 473, 17 March).

The cops and Klan think they have the green light. And they're not just remembering the racist rule of "Boss" Daley, who ordered his cops to "shoot to kill" as the ghetto erupted after the assassination of Martin Luther King, and presided over the midnight murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. As Cook County state's attorney in 1985, Daley Jr. had his sheriff's deputies shackle black bus driver David Johnson to his hospital bed, after his innocent involvement in a traffic accident in which seven suburban youths died. But Daley's persecution of Johnson was stopped cold as over 700 black, Hispanic and white members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) marched on police headquarters in a massive display of union power. In 1982, Daley stonewalled demands for an

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Cleveland: Racist Attacks Escalate

CLEVELAND—Cross-burnings, firebombings, racist vandalism, and outright racist murder: these are some of the ways this Rust Belt metropolis maintains its status as the second most segregated city in America. Yet the barrage of racist violence during the first three months of 1989 has startled even the normally oblivious city council and spurred several demonstrations of community outrage. Since January, seven major racist attacks have shaken Cleveland, culminating in a Howard Beach-style shotgun attack March 17, in which a gang of white punks chased down and shot at four black teenagers from the Union-Miles area.

The four blacks were visiting a white friend on the Southeast Side (once an Eastern European ethnic bastion, now about 40 percent black), when a car with four white men drove by. As the black teenagers were walking home, the car drove by again with a shotgun pointing out the window. The black youths tried to run away, but the whites in the car pursued them as they ran through the streets, under a bridge and up a hill toward the railroad tracks. "Once we got on the tracks, we thought we were safe," said Iree Lardell. "But two of those guys were already up there, and they must have had a second shotgun," since they started firing away (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 March).

Eddie Jones

Four black teenagers, victims of shotgun attack, with their supporters.

After the attack, the four black teenagers ran for help to a nearby house and a fire station. They were treated for pellet wounds at St. Luke's Hospital. Iree Lardell, 17, took two shots, in his right hand and the right side of his back. Lonzell Blue, Maurice Williams and Jerrod Johnson were also injured. Their would-be murderers were soon caught and initially charged only with felonious assault, but as public outrage began to build, a grand jury later upped the charges to include attempted murder.

The March 17 shotgun attack came on the heels of a series of racist attacks. A black church on Addison Road, near the white ethnic enclave of "Slavic Village," has been repeatedly vandalized, with shots fired into the minister's office, bricks and rocks thrown through the windows, and racial slurs scrawled on the walls. On March 7, a cross was burned at the home of Lorice Edwards, a black bus driver who had moved into the predominantly white Willoughby section a few months before. In another incident in the predominantly white section of St. Clair-Superior, Willie White, 40, said he and his family returned home after a weekend trip to find furniture slashed, Drano poured on the wood floors, mirrors and lamps broken, racial slurs painted on the walls.

No one has been charged in any of these crimes. Meanwhile, the Cuyahoga County Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) was evicting a 94-year-old woman, Suzie Richardson, and throwing her few possessions into the street, for the "crime" of owing $98 in back rent! Richardson says the real reason is because she lives with her 56-year-old boyfriend, who is white.

And while the racist terrorists go free, a black youth faces jail for successfully

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

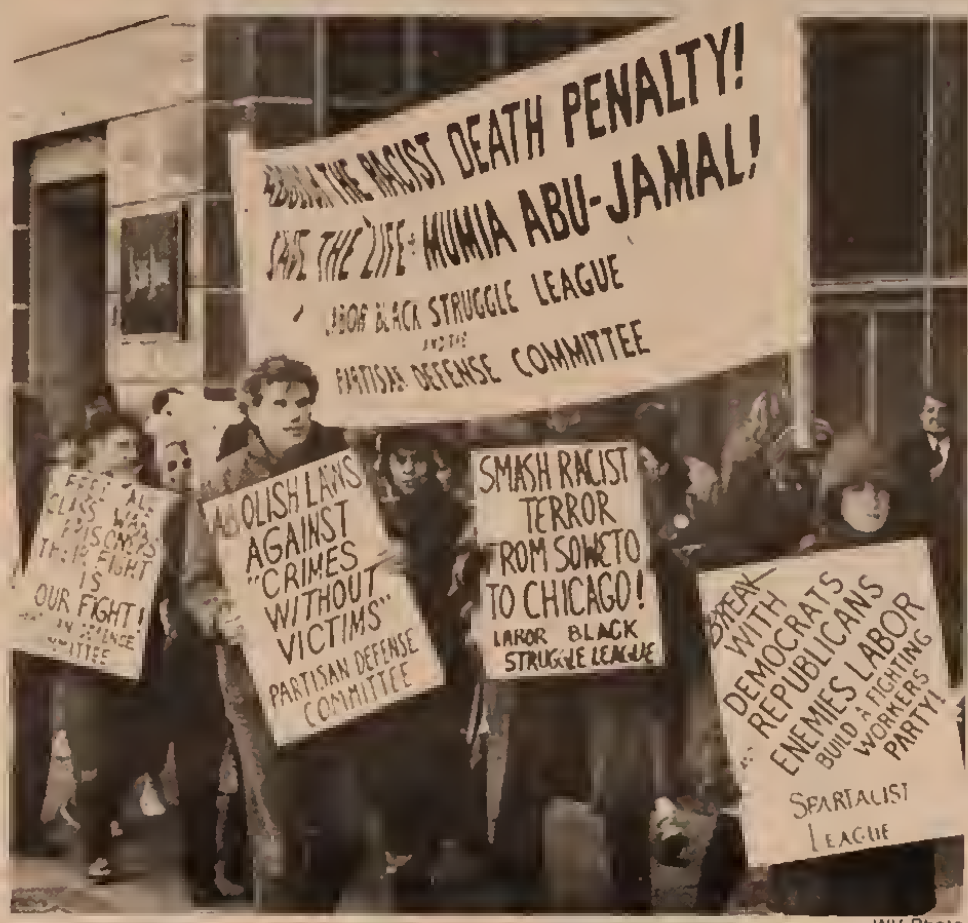
No. 477 | 12 May 1989

Racist Death Penalty Hysteria

Stop Legal Lynching!

The courts and prisons are jammed with young black and Hispanic men. In the name of a "war on drugs," cops sweep through the ghettos and barrios. "Anti-gang" dragnets in Los Angeles, TNT (Tactical Narcotics Teams) squads kicking in doors in New York City, South Africa-style passes for housing projects in Chicago. In the D.C. area, a wave of "drug-related" evictions, massively relocating residents from the projects to the jails. The answer of Bush and the Democratic-controlled Congress to the hellish conditions of America's inner cities is to "beef up" police power. Now the drive is on to unleash the ultimate weapon of the government's arsenal, the racist death penalty, legacy of the brutal slavocracy of the Old South.

"Up South" in New York State, the legislature is on the brink of overriding Democratic governor Mario Cuomo's veto of the death penalty. (Cuomo, who has vetoed capital punishment legislation seven times in seven years, favors the slow torture of "civil death," or life imprisonment without parole.) Death penalty pushers in Albany are only one vote short of the 100 needed to reconnect the electric chair. And if legal lynching is restored in New York, the 12 other states holding out will be under tremendous pressure to follow suit. It is in this supercharged atmosphere that a horrible gang rape of a white woman by black and Hispanic youth took place in Central Park.



WV Photo

Laffont/Gamma

Militant contingent at Chicago protest against death penalty, April 8, fights to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, black political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania.

At about 10 p.m. on April 19, the 28-year-old woman investment banker and Upper East Side resident jogging at the north end of Central Park was brutally beaten with a pipe, stabbed, repeatedly raped and left for dead. The attackers were the hard core of a larger bunch of marauders who earlier in the evening had numbered over 30. They attacked nine others, including mugging two Hispanics and harassing a black man. As the woman lay in a coma, the media went into a frenzy. The front page of the *Daily News* howled that the alleged rapists were a "wolf pack." The press all talked of "wilding," supposedly part of the street speech of the rap generation,

continued on page 8

Eyewitness Kabul

Afghan Women Fight for Their Lives

Ihlau

Afghan women, determined to defend their social emancipation, volunteered for women's militia organized by Kabul government.

Interview with Val Moghadam

The eyes of the world are today focused on the provincial city of Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan. The imperialist rulers and their cutthroat *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") have failed so far to take this city after nine weeks of bitter siege and murderous bombardment. For Washington this is a humiliating setback to their plans to rout the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and reimpose a regime of mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords on the long-suffering peoples of this country. For the working people internationally, the heroic defense of Jalalabad is part of the struggle for elementary rights and social progress.

At stake in this war is nothing less than the rights of women to read and write, to work, to receive medical care, indeed to live. Throughout modern history, the degree of emancipation for women has been a measuring rod of social progress. Should the CIA and its *mujahedin* win, it would mean not only a raging

continued on page 3

The Massacre of MOVE

UPI

13 May 1985

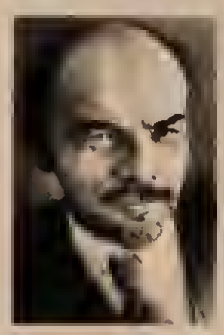
May 13 marks the fourth anniversary of the police bombing of the radical MOVE commune in West Philadelphia. Eleven black people, including five children, were devoured in the fiery inferno, and a black neighborhood turned to ash. Democratic mayor Wilson Goode gave the order, the FBI supplied the C-4 explosives, Philly cops dropped the bomb on the house, then opened up with 10,000 rounds of machine-gun and rifle fire to drive back into the flames those who sought to escape. Reagan's top cop Ed Meese cited this state terrorism as a "good example" for other police to follow.

The Mother's Day 1985 siege of Osage Avenue began as a cop bullhorn delivered the message: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Racist capitalist America, where mass murder of black people is officially sanctioned. Today, the criminals who carried out this state murder are free while Ramona Africa remains behind bars for the "crime" of surviving the massacre, as do more than a dozen other members of the Africa family jailed earlier. Free the MOVE prisoners! The American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs!

TROTSKY

Revolutionary Awakening of the Women of the East

The CIA's "holy warriors" in Afghanistan aim at the re-enslavement of women, their seclusion behind the walls of the home and the veil, symbol of their degradation in traditional Islamic society. Speaking at Moscow's Communist University of the Toilers of the East in 1924, Trotsky recognized that the liberation of women was both a powerful force for and historic task of social revolution in Asia.



LENIN

Leninism meets with a passionate response among workingwomen who are the most oppressed section of society. When I read about the success of one of your female students in Kazan among the illiterate Tatar women, I was reminded of my recent short visit to Baku where I heard for the first time a Turkomen Communist woman, and had an opportunity to observe in the hall the enthusiasm of hundreds of such women, who having heard our message of liberation had awakened to a new life. I realized then for the first time that women will play a more important role in the liberation movement of the East than in Europe and here in Russia [*applause*]. This will be the case for the simple reason that Eastern women are even more oppressed and entangled in agelong prejudices than men....

Eastern women, who under present conditions are enslaved and thwarted in all their desires and ambitions, will, with the removal of the veil, see themselves deprived of all spiritual support because of the newly arisen economic conditions. They will thirst for new ideas and a new consciousness capable of allotting them their proper place in society. Believe me, there will be no better comrade in the East and no better champion of the ideas of revolution and communism than the awakened workingwoman [*applause*].

—Leon Trotsky, "Prospects and Tasks in the East" (April 1924)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 477 **12 May 1989**

Tribute to the May 13th Martyrs

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

A police-constructed bomb floats down, from the whipping blades of a state cop helicopter, to erupt into a fireball, to explode into a firestorm of black death.

By dawn, smoldering rocks remain.

By daybreak, scattered skeletons sit amidst oceans of ashes.

May 13th, 1985 remembered—the state bombing of men, women and babies of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia.

Several years later, this day of infamy is marked by silence, not the silent moment of tribute, but the silence of stealth, the silence of the state, the silence of death.

Today, we break that silence, with a celebration of memory to the May 13th martyrs—good, strong rebels all who stood tall in resistance to the evils of this hypocritical system.

Radical 'Rad, bright-eyed, coffee-colored, whose rapid-fire rap could inspire, or agitate, depending on his intent;

Dimpled, freckled-face Tree, full of infectious laughter, whose giggle could trigger a landslide of fun;

Shy Rhon, who spoke softly, but with an underlying firmness that would bend steel;

Visionary Vinnie, whose deep voice could rise to a whistling cackle, in a matter of minutes;

Greybeard Ray, quiet, steady, dependable;

Little baby-boy Tomasso, who loved the simple, childish joy of running, the wind whipping thru his thick, straight, brown hair;

Naturalist Minister, Nick, committed, serious, soft-spoken Teacher;

They, and more, tried to escape the Oven of Osage, and were forced back, back, back into a certain fiery death, by police marksmen. A foul cloud still rises over Osage—the stench of a state set-up, and cover-up, at all levels of government.

The state's mission—to liquidate MOVE, using FBI-supplied high explosives; ATF-provided high-calibre weapons; and state police-manned & governor-approved air support, by helicopter.

MOVE's mission—to expose the naked injustice inherent in this system; to show the utter barbarity of this baby-killing, bloodthirsty system; and to bring attention to unjustly imprisoned MOVE men and women, some serving up to 100 years.

Both the system and MOVE can claim successes and losses.

The system showed it could plan, and execute premeditated mass murder of MOVE rebels; MOVE could point to this and other state atrocities to show its description of the deeply unjust nature of the system was quite true. Only in a MOVE case could U.S. and District Attorneys claim inability to define a crime as clear as this premeditated case of gov't terrorism.

Just as this system of injustice could not avenge these crimes committed *by* the system, people cannot expect the system to portray them as the worthy martyrs they are. This, only the people can do.

For my part, I offer this poem; *"May 13th Remembered"*:

Red tongues of flame lick angry night skies;
Politicians play blind and deaf to the cries—
Skin blisters, hair ablaze,
Smoking babies stumble, in a daze;
Firemen watch, as flames go higher.
Cops shoot, adding human fuel to the fire;
"No One Must Escape!" they bellow in rage,
Sending Africas back into burning Osage;
And what did state/federal judges decide?
"Mass murder is no crime, no one will be tried!"
So the Bombing remains, without resolution.
Clear to all—U.S. "justice" is an illusion.

From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

Bodies of eleven members of MOVE commune, including five children, incinerated in police assault, are pulled from burned-out building.

Eyewitness Kabul...

(continued from page 1)

bloodbath against women and all modernizing forces in Afghanistan. It would point a dagger at the greatest victory history has seen for the working class and all oppressed—the 1917 Russian Revolution which wrested one-sixth of the world out of the hands of the capitalist class. Nowhere is the treachery of the Kremlin's striving to appease imperialist reaction more clearly revealed today than in Gorbachev's pullout of Soviet troops from its southern neighbor.

Workers Vanguard is pleased to present the following interview with Val Moghadam, a Middle East sociologist who has written and lectured extensively on Iran and Afghanistan. She recently returned from a two-week visit to Kabul as part of a research project on the condition of women in Afghanistan. In a letter to the *New York Times* (18 April) following her return, she denounced continuing American and Pakistani support for the murderous war on Afghan women, and observed, "Party members I spoke with, including teen-age girls, are armed and ready to fight to defend the country from a mujahedeen takeover."

Moghadam explained to *WV*: "My political background was one that was anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial, and also sympathetic to the Soviet Union." Shortly after her birth, her parents left Iran as a result of the 1953 coup engineered by the CIA against the left-nationalist Mossadeq regime, which installed the bloody shah Reza Pahlavi. The family returned in 1963, and Val lived there for the next dozen years. In the years preceding the overthrow of the shah's dictatorship by Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in early 1979, she worked within the Iranian exile left, particularly that wing of the Iranian Students Association of the U.S. which supported the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen Guerrillas.

Val Moghadam's firsthand account of the situation in Kabul highlights the determination of Afghan women and supporters of social progress to fight to the death against the *mujahedin* reactionaries. She describes in graphic detail how attempts by the modernizing left nationalists of the PDPA to institute what for Afghanistan were far-reaching reforms, centered on liberating women from centuries-old enslavement, ran head on into entrenched feudal/tribal reaction on the eve of the December 1979 Soviet intervention. The backwardness of Afghan society—where a tiny urban proletariat was vastly outnumbered by the mullahs, khans and landlords—meant the domestic social base for elementary reforms was limited in the extreme.

Precisely for this reason and because military defense of the Soviet workers state was posed, the international Spartacist tendency said at the time of the intervention: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Soviet troops prevented a massacre of all those who want to bring Afghanistan into the 20th century. But the Stalinist bureaucracy refused to commit itself to a decisive military victory over the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. Where Washington poured a half million troops into Indochina in a bloody attempt to prevent social revolution in a country halfway around the globe, Moscow temporized with the possibility of promoting social revolution right on its border. They committed only 100,000 troops and held back the pace and scale of reforms.

Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was not belated, as Val Moghadam and elements of the PDPA she cites have concluded, but far too premature. We pointed out early on that a prolonged Soviet army occupation would bring with it "the possibility of its transformation along the lines of Soviet Central Asia or Mongolia" (*Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980). In what is today Soviet Central Asia, a region which in the early 1920s was just as backward as Afghanistan, it took the armed power of the Red Army to break the opposition of the *mujahedin*'s predecessors, the murderous *basmachi*, and pave the way to revolutionary social transformation.

Third World nationalists would have it that both Vietnam and Afghanistan were "national liberation" struggles. However, in Afghanistan the banner of "national liberation"—directed against the liberating Soviet forces—was seized early on by the imperialist-backed reactionaries. The anti-Soviet left was more than happy to tail along in their wake. But the struggle for social revolution is necessarily internationalist and, in the particular circumstances of Afghanistan, one requiring international assistance for a successful conclusion.

Kabul is today a haven for thousands of exiled leftists from Pakistan and Iran. It is particularly incumbent on socialists in those countries—where significant proletarian forces do exist—to oppose the imperialist and Islamic fundamentalist war on Afghanistan and fight for workers revolution against their own bourgeoisies. Our support for military victory against CIA-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan and our campaign for material aid to the victims of the *mujahedin* siege are part and parcel of the struggle for world socialist revolution, and for proletarian political revolution against the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, to return the Soviet Union to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky.

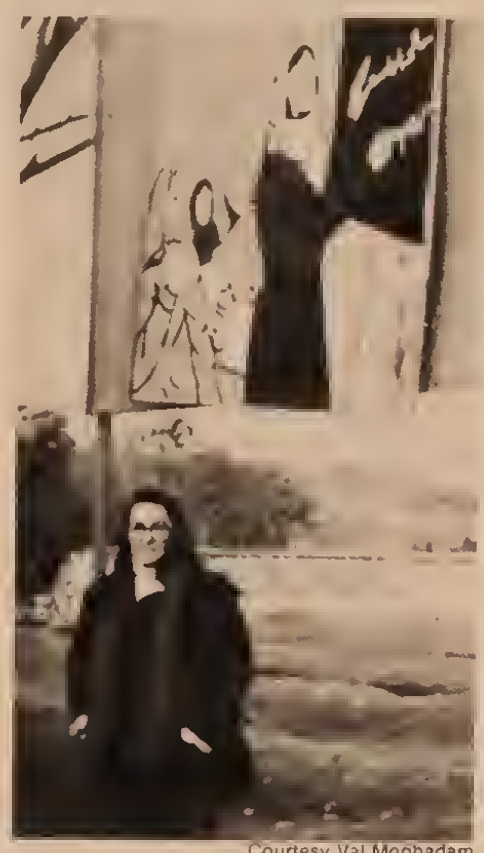
TASS from Sovfoto

DPA

Women learn to read and write in literacy campaign by left-nationalist Kabul government. CIA-backed reactionaries rose up against women's rights: mujahedin cutthroat shoots schoolteacher (right).

WV: The *chador*, or head-to-toe veil, is worn by women in Iran and Afghanistan. We've noted in our paper that it's a symbol of the enslavement of women in the Near East. Do you have any reminiscences or observations about it, either in Iran or Afghanistan?

Moghadam: When I was growing up in Iran, which was the 1960s and 1970s, the women of the social group that I



Courtesy Val Moghadam

Val Moghadam in Kabul.

was a member of did not wear the *chador*. The *chador* in Teheran itself was worn principally by working-class or lower-middle-class, traditional petty-bourgeois, or urban poor women. Now what happened during the revolution, as you know, was that a lot of women oppositionists who hitherto had *not* been wearing the *chador* donned the *chador* as a symbol of opposition. I thought at the time and I think now that it was a poor choice of symbol. And what happened, of course, was that this symbol became imposed. It became part of the new political and moral restructuring of society by the new Islamic regime.

If the question of the *chador* and the veil was actually very important in Iran—it was a big mistake that certainly Iranian leftists and progressives, and of course international ones too, did not make a bigger issue of it at the time than they did—then it's that much more important to raise this as an issue in the Afghan case. Precisely because it's going to be that much worse for women in the Afghanistan case. And that's because the Islamicists in Afghanistan, or the *mujahedin*, whether they're based in Pakistan or Iran, are very much opposed to any kind of female participation in politics.

The insistence that women don the *chador*, etc. in the Afghan context is not only a negation of female sexuality and personality, rendering them anonymous as such, but it really is to render them silent. The veil in that context means you do not speak, you do not participate, you do not do anything. And women in Afghanistan are aware of this. The women in Kabul that I spoke to were very much aware of a) what had happened to their Iranian sisters after the Islamic revolution there, and b) what was happening to their own sisters in the refugee camps in Peshawar.

WV: Can you tell us what you saw during your trip?

Moghadam: What I saw in Afghanistan, in Kabul, when I was there for, unfortunately, a brief two-week period, confirmed some of my hypotheses and ideas that I've held, and also refuted some of the conventional wisdom. For example, there is a widely held view that the Najibullah government is actually a puppet regime, and has no support whatsoever. This is patently untrue. The Najibullah government is maybe the most popular government of the past at least ten years. It has a wider social base than previous governments. The party also has a much larger membership than it ever had before.

Another misconception is that the *mujahedin* are very popular, and that they're all over the place. There's one view, and this is something that the *mujahedin* have spread themselves, that there are 30,000 *mujahedin* in and around Kabul, and they have been there simply waiting for the Soviet troops to leave, so that they can make their move and just take over. Well, they haven't made their move, except for several terrorist actions, which they've been doing over the years anyway. If there are *mujahedin* supporters in Kabul—there are, by the way, and I met some—they are certainly not in a strong enough position to take over the city.

In Kabul itself I came across a wide range of perspectives vis-à-vis the government and the party. People that I spoke with on the streets and in the bazaar, in shops, held views that ranged from deeply sympathetic to the *mujahedin* and hostile to the governing party, to exactly the opposite. The men tended to be more sympathetic, or at least to express their sympathies for the *mujahedin*. The women I spoke with also had various perspectives, that is to say, they were very sympathetic to the government, or they were critical of the government and they tended to support [the former king] Zahir Shah. But not a single woman actually said to me that she would prefer the *mujahedin* to run the country.

That, I thought, was very interesting, and I think it also underscores again the centrality of the women's question in the Afghan case, because the revolution and the counterrevolution have been in a sense enacted on a field of gender. The women's question assumed paramount importance to the revolutionaries because they have wanted, obviously, to

continued on page 4

WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers Must Lead Iranian Revolution!

Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!

WORKERS VANGUARD

While Carter Stews, Soviet Army Rolls Back Afghan Mullahs

Hail Red Army!

Swimming against the stream: 17 November 1978 WV called for workers revolution in Iran, opposing the bloody shah and Khomeini's Islamic reaction; 11 January 1980 WV supported Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in the face of imperialist hysteria.

Eyewitness Kabul...

(continued from page 3)

enhance women's status and increase their rights. But the women's question was also paramount to the counterrevolutionaries, precisely because they were against this, and they wanted women to return to a socially inferior position.

WV: Can you give us some examples of the measures toward women's emancipation that have been taken since 1978? There have been reports that the Afghan government has been pulling back from these progressive steps in the interests of "national reconciliation." On the other hand, on February 5, it was announced that a women's militia was being formed.

Moghadam: The government of Noor Mohammed Taraki in 1978 instituted a number of reforms which, in the Afghan context, were very radical; there were measures that sought to increase women's rights and to enhance their status. The measures were mostly related to the dangerous—in the context of Islamic law—area of family law, such things as marriage, polygamy, divorce, child custody.

In Afghanistan, there is also the issue of the bride price. Now, what the government tried to do in 1978 was to discourage the practice of bride price, because in many parts of Afghanistan this had been translated into the selling of girls by their fathers, and the buying of girls by prospective grooms. The government sought to discourage this, not by banning it outright, but by placing a ceiling on the amount that could be used for the bride price. This turned out to have been very unpopular, certainly unpopular with the men. And apparently also unpopular with some women who felt, curiously, that they were being devalued. Customs and traditions are very difficult to deal with. As we know from other contexts, oppressed peoples and groups, including women, tend to internalize their oppression.

Another area in which the government sought to institute some wide-ranging reforms was the area of polygamy, where they sought to ban it. There was also an outcry over that, mainly again from the men. At the same time, the government fought to encourage the education and employment of women. Education was very important, given that 99 percent of Afghan women were illiterate at the time. So what the government decided to do was to institute a fairly aggressive literacy campaign, directed in the first instance at girls. Henceforth, there was going to be compulsory literacy and education. Well, this too resulted in a great deal of resistance, again on the part of the men. Literacy workers, including women employees of the Afghan women's organization, were killed, as well as teachers, etc. This was happening as early as summer 1978.

Sipa

Women carry portrait of Khomeini in anti-shah demonstration, 1978. Fake-lefttists claimed the veil was a "symbol of resistance," yet chador perpetuates oppression and social isolation of women.

Now, as a result of the backlash and reaction to these reforms in the areas of women's rights in particular, the government retreated somewhat. I think that the government leaders were somewhat taken aback, you see, at this type of reaction. In other parts of the world, peasants, villagers, revolt for these sorts of things. They revolt precisely for the sort of land reform that the Afghan government also tried to implement, which also was not successful and met with resistance on the part of villagers and peasants.

The authorities were taken aback by this, and there was a great deal of internal tension and dissension over what to do and the way forward. They lifted the ban on polygamy, so now it is allowed for the general population. But party members are prohibited from taking a second wife—thank goodness for small things. In fact, when I was there in February, I was speaking with a party member who was on the Politburo, and he explained to me that two weeks prior to this conversation, the central committee had met and decided to expel a long-standing party member, someone who had been a member since the early days, in the mid-'60s, because he had decided to take on a second wife. I was actually very surprised by the fact that this man had been a party member for 20 years and still had not learned the most elementary things about male-female relations and the question of equality, but there you go.

Compulsory education was also abrogated, and it is now again a voluntary issue. The bride price was also put aside or ignored after a while. So the rhetoric is certainly not as radical as it was in 1978-79. It's a very difficult issue though, because especially in this period of national reconciliation they have to court certain non-left-wing, non-socialist political and social forces. So a year and a half ago when they were writing up the new constitution, the party members were sitting around a table with non-Marxist and non-Communist armed social groups who had decided to form, to join, this program for national reconciliation, and join also a coalition government. And the party members wanted the new constitution to have a clause that stated expressly and very directly that men and women are equal in our society. Well, this was voted down.

But there was a compromise that, all right, there won't be a separate clause stating that men and women are equal, but that elsewhere in the constitution, in the context of the rights and duties and obligations and privileges, there will be a clause that says "men *and* women."

WV: In the midst of this call for national reconciliation, it appears that there's a widespread awareness that this is a fight to the death. Can you give us your impression of the mood in Kabul?

Moghadam: I had gone there expecting to encounter an anxious and depressed population. Far from that, I encountered a very upbeat mood, a confident air about all the party and government people I met. While they are very, very much aware of the danger posed by the *mujahedin* and in particular by continued arms flow to the *mujahedin* by the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, etc., and they would not trivialize that danger whatsoever, they are also very confident of their own ability to stand firm and to fight. People other than government and party people that I talked with in Kabul also generally went about their business as usual. Their lives were not going to be interrupted by the war, and at any rate, the war really hadn't reached Kabul by that time. Now after I left, the problems of food shortages and such actually did get worse.

I think that this confidence and optimism are also related to the fact that the party really is in a better situation than it was several years ago, and certainly ten years ago, that it does have a larger base, and more supporters, and that the party is stronger. This growth, paradoxically, has been going on during this eight- or nine-year period of Soviet presence. Over the past eight years, the PDPA has been building institutional supports. They've been building certain social organizations, such as expanding the women's organization, which is formally called the Women's Council, as well as trade unions, associations of teachers, journalists, etc. and the youth organization, which is one of the strongest and most militant of the social organizations.

WV: A few years ago a German women's group, Amnesty for Women, had set up clinics in the refugee camps in Pakistan. They had been pro-*mujahedin* and came face to face with the *mujahedin*'s treatment of women in those camps, but they never were able to transcend their support to the *mujahedin*, lining up behind their government's support for the U.S.-backed side. Can you give us some examples that you had heard about in your trip about *mujahedin* atrocities, and any observations about this group or the women's movement in general, and their attitude toward Afghanistan.

Moghadam: Unfortunately, there's been a concerted effort, I think, internationally, to make the *mujahedin* look good, and to make the government and the party look bad. In actual fact, the

Aid to Victims of CIA's Afghan Cutthroats

"The Defense of Jalalabad Is Crucial"

The following statement in support of the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund launched by the Partisan Defense Committee was received from Val Moghadam.

Your campaign in support of Jalalabad is quite impressive, especially for the help you are extending to the civilians. The defense of Jalalabad is crucial. The confidence and optimism that I encountered in Kabul in January-February would dissipate in a minute if Jalalahad fell. The *mujahedin*'s inability to take the city has raised questions about their strength and their popularity. For years the *mujahedin* and their Western supporters have been saying that the minute the Soviet troops left, the "puppet regime" would fall and the people of Afghanistan would rise and welcome the *mujahedin* with open arms. Well, why hasn't that happened yet? Why hasn't that happened in Jalalabad? This also suggests that the Government and the Army are in a much better position than casual observers and *mujahedin* supporters would like to believe. It confirms that the Government really does have staying power, and that the Army does have the ability to fight.

Nonetheless, the *mujahedin* are pressing on. Strategically and symbolically, Jalalabad is important, which is why they haven't let go. Americans ought to know about the human suffering entailed, and of their government's involvement in prolonging war and suffering in Afghanistan. Now that the press has documented that U.S. advisers were actually involved in the planning of the attack on Jalalabad, Americans should demonstrate their moral outrage over such conduct. In this regard, I am most impressed and encouraged by what the PDC has been doing: exposing the U.S.-Pakistan-*mujahedin* collaboration in the war against the Afghan people, extending financial assistance to the civilians of Jalalabad, and supporting Afghan women's rights. What you are doing is very important, and uniquely good.

Val Moghadam

Call for aid to Afghan civilian victims

ASIAN TIMES

28 April 1989

The Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) has

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by Thatcher – won the war over Afghanistan? Women enslaved to the veil. School teachers shot. 'Adulterers' stoned. 'Blasphemers' executed. Foreign political refugees murdered. Minor government officials condemned... We call urgently on all defenders of women's

social progress to materially aid the victims of Washington's bloody crusade. Your contribution will send a message of international solidarity to those who are prepared to fight to the death against the CIA's cutthroats."

The Partis

currently centred on Jalalabad, a "strategic city whose fall would open the road to Kabul." They highlight the atrocities being inflicted on civilians by rebels armed to the teeth by the USA and backed by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and other countries:

Britain's foremost English-language Asian weekly ran front-page story on PDC campaign for Jalalabad.

mujahedin have been astonishingly brutal. There are certain human rights organizations, for example, which have made huge cases about the violation of human rights by the government and by the Soviets. But they have ignored the extremely brutal and really astonishingly horrific way that the *mujahedin* have dealt with their own prisoners: they have treated Soviet prisoners with mind-boggling cruelty, all sorts of things like skinning alive, and cutting tongues, and keeping them in cages, and making them act like animals.

They have treated the population of certain cities or certain towns which have not gone over to their side with a great deal of brutality. They attacked the city of Kunduz twice last fall and they actually killed quite a number of the townspeople there. They also blew up an orphanage in that town, because the orphanage held children who were "orphans of martyrs," martyrs in this case being pro-government people in particular. And several years before that they had sent an assassination team to kill a very famous Afghan singer and dancer, whose name escapes me right now, but she's very popular, and her earlier performances are still shown on television. She was warned by the *mujahedin* to stop singing and dancing because this was unbecoming of a woman, and she ignored that. For this they killed her.

So a lot of women that I talked with in Kabul were aware of these stories, because of course they're highly publicized within Afghanistan. So people are aware of this in certainly the major cities of Afghanistan as well as in towns and villages. Which is precisely why many villagers have organized what are called self-defense brigades: sometimes they are pro-government and pro-party, sometimes they're not, but they're definitely against the *mujahedin*. So they defend themselves and they defend those areas and those regions against any kind of *mujahedin* incursion.

Understandably, women are particularly alarmed by these types of stories and terrorist actions, which is why the party women have responded to the call for military training and the appeal that party members arm themselves. It was actually voluntary for the women, but my sources tell me that all the party women decided to attend the military training classes; they learned how to use the weapons, and now keep weapons at home. I met teenage girls, party members and members of the democratic youth organizations, who told me that they too had undergone the classes and were armed.

WV: In a recent article in *Against the Current*, you took the left to task for supporting the CIA's holy warriors. The international Spartacist tendency has opposed this from the beginning. I was wondering what you thought of our slogan posed back in 1980, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan"?

Moghadam: I wouldn't have put it quite that way. But when I was in Kabul in February, party people that I spoke with all seemed to concur that the intervention on the part of the Red Army was necessary at that time. There was no alternative but for the Soviet troops to enter to prevent the situation from deteriorating any further and from collapsing, and to prevent the power shift in favor of the *mujahedin* and their international supporters. However, most party people also agreed that the fact that the troops stayed on for so long was not particularly helpful. The *mujahedin* were able to use this as a way to claim that the struggle was a national liberation struggle, as opposed to what it really was, which was a civil war between the forces for social change and progress vs. the reactionary forces for tradition, patriarchy and the status quo.

So it seems to me that the intervention was necessary at the time, given the domestic situation and given all the external intervention and machinations on the part of the Islamic regime in Iran, the Pakistanis, the Chinese, the Americans, the Saudi Arabians. But I also think that the presence of the Soviet Army should not have been prolonged the way it was, that the party people are correct in saying that there were these unintended negative consequences.

But I also see some unintended positive consequences of all of this. Under the auspices of the Soviet military, the party has been able to expand its base and to engage in certain types of activities and organization which they weren't doing or weren't able to do in the earlier years. They have, for example, strengthened the state itself. And that in and of itself is very important, because there has never been a strong state in Afghanistan. This was always a problem when governments tried to implement any kind of reforms.

WV: We saw the Soviet intervention as necessary, as part of our defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, that it was necessary to stabilize its ally on its southern flank. And that it posed the possibility of extending certain social gains to the peoples of Afghanistan. That in Afghanistan there wasn't a proletariat or a social base to carry out the reforms we mentioned earlier. The left's response in prettifying and glorifying the *mujahedin*, we feel, is based on anti-Soviet prejudices. What do you think about this?

Stewart-Smith/Reflex

Mujahedin loot body of government soldier outside Jalalabad, where their siege has been stymied for nine weeks.

Moghadam: The left's support for the *mujahedin*, especially European left-wing support which, I understand, has been greater than American left support, has certainly to do with anti-Sovietism. A lot of the European left has become increasingly anti-Soviet over the past few years, and some of them have also become increasingly anti-communist. So, for example, you have a newspaper like *Libération* of Paris which is very radical, which considers itself very left, and also has a real third-worldist slant—in fact, I met one of their reporters in Kabul—but would clearly define itself as anti-communist and anti-Soviet. So their editorial line is pro-*mujahedin*.

In the United States, it seems to me, there hasn't been enough attention given to the question of Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the presence of the Soviet troops there clouded the central issue, and therefore made a lot of progressives and leftists and potential supporters very confused. Some of them apparently decided that, well, the *mujahedin* have a right to defend themselves; others decided not to take a position. I think that if people analyze the situation a bit more they would realize that what is at stake in Afghanistan really is whether or not this country is going to join the 20th century, and whether or not rights can be extended to women.

So that's what the real issue is about. It's about change vs. reaction, meaningful social transformation vs. ossified patriarchal structures. So I think that it's misguided and mistaken for American leftists not to take a position on that. It's also misguided because it's actually more important than they think. It certainly has been very important to the CIA. CIA funding of the *mujahedin* has actually exceeded their funding of the Nicaraguan contras.

I think that part of the Reagan administration's conceptualization of regional politics was that Pakistan and Zia ul-Haq, while he was there and while he was alive, was going to do something similar to what Nixon had wanted the shah to do, which was play regional gendarme, play bullyboy for the American government. And that's what Pakistan continues to do, even under this new, apparently more benign administration of Benazir Bhutto. By all accounts her policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan is not going to change. So Americans should also try to get their government out of the regional politics in South Asia, and in particular discourage Pakistan from being interventionist and expansionist.

WV: Well, for the American government, the interest is that Afghanistan is on the Soviet border, and they've never given up their dreams of overturning the gains of the October Revolution. They've poured billions into supporting the Afghan rebels because they take great joy in spilling Russian blood without committing any troops. And that's why we feel it's incumbent upon workers and leftists around the world to defend the gains of October against U.S. imperialism, against Western imperialism. ■

Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to May 5 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee and joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany. A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the accounts. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign are being paid by the respective legal and social defense organizations in each country. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared, and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in U.S. dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 5 May 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+	Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	=	Total Collected
Australia					
Partisan Defence Committee	A $1,789.13		A $223.39		A $2,012.52
Receipts Nos. 1-13	[$1,431.30]		[$178.71]		[$1,610.01]
Britain					
Partisan Defence Committee	£2,196.63		£509.91		£2,706.54
Receipts Nos. 1-100 & 2/1-2/22	[$3,674.96]		[$853.08]		[$4,528.04]
Canada					
Partisan Defense Committee	C $2,276.84		C $854.49		C $3,131.33
Receipts Nos. 95401-95460	[$1,924.39]		[$722.21]		[$2,646.60]
France					
Comité de défense sociale	FF 16,550.80		FF 7,074.30		FF 23,625.10
Receipts Nos. 1/1-1/50 & 2/1-2/5	[$2,586.89]		[$1,105.71]		[$3,692.60]
Italy					
Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria	L. 1,723,565		L. 0		L. 1,723,565
Receipts Nos. 1-78	[$1,244.41]				[$1,244.41]
United States					
Partisan Defense Committee	US $6,784.86		US $2,174.13		US $8,958.99
Receipts Nos 5001-5087					
West Germany					
Komitee für soziale Verteidigung	DM 5,657.75		DM 0.00		DM 5,657.75
Receipts Nos. 1-55	[$2,981.07]				[$2,981.07]
International Totals (in US dollars)	$20,627.88		$5,033.84		$25,661.72

Young Spartacus

CUNY Students Take the Streets

Continued from page 12

their approval and marched over 80 blocks, stopping traffic from the Brooklyn Bridge to midtown Manhattan. Throughout the day they appealed to the city's powerful unions to join them, noting the budget cuts were directed against all working people. Later came hard work's reward—half an hour before the midnight deadline Cuomo vetoed the tuition hike.

For 12 days students had held their ground with open-mike rallies and issued daily strike update bulletins, occupying more than a dozen CUNY administration buildings in the face of NYC mayor Koch's threat to mount a cop attack on the protests. Recognizing that with his veto Cuomo simply tossed the hot potato back to the state legislature with instructions to gut the budget for public education in other ways, student leaders insisted on action on their other demands such as childcare, no layoffs of faculty and staff, no cutbacks in programs, and rescinding the tuition hike for foreign students (who already pay double the fees of American citizens). And rather than folding up the occupations, the students held out until they won amnesty for all protesters.

For many students this was their first political protest, and it was a hard-fought battle for their future *and present* survival. Though the strategy was that of pressure politics directed at the liberal Cuomo, who claimed to share their opposition to education cuts, the students saw their struggle as a fight for the working class and minorities against a system that was screwing them. The May Day strike bulletin decried:

> "...the rampant homelessness...on *all* the CUNY campuses. There are *thousands* of CUNY students who, through a single stroke of ill fortune, are living in their student lounges or club rooms while taking showers in the gym locker rooms. The conservative estimate is 4,500 homeless college students on CUNY campuses. Also of concern in our takeovers is the $110 million in grants and endowments to *private* universities made by the State, while cutting the budget of its public trust institutions (CUNY) by $54 million. Where is the fairness and wisdom in this?"

Young Spartacus

Hunter College students participate in largest, most integrated student protests in decades.

Another leaflet stated, "For almost 130 years, tuition at City College was free.... Many students have pointed out that when the campus was predominantly white, there was no tuition. Now that the students are predominantly Black, Latino and Asian, they are required to pay ever increasing tuition."

New York Spartacus Youth Club members jumped in from day one, addressed rallies to mobilize support for the building occupations and class boycotts, and issued a leaflet which we reprint below.

"Knowledge unfits a child to be a slave. I instinctively assented to the proposition, and from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom." So spoke the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass who felt the lash of his master's whip for daring to learn how to read and write.

Today's whip is the budget ax, wielded against black, working-class and foreign-born youth who face huge tuition hikes at lousy schools. Militant protests including building occupations and boycotts of classes have spread like brush fires throughout the CUNY system. And while the students are angry, the bankers are smiling. They rewarded Cuomo for the state's killer cuts by giving New York its highest bond ratings in years.

It's a deliberate, deeply racist program. First they went for the foreign students, *doubling* tuition for the many Haitians, Dominicans and other youth whose families fled U.S.-sponsored dictatorships and starvation austerity imposed by the International Monetary Fund. Now they're after everybody, levying a $200 tuition increase. Nearly half of all CUNY students come from families with incomes under $12,000 a year and many support families of their own. Making it into a city college is the last, fake chance they have for a better life. It's a cruel hoax because many of those who make it through school often can't find jobs and are trapped in a life of desperate poverty and unemployment.

The message is clear: black youth are expendable. Greedy corporate bosses have run American industry into the ground while lining their own pockets. There's no jobs so they don't need or want educated youth. The walking racist outrage, Ed Koch, vowed he wants more prisons, not schools. Black and Hispanic youth are the scapegoats for everything in the rotten apple, trapped in ghettos that have become lifetime holding pens terrorized by the racist police. Across the country, blacks are fast becoming missing persons on college campuses. Black enrollment is plummeting even at a time when the number of black high school graduates is rising. To open up education to working-class and minority youth, the Spartacus Youth Club fights for *open admissions, no tuition and a living stipend for all students.* The private bastions of race and class privilege, like Columbia, ought to be nationalized. Against illusions in the university administration, we fight for *student/teacher/worker control of the universities. Abolish the Board of Trustees!*

This country used to have a relatively democratic public education system—a product of the Civil War and struggles by the ethnically diverse working class for social reform. Virtually every advance in education was wrested through hard *class struggle.* Universal education began in earnest in this country after a fight by the union movement against the wretched conditions of child labor. The last gesture by the capitalist rulers to improve education came after the Russians launched the Sputnik satellite in 1957. Then the anti-Soviet war drive dictated, among other things, teaching some math and science in school. The nuclear nuts running the country today recall the Spanish fascist slogan: "Down with Intelligence, Long Live Death!" On the "home front" they loot social services and bust unions to fill their war chests and aim to turn a generation of youth into ignorant, obedient cannon fodder. Abroad, their victims include schoolteachers, women and young girls in Afghanistan who are murdered by the CIA's mullah cutthroats for the "crime" of learning how to read.

Reliance on so-called friends in the Democratic Party will not alleviate the bleak conditions faced by working-class and minority youth. Today, liberal Democrats are united with right-wing Republicans in gutting the last minimal measures of social welfare in this country. Even a basic thing like the right to an education requires a revolutionary fight. To win, students must ally with the integrated labor movement because labor has social power. The working people built the wealth of this country and it is their labor that keeps it running. What we need is a class-struggle workers party, one that doesn't "respect" the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, *so take it.* And when we have the wealth of this country we can begin to build a planned, socialist, egalitarian society on an international scale. Winning students and youth to this struggle is what the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth Club is all about. Join us! ■

Young Spartacus

Students chanted, "Cuomo went to CUNY for free—Now he wants to raise our fee!"

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club contingent at May 2 protest.

Minuteman Thugs Thwarted, Student Struggle Escalates

UMass Amherst

AMHERST, May 6—False charges of assault were dropped last week in Northampton District Court against three supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club who helped to repel a violent right-wing assault on an anti-Klan meeting held on campus in early February. The right-wingers, affiliated with the racist, anti-gay and anti-communist *Minuteman* newspaper, disrupted the meeting and assaulted participants during a discussion of the November 5 anti-Klan mobilization in Philadelphia. After their attempt to terrorize this anti-racist meeting failed, the attackers called the cops, who shut the meeting down. Then the "Minutemen" brazenly tried to press bogus assault charges in court against their intended *victims* (see "Defend the Anti-Klan 3!" *WV* No. 472, 3 March).

The right-wing thugs—who proclaim, "Come join the *Minuteman* and take a shot at a communist"—thought they could attack socialists with impunity at this overwhelmingly white school, made notorious by a racist riot against black students after the 1986 World Series. Already they had attacked a public meeting sponsored by the Young Communist League and targeted a prominent gay activist for death threats. But the campaign to defend the Anti-Klan 3 successfully mobilized broad, organized opposition to the right-wing thugs, including a speak-out on March 13 which drew some 200 students, puncturing the seal of fear and intimidation the right-wingers had created.

The Spartacus Youth Club's vigilant defense of its rights was a victory for everybody in the cross hairs of the would-be campus contras. As part of the settlement, charges filed by the Anti-Klan 3 against their attackers were also dropped, but separate charges against four "Minutemen" stemming from a March 6 attack on two campus activists are still pending. Ted Chambers and Robb Smith were attacked by a gang of right-wingers as they were distributing copies of a publication they had helped produce, the *Liberator*, which exposed Klan and neo-Nazi connections to *Minuteman*.

With the *Minuteman* crowd isolated on campus and student protests against militarism burgeoning, UMass Chancellor Joseph Duffey has unleashed campus and city police and state troopers against students demanding an end to military research at the university. A series of protests and sit-ins led by the Central America Solidarity Association and People for a Socially Responsible University has been met with brutal repression. So far 102 students have been arrested and charged with trespassing or "disorderly conduct." The *Boston Herald* (5 May) described the scene of cop violence May 4 as police carried out protesters sitting in at the Graduate Research Center:

> "They were hand-carried to the bus, surrounded by more than 100 state, local and campus police officers in riot gear, and about 200 cheering students.
> "When students attempted to prevent the bus from leaving, police formed a wedge, 10-deep in front of the bus, and pushed through the crowd. Most of the students quickly gave way.
> "But as police walked alongside the bus, the vehicle suddenly sped up and some officers began using clubs to hit students who apparently tried to block their progress.
> "At least three students were hit on the head by police officers holding clubs with their hands on each end."

Now Duffey wants the arrested student protesters to foot the bill for the extra "security" he hired to assault, club and arrest them!

While recognizing that the function of universities is to replenish the technical and ideological apparatus of capitalist class rule and that they are therefore tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist state, the Spartacus Youth Club opposes the direct use of the universities by the military and solidarizes with the protesters' demand for an end to military research. Military and cops off campus! Drop the charges against the anti-militarist protesters!

The SYC's fight to mobilize student opposition to the *Minuteman* gang has enhanced the possibilities for militant student struggle at UMass Amherst. We seek to win students to a fight against the whole system of racism, militarism and war defended by university administrations and glorified by the *Minuteman* cabal. Join us in the fight for socialism! ■

Pittston...

(continued from page 12)

Pittston's huge orders for metallurgical coal for Japan. The UMW must appeal to U.S. longshoremen and Japanese steel workers to "hot cargo" Pittston—scab coal is too hot to handle!

Pittston, the second-largest exporter of coal in the U.S., is out to break the union. Pittston chairman Paul Douglas was on the board of directors of Phelps Dodge when that company broke the strike of the Arizona copper miners in 1983-84. Pittston refuses to sign the industrywide contract, and is out to slash benefits and impose seven-day mining operations. When the UMW finally struck on April 5, after working 14 months without a contract, the company brought in an army of thugs and state troopers to try to run scab coal from its 30 mines and processing plants in the region.

Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

Class war in the coal fields: Pittston miners' mass picket stands up to state troopers called in by the bosses.

Two days after the April 30 mass rally, the coal bosses and their hired strikebreakers struck back. As 600 pickets massed in the road to stop a convoy of scab coal trucks near the entrance to Pittston's Clinchfield Coal Moss No. 3 preparation plant in Russell County, a strikebreaking goon drove into the miners. He knocked them over "like bowlin' pins. Ain't no way it could have been an accident," said one picket who suffered three broken vertebrae. "He was out for blood." UMW spokesman Marty Hudson told the *Washington Post* (3 May) that the thug "drove forward into the crowd of miners, hurling one onto its roof, and then backed up, running off the road until it struck the three other pickets." Then the cops pulled shotguns *on the strikers*, arresting 140.

Any union leader worth his salt would have pulled out the entire UMW membership—which was what should have been done weeks ago. But not UMW president Richard Trumka. *After* the company gun thugs ran down the pickets, the UMW president proposed a seven-day cooling-off period with no picketing or other strike-related activities in exchange for a Pittston agreement not to produce or ship coal, an offer flatly rejected by company president Michael Odom. But Odom agreed to federal mediation of the strike and Trumka promptly accepted. By May 3 coal trucks were rolling in and out of Moss No. 3 with no interference from pickets. And thanks to Trumka's restricting the strike to charges of "unfair labor practices" 500 UMW members are still working Pittston mines in Kentucky.

Throughout the U.S. labor movement, the United Mine Workers union is synonymous with hard class struggle against the bosses. John L. Lewis called the miners the "shock troops of American labor." But today Trumka & Co. spit on this tradition. As a sneering *Wall Street Journal* editorial (27 January) observed, "Until Mr. Trumka took over the UMW in 1982, the mine workers were barroom brawlers. Now, the Pittston campaign is being waged by numbers-crunching union leaders, more at home in suits than overalls and a miner's hat."

"Labor statesman" Trumka is sabotaging the strike, despite the courage and militancy of the miners. At the rally in Wise, Trumka and Democrat Jesse Jackson continually preached "nonviolence," while company thugs and cops beat and arrest miners. Trumka intoned that "might does not make right." Well, "might" on the picket line is what has always won strikes in the coal fields. The UMW ranks are becoming increasingly impatient with pacifist, civil disobedience tactics of lying down in front of scab trucks to get arrested again and again. Miner Victor Garwood, picketing Moss No. 3, told the press, "We're not a violent people, but when people come in and try to take your job you've got to stand up."

Trumka is sending miners out of the coal fields to plead with the banks in a "Corporate Campaign"-style consumer boycott. The "Corporate Campaign" has meant defeat for militant strikes from Hormel to International Paper. Now the UMW bureaucrats are appealing to Chase Manhattan Bank, owned by Rockefellers who have generations of coal miners' blood on their hands, that "Bad Loans [to Pittston] Are Bad Business." But this year, after cutting off medical benefits to 1,500 retirees, widows and disabled miners, Pittston paid a blood dividend to its stockholders for the first time in six years.

The UMW ranks have paid a heavy price for their leaders' class collaboration. *Half* the union's jobs were wiped out during the Reagan years and tens of thousands were denied their black lung benefits. Today five Kentucky miners who were railroaded by the courts for defending their union's picket lines during the UMW's "selective strike" against A.T. Massey have been utterly abandoned by the union tops.

The stakes at Pittston are enormous. Union power is the difference between life and death in the mines. On May 2, at a non-union mine in Wise County, eight miners were badly injured when a rail car crashed. The struggle against Pittston could open up a fight to bring unorganized mines into the union. What is lacking is a union leadership with the guts and a class-struggle program to match the ranks' willingness to fight. UMW militants must demand an industrywide strike and a standard union contract at every union pit. It was a five-day "memorial" strike by 120,000 UMW miners that won the long and bitter 1973 strike of the Brookside miners in Harlan, Kentucky. Pull out the entire UMW now! Defend the Kentucky miners! Victory to the Pittston strike! ■

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Death Penalty...

(continued from page 1)

telegraphing the racist idea that black and Hispanic ghetto youth are subhuman, animals.

The bourgeois press and politicians are using a heinous criminal act to fuel the drive to restore capital punishment in much the same way Bush used the case of Willie Horton, a black man convicted of raping a white woman in Massachusetts, to paint Dukakis as soft on crime. A *New York Post* editorial headlined "Channel Your Outrage: Demand the Death Penalty." The *Daily News* kept it up with "Death for Teens: Pols," quoting New Hampshire Congressman Chuck Douglas who called for executing 16-year-olds accused of capital crimes, saying that youths like those accused of the Central Park rape are not the "children of folks like us." Currently, 91 percent of the inmates in New York City prisons are black and Hispanic.

The racist vitriol reached fever pitch when billionaire real estate speculator Donald Trump placed full-page ads in the four New York dailies May 1 demanding "Bring Back the Death Penalty. Bring Back Our Police!" It's a measure of Trump's fascistic appeal that he tries to out-racist the racist pig Ed Koch, chiding him for being soft on crime:

> "Mayor Koch has stated that hate and rancor should be removed from our hearts.... I want to hate these muggers and murderers. They should be forced to suffer and, when they kill, they should be executed for their crimes.... I want to hate these murderers.... CIVIL LIBERTIES END WHEN AN ATTACK ON OUR SAFETY BEGINS!"

This open call for race-hatred was a virtual advertisement for vigilantes and rent-a-racist politicians to "Dial T-R-U-M-P for Legal Murder." When former U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani praised Trump's ad, a couple of days later the casino king signed on as co-chairman of a $500-a-plate Giuliani-for-mayor fund-raiser at the Waldorf-Astoria. The '89 NYC mayoralty race is shaping up to be a vote for death.

Working the other side of the race-hate street, in a radio interview black attorney Alton Maddox essentially called the Central Park rape a white "hoax." Maddox, who cynically pushed the Tawana Brawley rape hoax, was retained by FBI fink and dubious demagogue Al Sharpton to represent one of the accused. But many Harlem black residents expressed their disgust at the horrendous crime, holding a prayer vigil for the rape victim outside Metropolitan Hospital, even as they worried that the incident would bring down racist attacks against the community.

Contrary to what the *New York Times* claims, this case has everything to do with race and class—that's what makes it so explosive. Four of the eight youths arrested in the case are from the Schomburg Plaza high-rise at 110th Street on the northeast corner of Central Park. This is where Harlem meets the Yupper East Side. Schomburg Plaza is a "middle income" (working-class) project surrounded by low-income projects and run-down tenements in an intensely impoverished area. Nowhere is the disparity between rich and poor, between white and black, so stark.

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee forum, April 29, New York City.

It is no surprise that such an area would produce grotesque social pathology, from the sprawling "crack" trade to depraved rampaging gangs. This reflects what has happened to ghettos across the U.S. in the last 15 years. No longer holding pens for the reserve army of unemployed, periodically brought into the labor market to keep wages down and the rate of exploitation up, today they have become dumping grounds for a permanently lumpenized layer written off by the capitalist ruling class. It will take a socialist revolution to break the vicious circle of oppression and violence.

The Central Park rape is one of those sensationalized crimes which crystallize widespread fears. Kitty Genovese, murdered while terrified neighbors heard her screams but did nothing. The Central Park strangling of Jennifer Levin by her preppie boyfriend who claimed she was sexually abusing him. And some of the most gruesome cases are by juveniles from the ranks of the poorest and most oppressed. After all, the world's armies are filled with young men geared up by society to kill. Life can seem very cheap to a 15-year-old, and nowhere is it cheaper than on the cop-terrorized streets of the ghettos.

It's a chilling comment on the quality of everyday life in the big city that case-hardened New Yorkers were aghast at the naiveté of the young woman from the Pittsburgh suburbs who went jogging alone in the Park at 10 p.m. Anybody should be able to go anywhere. That applies to white women in Central Park *and* black men in Howard Beach. Trotsky wrote in 1923 of "Civility and Politeness as a Necessary Lubricant in Daily Relations," linking the rudeness of the nascent Soviet bureaucracy to its origins in the Russian peasantry and the old aristocracy. The brutality of modern America is rooted in degrading poverty and racism. And it's not just in the urban centers: Loyal Garner Jr., a mild-mannered black worker, was killed by sheriff's deputies for the "crime" of crossing the state line between Louisiana and Texas.

WV Photo

Charles Brover, PDC co-chairman.

Marxists defend the right of armed self-defense, and it's too bad the Central Park jogger (or some other passer-by) didn't have a gun for protection when she was attacked. But in New York City gun laws are more restrictive than almost anywhere else, because the haughty rulers want to keep the population disarmed, especially blacks and Hispanics. And when the likes of Donald Trump calls to "bring back our police," he's calling for a reign of cop terror that will soon target the homeless, workers and other "undesirables" he wouldn't let into his pink marble Trump Tower.

Already the cops are carrying out their own death sentences in the ghetto streets. And the death penalty pushers want to make sure the courts are marching in lockstep with the mounting police bonapartism. Particularly at risk are militant black activists, as shown by the FBI's war against the Black Panther Party. Today former Black Panther and Philadelphia radio journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal is on death row because of his political views. Other former Panthers are still in jail, such as Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, who has spent the last 18 years behind bars in a COINTELPRO frame-up.

* * *

As part of its campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Partisan Defense Committee held a forum in New York City April 29 on the theme "Stop Racist Legal Lynching—Abolish the Death Penalty!" We reprint below the edited speech given there by Charles Brover, co-chairman of the PDC. Brover began his remarks quoting a scene in Huckleberry Finn, *Mark Twain's powerful indictment of a racist society.*

Huck is lying again. This time to Aunt Sally about a boat accident.

> "We blowed out a cylinder-head," he said.
> "Good gracious!" replies Aunt Sally. "Anybody hurt?"
> "No'm. Killed a nigger."
> "Well, it's lucky," says Aunt Sally, "because sometimes people do get hurt."

Mark Twain had arguably the best, most sensitive and accurate ear of anyone who listened and recorded authentic American speech and gesture. He imitated, described, and through characters like Huck and Jim undermined the vocabulary of racial politics in America. The popular language heard by Twain was an everyday expression of the antebellum South. Black slaves were not persons, but property. It is in that tradition of racial politics that the death penalty in America takes place.

Today the code is somewhat different. But it is often as clear as the face of Willie Horton.

In this country it all begins with slavery. Slave codes officially made killing a slave a public offense, but in fact it was very rare that a white person was ever convicted, or tried, for killing a black slave. And the state criminal codes reflected this. Every Southern state, writes Kenneth Stampp in *The Peculiar Institution* (1956), defined a substantial number of felonies carrying capital punishment for slaves and lesser punishments for whites. And it was the spirit and sometimes the letter of the law of the slave codes that the KKK restored when it put the torch to Reconstruction after the Civil War.

At the heart of Jim Crow was lynch law terror. In the latter part of the 19th and into the 20th century a black person was more likely to be the victim of a lynching bee than the court's decree. Black journalist Ida B. Wells worked on a campaign against lynch law terror. She wrote about the people who lynched Henry Smith. How his body was dragged to Paris, Texas. How people put him on a trestle, put hot irons into his quivering flesh. The thing to understand is that her anti-lynching campaign was trying to get black people *into* court—never mind equal justice. There was no court proceeding for Henry Smith, there was no evidence. They just picked him up, dragged him off and lynched him.

But when blacks were able to be admitted into courts, the tradition continued: racist legal lynching. One thinks about Louisiana, in 1946, where they had a portable electric chair and they used to drag it around in a pickup truck.

DAILY NEWS

CENTRAL PARK HORROR

WOLF PACK'S PREY

Female jogger near death after savage attack by roving gang

AP

BRING BACK THE DEATH PENALTY. BRING BACK OUR POLICE!

Media whips up racist furor over Central Park rape case; real estate/casino king Donald Trump buys full-page ads pushing for cop terror and the death penalty.

And they brought it to a place in St. Martinville, Louisiana and two white drunks get out of the pickup truck, they go in, they grab a 16-year-old kid named Willie Francis, they strap him into the chair, they turn on the juice from their portable generator. It doesn't work. Willie jerks in pain, the chair skitters across the floor. The drunks go back in, they say, aw, the chair doesn't work. Willie's flesh is smoking and they say, aw, we'll kill him with a rock.

Racism and Capital Punishment

Well, we don't have the portable electric chair today. But legal lynching continues. The death penalty is still largely a Southern institution. Southern death chambers have accounted for the vast majority of executions since 1977, when they started killing people again. Florida and Texas account for half of those. Although never more than 12 percent of the population, black people accounted for more than two-thirds of all U.S. executions between 1930 and 1967. Of the 455 executions for rape, nearly all in the South, an overwhelming 405 were black men.

These were some of the facts that the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund brought to the Supreme Court in 1972 in the famous Furman case. Even the Supreme Court decided, this death penalty is "capricious," "freakish" in its application. They encouraged the states to write laws that would be less freakish, so that they could continue the death penalty. In 1976 the Supreme Court okayed a formula for what it called "guided discretion." Since then 37 states have reinstituted the death penalty. And today some 2,100 prisoners wait on death row. What has changed? Nearly half of death row is black and Hispanic. Most of the blacks on death row were convicted of killing whites. Yet no white person has been executed for killing a black person, with one exception in 1944.

This was the clear pattern of racism that was at the heart of the McCleskey case, brought to the Supreme Court in 1987, the most significant of the recent death penalty challenges. It not only raised the point of racial bias, it proved it. Warren McCleskey was a black man convicted of shooting a white cop in a furniture store in Georgia in '72. The lawyers for McCleskey used the material of a University of Iowa law professor named David Baldus who, along with some first-rate statisticians, showed that there was overwhelming racial bias in the death sentence.

The raw figures showed that when the murder victim was white, the defendant was eleven times more likely to be sentenced to death than if the victim were black. The Baldus study controlled some 230 variables. They took out the condition of the crime, past record, what was done and so forth, and concluded that convicted killers of whites are still 4.3 times more likely to get the death penalty than killers of blacks.

What's interesting about the response of the Supreme Court was that they didn't deny the figures. But there's another way to handle statistics, which is to say they don't matter. And that's what the Supreme Court did. Writing for the majority, Justice Powell said, "At most the Baldus study indicates a discrepancy that appears to correlate with race. Apparent discrepancies in sentencing are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." Clearly, what he thought was at stake in this case was that McCleskey's claim taken to its logical conclusion "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system. If we accepted McCleskey's claim that racial bias has impermissibly tainted the capital sentencing decision, we would soon be faced with similar claims as to other types of penalty."

Racism is shot through the entire system. What the Supreme Court was saying was that it didn't matter. Didn't matter that had McCleskey shot someone black instead of white he probably wouldn't be on death row. The court said, this is the way things work in America, what's the big deal?

And truly, we ought not to be surprised. Black life is held cheap in the USA. It is discounted when cops pull out their guns on kids in the streets. Cheap when it comes to forcing black mothers and kids to starve in the name of workfare. Worthless when it comes to diseases that presently wrack the inner cities and threaten to become a selective plague with AIDS. And those minds the TV ads say are terrible to waste, they're being ground down in schools that prepare them for an economic and social wasteland.

Mumia Abu-Jamal: Message from Death Row

"Pull the Hood Off the Hangman"

The death penalty in America is a symbol, a ritual, a relic of a time of total dominance, of one people, by another. Therein lies its attractiveness in the U.S., and in the apartheid regime in South Africa. That's why the system brandishes its electric chairs, its nooses, its gas chambers, and poison needles.

The state, shorn of the advantages of the lash and shackled slave, seeks new tools of racial and class dominance. That's why state and federal death rows are comprised of black and poor life, reflecting a consciousness that says, "This will keep the niggers in their place."

Simply put, it is a symbol of that consciousness, that reduces a living man or woman to their symbolic value, *i.e.*, a *sacrifice* for the state.

Centuries ago, in pre-Columbian Meso-America, Aztec priests performed similar rituals, as a grim reflection of the priest's power over life and death.

Today, in North America, modern-day "priests" of the secular state, politicians, ready sacrifices as symbols of their power over life and death.

Sacrifices come from the lower economic classes, the poor, the Hispanic, the black—those most expendable to the political system.

But, ritual is emptiness—symbolism for its own sake.

Your efforts today expose this modern-day sacrificial system for what it is—I, my wife, we *all* thank you for your active support in our fight to pull the hood off the hangman, and send this ritual to the dust.

From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal (29 April 1989).

Philadelphia Magazine

Mumia Abu-Jamal, 1980.

Library of Congress

Dred Scott: Supreme Court ruled in 1857 that blacks "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." Placard issued by Boston abolitionists in 1851 warned blacks against slave-catchers.

CAUTION!!

COLORED PEOPLE

OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the

Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

KIDNAPPERS

AND

Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the *Welfare of the Fugitives* among you, Shun them in every possible manner, as so many *HOUNDS* on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for KIDNAPPERS, and have TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1851.

Death Penalty Abolitionists

Mark Twain heard it all. Anybody poor? "Naw, no'm, just some inner city kids." Anybody drop out? "Naw, just some black kids." Anybody get AIDS? "No, not any more, just some drug-using minorities." It's what Mumia Abu-Jamal was thinking about in an article he wrote recently. He says that when the Pennsylvania Supreme Court affirmed his conviction, he felt "stunned," and then he reconsidered. He writes, "I've often studied America's long history of legal lynchings of Africans. I remember a front page of the *Black Panther* newspaper, bearing the quote, 'A black man has no rights that a white man is bound to respect,' attributed to U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney, of the infamous *Dred Scott* case, where America's highest court held neither Africans, nor their 'free' descendants, are entitled to the rights of the Constitution."

It took a bloody civil war before black people were recognized in law as persons. It took 200,000 black Union soldiers in armed revolutionary struggle. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution stated that right for the first time. But Twain may have heard better. We can rely on his ear; he heard the language of the courts, the press, the government, the Ku Klux Klan. Post-Reconstruction America was to bring back the Dred Scott "standard" from the graves of Fort Wagner and Fort Pillow, where black men gave their lives for a promise of freedom unfulfilled.

We on this platform are death penalty abolitionists. It's one of those apparent accidents of language that we are identified with those abolitionists of the 19th century. The demand for the abolition of the death penalty today is part of the tradition of struggle for black equality in America.

I want to make it clear that although racial politics define the character of the death penalty in America, the PDC would oppose it in any case on principle. As internationalists, we oppose it everywhere it exists. In Iran. In the Soviet Union—where the permanent introduction of the death penalty in 1923, as opposed to executions in civil war conditions, accompanied the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state.

We do not accord to the state the right to say who will live and who will die. It is not only the arbitrary character of the application of the death penalty, but the penalty itself. Even the Supreme Court has said death is different. One of the most obvious differences is that it's final. This penalty has already produced the deadly irony that in one case there was an appeal to the Supreme Court. They had enough votes to sustain the appeal, but not to stay the execution. So you had the interesting proposition in which the appeal was alive, but they killed the defendant.

A couple of recent examples have startled even some of the death penalty advocates. The Randall Adams case, about which a strong documentary film called *The Thin Blue Line* was made. Adams was thrown in jail for a murder of a policeman. In the sentencing hearing they used a psychiatrist. He testified all over Texas and would always say the same thing: This person has to have the death penalty, because if you don't give him the death penalty, he will go out and kill again. This psychiatrist earned the name "Doctor Death."

Erroll Morris heard about Doctor Death, thought he'd make a film about

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Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We print below excerpts from the remarks of guest speakers at the New York PDC forum.

* * *

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal and a MOVE supporter

There isn't a day that goes by that I don't think about Mumia the man, how he took and takes life, family and his work so seriously. I thought it again

WV Photo

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

when I heard the court's decision a few weeks ago.

Mumia wasn't allowed to defend himself in court. He wasn't allowed to cross-examine or make closing arguments to the jury, and in fact the jury was deceived when they were told that Mumia could make this up during his appeals. The jury already assumed that he was guilty. This jury was made up of mostly whites from the northeast section of Philadelphia, people who knew or cared nothing about Mumia, the man.

He was shot and brutally beaten and almost killed in Center City, in the hospital. I saw it for myself that very same morning—swollen, bruised, wounded by bullets, almost took his life. Still he was chained to the hospital bed, surrounded by both plainclothes and uniformed cops who even then tried to finish him off by stepping on his urine bag, making the waste of his body flow back up into his system in hopes that they could poison him with his own body waste. I bear witness to Philadelphia police, Philadelphia courts being amongst the most corrupt and racist in America.

I'm here to enlist your aid in Mumia's and our struggle against the system that continues to conspire to kill my husband. I urge, I plead to you all to read the opinion, to notice four so-called justices decided his appeal and three sat out not participating. I urge you to note the exceptions they made in Mumia's case to uphold ungodly results. I urge you to read it with his words in mind, "There ain't no justice in this system." Most of all I urge, I plead with you to stand up and speak out, to organize in his defense. For surely Mumia's struggle is yours. People, brothers and sisters, you know and I know that true justice comes only from people. We can expect none from this system. Justice for Jamal means justice for us all. An injury to one is an injury to all.

Thank you again and Ona Move.

* * *

Lois Williamson

Executive Director of Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants

I'm one of the few people, John Q. Citizen, who has toured death row and two of the prisons in Pennsylvania. They are horrendous. No one should live under those conditions. I have been barred from jail because I speak out. Well that's not going to stop me. I had the privilege of meeting Mumia in 1984 when I was working as a volunteer for the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty. I'm the victim of a murder, twice. My husband was murdered in 1969 and my son-in-law in 1983. But that's not changed my attitude. Killing is wrong no matter who does it. State-sanctioned killing I feel is more premeditated, more controlled, than any other killing that could possibly be done.

I have been working with death row inmates for almost ten years. Just recently official visiting status was taken from me to go into the prisons just because I got on national TV and said it's wrong to kill, it's wrong to abuse. I went to a jail closest to Philadelphia, Graterford prison. The night I got there they told me I was no longer allowed on their property. Well, whose property? It's my property too. I pay taxes. I wrote a letter, sent it to three constitutional lawyers, got a letter back from the

WV Photo

Lois Williamson

warden there which says "OK, you can be on one inmate's visiting list."

In Title 37 of our penal code it says a death sentence inmate should be treated as any other inmate until the warrant is signed. This comes under the visiting rules. That's the law. And as Wadiya told you tonight: no, that isn't the law. It only applies when they want it to apply.

We visit with death row inmates in shackles, locked in a room, you on one side of the glass, they on the other. Inmates who are death sentenced are kept in lockup 22 hours a day. They are allowed into a dog kennel to exercise for an hour. Their food is pushed through a slot in the door. They don't even have access to legal material unless they can cite the case that they need. Is this not cruel and unusual punishment?

Had a rally at Harrisburg on Tuesday. I appealed to the governor not to carry out the executions that he has signed warrants for. My appeal to him was: *don't kill for me.* We had a lot of people there, who made a loud noise that they didn't want someone to kill for them. There were a hundred members of families who attended the rally, who asked for the abolition of the death penalty and parole eligibility for lifers.

We're going to keep up the fight. I will not be bound by the chains of submission and slavery, and hope you all won't.

* * *

Harold Jamison

Former member of the Philadelphia branch of the Black Panther Party, now a staff writer for the Amsterdam News

Power to the people and Mumia must not die!

In solitary confinement in prisons across the country young black men, black fathers, black sons and black husbands await the electric chair, the gas chamber. They're on death row. They are political prisoners. They face long prison terms or death today because yesterday they defied the racist, capitalist order.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal didn't begin on a cold morning in December in 1981. It began when, at age 14, then-Wesley Cook left Ben Franklin High School in Philadelphia after leading a prolonged demonstration to have the school's name changed to Malcolm X High. It continued after he undertook the duties of Minister of Information of the Philadelphia branch of the Black Panther Party. It gained momentum as he developed into one of Philadelphia's premier broadcast and print media journalists, serving as the president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists, an outspoken supporter of human rights.

Mumia's unwavering support for the MOVE organization added fuel to the fire that exploded in gunfire in 1981, leaving Mumia critically wounded, a police officer dead and a city scurrying to establish a case. The case against Mumia continued during his trial when he was denied counsel of his choice. It continued when the jury was compromised and then entreated to the paranoid rhetoric of the prosecutor quoting Mumia from a late 1960 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article saying that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

[In response to a question about the 31 August 1970 raid on Panther offices launched by police chief Frank Rizzo, Jamison said:]

Everyone knew the police were coming. Rizzo's behavior was so predictable that everyone knew precisely what time, at 6:00. The Black Panther Party had prepared itself in advance by going out into the community and informing the people. At that time, we had five offices around the city, and a medical center. We asked that when the raids started, when they heard the shooting, to come out into the streets, so that when the police brought us out of these buildings they wouldn't be able to just shoot us down. The people did that, and it saved people's lives.

The only reason Panthers weren't shot was because of Geronimo Pratt. He

WV Photo

Harold Jamison

had been a fortification expert in Vietnam, and he taught the party how to stay alive.

After the police raided the building it was the *order* to strip everyone down, it wasn't random. The women weren't stripped, but they were beaten. One sister was dragged back into the building after police had brought everyone out of the office on Columbia Avenue. Fearing that we had booby-trapped the building, they threw her down the cellar steps. In the event there was an explosion, she would have been the one to blow up. When there wasn't they brought her back out to the car. She had collapsed in the building. Once everyone was taken to the police department, the police raided all of the buildings and took every single thing out—refrigerators, stoves, hooks—everything. They emptied the buildings and shuttered them up. The community was outraged.

Frank Rizzo was purely a military man, and it was a military move. They took the marksmen from the park police, from detectives, from every unit they could they got the best shooters to show up. Our office was a three-story building. Directly across the street were two-story buildings. They had mounted a .30 calibre machine gun on the roof across the street and were firing into the building. Officers on the roof had .45 calibre Thompson submachine guns and they were shooting through the building, and the bullets were going all the way through to the basement. These were old buildings. A lot of fire, but no one got hit because sandbags saved everybody's life, due to Geronimo Pratt. ■

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 9)

him. So he goes down to Texas, finds out that Doctor Death did interview, for ten minutes, Randall Adams, and testified to the court that Adams showed no remorse, he should be killed. The problem is, it was hard for Randall Adams to show remorse—because he didn't do it. And that's what this filmmaker discovered. He made the film, exposed the fact that the killer was someone else, and Randall Adams, after 12 years, some of it on death row, was released.

Just this week, they had to release a guy in Florida. James Richardson, a Florida agricultural worker, black, was in for 21 years for killing his children. First he lost seven children, then they put him in jail for 21 years. Sound familiar? Turns out, of course, he didn't do it. Someone else did it and confessed. So they let him out.

It's only accidental that these guys weren't killed. "Legal technicalities" kept them alive. In one case the sentence was commuted, in another case a federal court reversed an earlier decision. The most substantial study, by Bedau and Radelet, says that of the 343 cases of innocent people assigned to death row, 23 have been executed this century. I just saw an Amnesty International leaflet that puts it at 85. The point is, we don't know how many.

Torture and the Death Penalty

But we are also against the death penalty for the guilty, because it is a cruel and unusual punishment. The death penalty is part of a tradition of torture. From the middle of the 12th century, torture remained a part of social and legal life until the end of the 18th century. By 1874 Victor Hugo was able to say, with both authority and good cause, torture had ceased to exist. Torture had become a focus for legal and moral arguments against the old order. But these arguments reflected the bourgeois social and economic revolution.

In the language of Michel Foucault's fascinating book, *Discipline and Punish, the Birth of the Prison* (1979), the system of torture punished the body whereas the purpose of the new system was to gain social control. The creation of great warehouses and investments in commodities and machines on a greater scale than ever before in history demanded an armed repression of wider potential criminality. So you have the need for the ubiquitous police, a constant surveillance. And of course the key institution—the prison.

The criminal was to be removed from

society instead of made a feature attraction in the theater of cruelty. So we have the spectacle of modern contemporary executioners looking for a painless way to kill. They surround the victim with doctors, warders, chaplains, social workers, until the last minute. For a while they touted lethal injection, until they spent 45 minutes stabbing some guy, looking for a vein. With electrocutions the organs sear, the flesh burns, the eyes pop out. Modern death penalty advocates shudder at the prospect of making executions public: Oh no, kill them, but don't hurt them, and don't let the public see.

The modern death penalty thus combines residual elements of an older tradition of torture and personal vengeance with a campaign to increase coercion through official terror.

Now having said all that about the death penalty, the problem is, we abolitionists then look at polls in the newspaper. And it tells us that 85 percent of the American public's for it. It's hard to get 85 percent of the American public to be for anything. What's happening is that the population is responding to a wild rise in violent crime, rooted in the violent conditions of life. They don't feel safe, and they're not safe. They hide behind Fox locks and barred windows while a brutal criminality seems to rule their neighborhoods and housing projects. A young black male today faces a greater chance to die violently on the streets than a U.S. soldier did in the rice paddies of Vietnam.

Things have changed in the public debate on the death penalty. We used to win some of these debates saying that the death penalty doesn't deter. We used to point out that that evidence is very weak: Canada abolished the death penalty and their murder rate went down; Florida and Texas instituted the death penalty, the murder rate goes up. A number of psychologists have even advanced the theory that the death penalty actually encourages a particular psychopathic behavior in which a person seeks his own death and absolution in a kind of state-sponsored suicide.

But the question of deterrence is no longer at the heart of the public debate over the death penalty, as anyone knows who has had this debate recently at work or school. People say, "So what?—they've got to be killed, at least it will deter one killer." Arguments about the probability of making fatal errors are met with: "At least we'll get some of them." We used to be very successful by pointing out that the death penalty would only further brutalize society. Would you want to cut off the hand of a thief? Castrate a rapist? And when our opponents seemed to be eye-for-an-eye retributionists, we would ask, would you want the state to beat up the man convicted of assault? But now many people hear the rhetorical questions and give it thoughtful consideration: "Cut off his hand? Well, maybe."

Police, Prisons, Death Chambers

We need to understand that this response is more than an expression of a brutalized society, but includes some legitimate fear and outrage over truly terrible crimes. The problem is, the population on the one hand is desperate to stop crime, and we have a state and a media which is directing it in ways that are most dangerous.

Take the recent incident in Central Park. You have a rape—you don't have to pull any punches on the horrible character of that crime, or on the sociopathology of it, in order to see the racist handling of it, what it's being used for. There were 3,412 rapes last year. But this one fit a particular pattern they like. The people involved in this were portrayed as "wolf packs," animals outside the human community. The Howard Beach lynch mob, which went out, actually ran someone out on the street and got him killed, they were called "Howard Beach residents."

What happens when you have this kind of crime is that the state says, "Give us more power. We need more police." That's what the politicians say, that's what the media wants. But with more police and more crime, they get a problem with what these days is called the "ecology of crime and punishment." More cops go out and make more arrests, but the system can't handle them all. Processing is a mess, prisons are overloaded. The U.S. has the highest incarceration rate in the world, with the exception of South Africa. Educators point out that, as it is, we spend more on prisons than we do on schools.

Manning/NY Times

U.S. has highest incarceration rate in world, except for South Africa; now they want to dump prisoners onto barges in NYC's East River.

Having criminalized what the lowest strata of society does, the New York City criminal system is overloaded with drug arrests. Judges say there's no more room in prison for all the drug users and other criminals. Some judges are calling for an early release program. The judges don't even have room for themselves. They sit on top of file cabinets and in corridors, trying to get a little higher than the defendant to maintain the theatricality of the courtroom. Ed Koch wants prison barges. He wants to re-create the Ship of Fools for prisoners, perhaps plying the Hudson and East Rivers, trying to dock.

While there's no evidence that legal sanctions have any deterrent effect on crime, there's plenty of evidence that social and economic inequality has the most profound effect on crime—poverty in the midst of great wealth and the consequent unraveling of the social fabric. Anatole France is credited with the definition of the majesty of the law as the equal right of both the rich and the poor to sleep under bridges and beg for bread. One could add in the negative, in that spirit, it is to equally deny the right to steal that bread. Engels, writing on the condition of the working class in England, asks, "What inducement has the proletarian not to steal? It is all very pretty and very agreeable to the ear of the bourgeois to hear the 'sacredness of property' asserted; but for him who has none, the sacredness of property dies out of itself."

There are 2,100 on death row tonight. There are calls to make more and more crimes into capital crimes. Think about "drug-related" murder, how many people that's going to send to death row. Even at the present rate, there would have to be an execution every day for about ten years. And there is every indication that the road into death row is being widened. More blood, more mistakes. Enter Supreme Court Justice Rehnquist, "Judge Death." His solution? Cut the appeals, hex *habeas corpus*, let's get on with it. There's tremendous pressure on defense lawyers, who are increasingly characterized as legal polluters, clogging up the criminal justice machinery with the gunk of the rights of the accused and prisoners. On the street, it means that cops have even quicker trigger fingers. No point in arresting them, they say, for "revolving door justice."

The danger here is the assumption, developed by the state, fostered by major institutions, that there is a layer of the population which is worthless and parasitical. There is no point in deterrence because they cannot be educated and corrected in any case. They are permanently outlaws. That is what is behind the apparent contradiction that Americans demand more prisons but refuse to spend any money on them. Death is the twisted logic of this cycle of crime and punishment, the official ritual of this impulse to genocide. We can almost hear the chanting of the Spanish Falangists, "Long live death!" It is always expressed most openly by the fascists. At the time of the last execution in California, in 1967, American Nazi Party führer George Lincoln Rockwell paraded in front of San Quentin with a placard which read simply: "Gas—The Only Cure for Black Crime."

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Before I leave you, I've got to say something about the Partisan Defense Committee. We're a defense organization with a difference. We're for the class struggle. And we have an emphasis on both words. We understand that what happens in the courtroom is not all there is. And these days we're calling ourselves a legal and social defense organization and working on civilian aid to people in Jalalabad. We worked for the British miners when they were on strike. We see defense work in the larger context of social struggle. Unlike Amnesty International, we consciously take a side in that struggle. Unlike the ACLU, instead of defending Nazis and KKK terrorists, you're going to find us on the streets protesting fascist provocations.

Tonight we are here as part of a campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In legal defense work there are often cases which focus the larger struggles. We believe that Mumia Abu-Jamal is a case which illuminates the politics of racism and the death penalty. At his hearing it was perfectly clear that he was sentenced because he was a Black Panther, because he was part of the best of a generation and COINTELPRO missed shooting him in his bed. I urge you to read the latest issue of *Class Struggle Defense Notes*. And I think that when you do, and you hear his voice, you will know why the state wants to silence that voice with electric current. The fight to save Mumia is the fight to abolish the death penalty.

Finally, let's remember the anti-slavery abolitionists in this context, and the greatest of them: Frederick Douglass. A voice that helped wake up a nation and galvanize a movement. Here was a system that said a slave could not be a man. And then there was Frederick Douglass. How could anyone have owned Frederick Douglass? How could he be bought and sold like a cow, or a horse? Listen to Mumia's voice. It is Mumia's humanity we hear in his voice, see in his resistance to the prison authorities, read in his autobiographical notes and anti-fascist statements.

Mumia's fight is ours. It is part of that larger struggle for an economic and social order that will develop a new anthropology, in which man at last becomes a creator and subject of society. Then surely those new men and women will look back at this archaic punishment system during the death agony of capitalism with something of the same horror with which we look back at the torture systems of the Middle Ages.

In defense of all of our rights, we ask you to join with us, to help in the name of justice for our class, our future, our humanity.

Mumia needs your help. Write to the PDC for petitions to Pennsylvania Governor Casey demanding: Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! The fight to save Mumia's life costs $$$. Publicity, printing petitions and postage will cost plenty. Send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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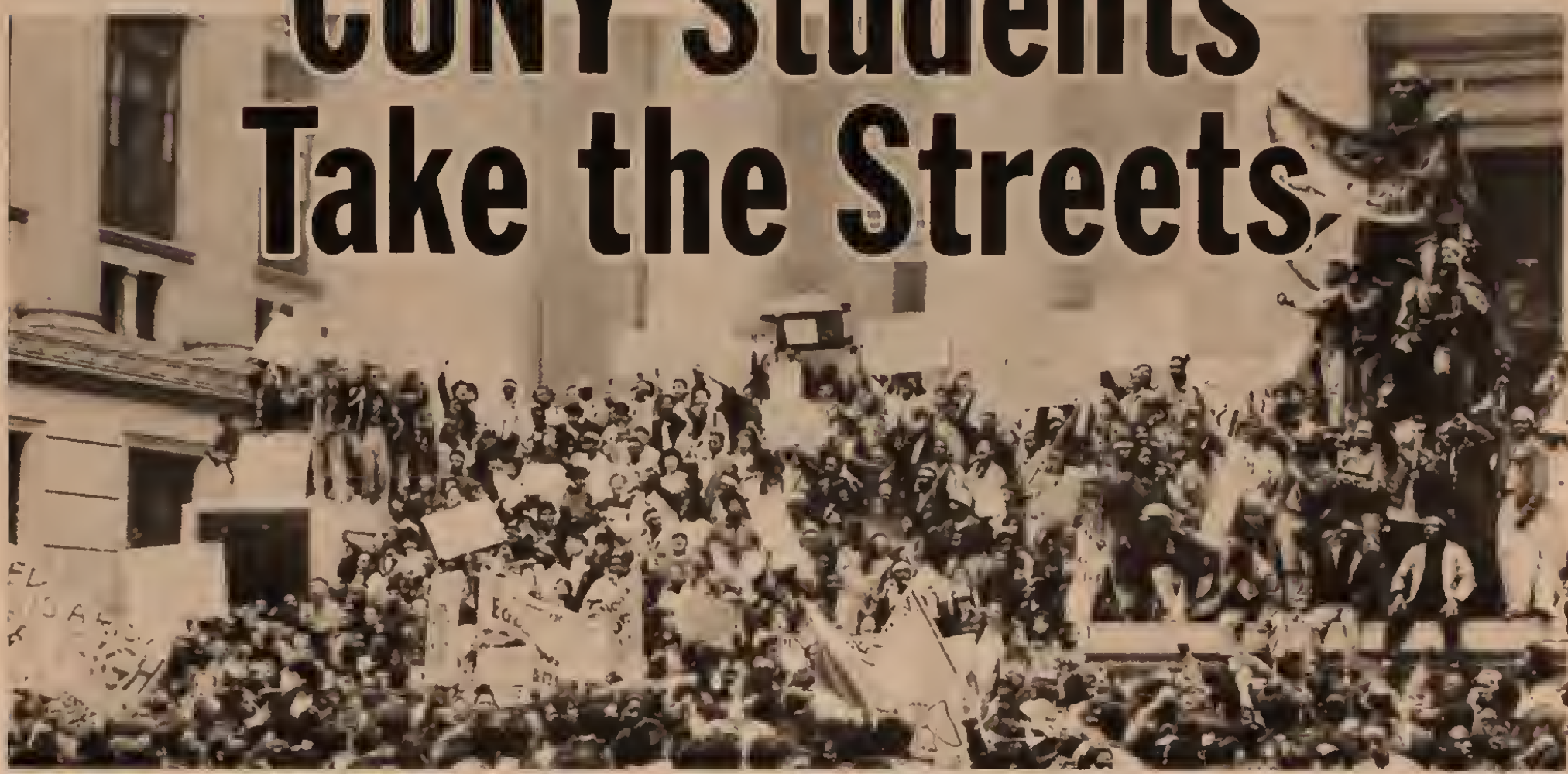

Young Spartacus

10,000 CUNY students march on Wall Street, May 2, declaring budget cuts are attack on working class, minorities.

It was the largest and most integrated student protest in decades. On Tuesday, May 2, up to 10,000 students surged through the streets of Manhattan in defiance of proposed tuition hikes that would throw poor, minority and working-class youth out of school. Well-organized contingents of predominantly black and Hispanic students from 19 different campuses in the CUNY (City University of New York) system chanted against the New York governor, "Cuomo went to CUNY for free—Now he wants to raise our fee!" and "Education is a right—Fight! Fight! Fight!" Haitian students from CCNY carried placards reading "Cuomo—Tonton Macoute of Education," likening the state's killer cuts to ex-dictator Duvalier's death squads.

As yuppies gaped from the windows of Wall Street, Mark Torres, a Dominican student and a leader of the protests at CCNY in Harlem, declared: "The working class made this country.... We are aware that the attack on higher education is an attack on people of color and the working class." Students roared

continued in Young Spartacus, see page 6 inside

Pull Out the Entire UMW, Now!

Pittston Coal War

Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

Miners stop coal trucks from leaving Pittston plant in southeast Virginia.

More than 10,000 striking miners and their supporters from West Virginia to Alabama rallied at a fairground in Wise County, Virginia near the Kentucky line on April 30, as the bitter struggle between the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) and the Pittston Coal Company neared the one-month mark. Wearing the camouflage fatigues they've adopted as their unofficial strike uniform, the 1,700 striking union miners have used mass pickets to stop scab coal shipments and have successfully spread the strike to other companies who were filling orders for Pittston. Since the strike began, over *1,300* Pittston miners and their supporters have been arrested; more than 140 are charged with felonies.

This is more than just a strike—it's class war. The UMW can and must win this battle! In southwest Virginia, the struggle against Pittston is a crusade, drawing women and youth onto the barricades. A women's auxiliary, the "Daughters of Mother Jones," blocked Pittston's regional headquarters on April 18 and 19. Student protests have taken place at nine area high schools, including a blockade at a motel where state troopers were quartered, and a noisy rally at Westmoreland Coal, which was filling Pittston orders until it was shut down by UMW pickets. Australian miners have agreed not to fill

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 478 — 26 May 1989

Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin's Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!

AP

Upheaval in China

MAY 23—The eyes of the world are riveted on Beijing as the dramatic mass outpouring has brought the Chinese capital, and the whole country, to a standstill. Scenes on TV of women lying down in front of armored personnel carriers, students exhorting soldiers, saying the People's Army must not attack the people, workers commandeering trucks, roaring into Tiananmen Square on motorcycles. A hunger strike by 3,000 students. Mikhail Gorbachev arrives for a summit meeting, and as protesters wave his picture the Soviet leader is shunted around, sneaking into the Great Hall of the People by the back door. Buses are turned into barricades throughout Beijing. The top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party meets behind closed doors as hours drag into days and nights. Beyond the protesters' vague demands, the question is posed: who shall rule China?

The imperialists would like to see in the Beijing spring the flowering of a pro-Western mass movement. Some of the students' appeals are clearly aimed at the American media, such as the banner proclaiming (in English) "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death." But as an April 27 march of 150,000 students attracted the support of an even larger number of workers, the marchers responded by chanting "Long live the proletariat!" And over and over they sing the *Internationale*, the historic anthem of the socialist working class. Again on the weekend of May 20-21, as the regime headed by Deng Xiaoping and Prime Minister Li Peng ordered troops to remove student hunger strikers, workers streamed into the square to stand with them. But while the workers have been massively present in the protests, they have not yet mobilized behind their own *class* program—to oust the bureaucratic misleaders of the Chinese deformed workers state and establish the rule of proletarian soviets.

It began a month ago as students converged on Tiananmen Square under the pretext of honoring ousted CP general secretary Hu Yaobang, who died on April 15. Hu was a reputed "liberal" who had been removed for taking a soft line on student "pro-democracy" protests two years ago. The initial demands this time were for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to

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U.S. Get Out of Panama!

Complaining that the recent elections in Panama were stolen through fraud, George Bush sent in a brigade-size combat force to "send a clear signal" that such behavior was "unacceptable." What really upset the U.S. president was that these were perhaps the first Panamanian elections that weren't rigged by Washington since it stole the country at the turn of the century. And despite his whining about the "bullying tactics" of "the dictator Noriega," bullyboy Bush's signal grew fuzzier as more than 12,000 U.S. troops sat in the former Canal Zone. Rather than directly overthrowing the Panamanian regime, which could spark opposition in the isthmus and ignite protests throughout Latin America, the White House was appealing to the Panamanian Defense Forces to stage a coup against their chief.

Looking for a macho image in his "first foreign policy crisis," Bush may have gotten a tiger by the tail. Panama's sleazy strongman General Manuel Noriega continues to run rings around the White House as he did before with Ronald Reagan. Bush managed to get unanimous backing from the pliant, Democratic-controlled Senate and House for his Big Stick policy. But the U.S. embassy in Panama was "vehemently opposed" to sending in the troops, as was the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And contradicting Bush's claim that he was responding to threats to the "lives of our citizens," a spokesman for the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command said flat out, "there is no present danger to the U.S. community" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 May).

Of course, even by regional standards where "election" is usually an adjective defining a variety of fraud,

continued on page 14

John R. Van Beekum

Bush waves imperialist Big Stick: U.S. Marines land in Panama.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Dhoruba!
Free All COINTELPRO Victims!

FBI's War Against the Panthers

Jolie Stahl

DAILY NEWS

EX-PANTHER: I WAS FRAMED IN 1971

FBI documents show evidence suppressed — he's been in prison 18 years

Former Panther Richard Dhoruba Moore has been imprisoned for 18 years, victim of FBI/cop vendetta.

Long after the destruction of the Black Panther Party, former members remain scattered in prisons, victims of the racist FBI Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) which continues to rob them of their freedom. Recently a brief glimpse of the FBI's dirty work was provided when the 31 March New York *Daily News* ran a front-page story headlined "Ex-Panther: I Was Framed in 1971." Richard Dhoruba Moore (Dhoruba al-Mujahid bin Wahad) is yet another victim of the COINTELPRO conspiracy to disrupt and murder black radicals in the 1960s-'70s.

After a decade of legal battles, Dhoruba obtained documents from his COINTELPRO files proving that his conviction and life sentence, over the 1971 shooting of two New York City cops, was the product of a conspiracy by the New York City Police Department, the FBI and the Manhattan D.A. Moore's attorney, Robert Boyle, told the *Daily News*: "What we have is the police, with the FBI working in the background, manipulating evidence to convict Dhoruba."

Moore was one of the famous Panther 21. In April 1969, 21 members of the New York Black Panther Party were charged with plotting to blow up governmental and other institutions, including the Bronx Botanical Garden, Macy's and Bloomingdale's. The cop concoction was so ludicrous that in May 1971, after *nine months* on trial, the longest trial in New York State history, the jury only took 90 minutes to acquit Dhoruba and the other Panthers of the 156 counts against them. But the COINTELPRO plot accomplished its goal, keeping leading members of the NY Panther organization behind bars for over two crucial years.

But even that wasn't enough. Six days after the acquittal, two cops guarding Manhattan D.A. Frank Hogan's home were hit by machine-gun fire. President Nixon told FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover "not to pull any punches" to get the Panthers. And Dhoruba was near the top of their list. Two weeks later he was arrested and the frame-up began that has already robbed Dhoruba of 18 years of his life.

It took three trials for the courts to railroad Dhoruba: the first two attempts ended in mistrials. Moore's COINTELPRO files reveal that the prosecution concealed that their chief witness and source of evidence, Pauline Joseph, a diagnosed paranoid schizophrenic, had given more than 25 contradictory statements to the cops during her 20 months in police custody. Before and during the trial Assistant District Attorney John F. Keenan, now a federal judge, refused to disclose that Joseph initially asserted Dhoruba's innocence. When Dhoruba sought to call Joseph back to the witness stand after one of her statements clearing him came to light, the prosecutors denied knowing her whereabouts although at the very moment she was still in police custody! Augustus Qualls, the state's other major witness, has since recanted his testimony, calling it a police "fabrication."

In a March hearing, New York State Supreme Court Justice Peter J. McQuillan admitted that if these facts were known at the time of Dhoruba's appeal in 1973, the "violations in this case would necessitate a reversal of the conviction." But he denied Dhoruba's appeal to overturn the original conviction. On April 13 McQuillan rejected Dhoruba's motions for a new trial and railed against his attorneys for a "pernicious assault" on the reputation of the liar Keenan.

Despite exposure of the frame-up, the courts want to keep Dhoruba behind bars. The PDC sent a message of solidarity to Dhoruba, stating, "Though millions now know of the racist frame-up that has taken 18 years of your life, Judge McQuillan holds that racist American 'justice' requires you spend the rest of your life behind bars.... This is an outrage to all decent people." Freedom now for Richard Dhoruba Moore!

* * *

While Dhoruba's COINTELPRO disclosures burst into New York newspapers, former L.A. Panther leader Geronimo (ji Jaga) Pratt continues his fight for freedom. Pratt's struggle was recently given a boost when on March 14 Congressman Ron Dellums introduced Congressional Resolution No. 109 calling for Pratt's immediate release and for an investigation into the circumstances surrounding his imprisonment.

In a significant reversal, Pratt's case is again before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California. Last year the court threw out his appeal for a new trial on the legal technicality that the appeal was filed ten days late. To the three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees "judicial integrity" required that this innocent man be condemned to spend the rest of his life behind bars in order to conceal COINTELPRO's dirty crimes. In October the "full bench" of the Court of Appeals refused Pratt's application for a rehearing. But two months later, the same three judges, unexpectedly and without explanation, vacated their previous ruling and ordered attorneys for the State of California to file a response to Pratt's petition for rehearing.

For 18 years Geronimo Pratt has been locked in a prison hellhole for a crime the government *knows* he did not commit. For 18 years he has fought to expose COINTELPRO's bloody crimes. Despite massive evidence of his frame-up, including FBI wiretap logs proving Pratt was 400 miles away from the scene of the murder for which he was convicted, even after former West Coast FBI agent Wesley Swearingen testified that "Pratt was set up," parole boards and courts refuse to set this innocent man free.

Pratt is asking his supporters to write in support of Dellums' resolution. Send your letters to: Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, 2137 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, and to your local Congressman. Free Geronimo Now! Free all victims of COINTELPRO!

* * *

A special issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* on the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is now available. We encourage *WV* readers to join our fight to save Mumia's life, and to continue to support the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

For Bolshevism in China!

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution was a beacon of hope for Chinese radical intellectuals struggling for national and social liberation. Thus Li Ta-chao, a leader of the May Fourth Movement and a founder of the Chinese Communist Party who was executed by Northern warlords in 1927, saw in the proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky the way forward for the oppressed masses of China and of all humanity.

LENIN

The Bolsheviki...vigorously protested and proclaimed that the present war is a war of the Tsar, of the Kaiser, of kings and emperors, that it is a war of capitalist governments, but it is not their war. Theirs is the war of classes, a war of all the world's proletariat and common people against the capitalists of the world....

In his book *Bolshevism and World Peace*, Trotzky writes: "In this new revolutionary era a new organization shall be created by unlimited proletarian socialist methods. The new organization will be as great as the new task. Amid the mad roar of the cannon, the crash of temples and shrines, and the wild blast of patriotic songs from wolf-like capitalists, we ought to be the first to undertake this new task. With the death-music of hell about us, we should maintain our clarity of mind, and clearly perceive and realize that ours will be the one and only creative force in the future...."

From this passage it is plain that Trotzky holds that the Russian revolution is to serve as a fuse to world revolution. The Russian revolution is but one of the world revolutions; numerous revolutions of other peoples will successively arise....

The revolution in Russia is but the first fallen leaf warning the world of the approach of autumn. Although the word "Bolshevism" was created by the Russians, the spirit it embodies can be regarded as that of a common awakening in the heart of each individual among mankind of the twentieth century. The victory of Bolshevism, therefore, is the victory of the spirit of common awakening in the heart of each individual among mankind in the twentieth century.

—Li Ta-chao, "The Victory of Bolshevism" (November 1918)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Jalalabad Defenders Break Siege

After two months of tenacious fighting, Afghan forces have managed to break the murderous siege of Jalalabad by CIA-backed rebels. The London *Independent* reported on 12 May that "Government troops have broken out of the besieged city of Jalalabad and are recapturing key positions taken by the mujahedin, whose strategy is in disarray. An Afghan armored column moving east, clearing the road to Torkhum on the Pakistan border, was able to recapture outposts taken by the guerrillas a few miles from the city." The dispatch from Pakistan added that "the Kabul regime has notched up big success by also reopening the road between Kabul and Jalalabad," enabling fresh supplies of ammunition to reach the city.

The American press, in particular, has been mum on this stunning loss for the U.S./Pakistani-backed *mujahedin*; the *New York Times* even tried to deny it. But confirmation keeps coming in from European sources. Thus the Munich *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (17 May) headlined their article "Rebels Confess Defeat," writing:

> "Rebel sources in Pakistan confirmed and announced that the Afghan regime's troops have broken through the siege-ring of the mujahedin around Jalalabad and that the fighting around the east Afghan city has abated."

After abandoning their drive to capture Jalalabad, the reactionary guerrillas turned their fire on the town of Khost, further south, which is only six miles from the Pakistan border. According to a 16 May AP dispatch, Afghan government artillery, rockets and aircraft have killed almost 1,200 rebels since the assault on Khost was launched a week ago.

The favorable turn of events became evident on May 11 when Western papers printed reports direct from Jalalabad. For the first time since the beginning of the assault, the government flew in a dozen reporters to the besieged city. The *Los Angeles Times* (11 May) summed up the visit to the beleaguered city: "The *moujahedeen* rebels' much-ballyhooed offensive against Jalalabad has virtually ended in failure, leaving an urban nightmare of twisted metal, shattered glass, ruined streets and tens of thousands of abandoned homes." Even the *New York Times* had to report the "barrage of hostility toward the United States" from residents whose relatives were killed or maimed by U.S.-supplied rockets, while claiming that it was "difficult to determine" whether this "apparent fury" was "typical."

Robert Nickelsberg

Afghan government soldiers man Soviet tank in war to the death against CIA's cutthroats.

European journalists were more forthright. Tony Allen-Mills wrote in the London *Independent* (11 May):

> "Time and again we were accosted by outraged Jalalabad citizens protesting at foreign intervention in the war. As we toured a ward in the provincial hospital, a mother began to scream that 'America' had hurt her son. She flailed at some nearby reporters, and was swiftly hustled away."

The same reporter wrote of the dramatic helicopter trip to Jalalabad in an admiring article titled, "Defying death and mujahedin with the hero pilots of Kabul." Contrary to the expectations of the *mujahedin*'s U.S. and Pakistani "advisers," government soldiers didn't just cut and run as soon as Soviet troops left. Their victory at Jalalabad was made possible by the stream of Soviet arms supplies which continue to reach Kabul, and by sheer guts and courage. "Country or coffin" is the slogan of the Jalalabad defenders.

These combat victories have vastly strengthened the position of Najibullah's left-nationalist People's Democratic Party (PDPA) government in Kabul. Rolling back the punishing siege of Jalalabad will build morale throughout the country. And by holding on to this key provincial capital on the road from the Khyber Pass to Kabul, government forces have effectively blocked rebel plans to attack the capital. The *mujahedin* can haul bazookas, Stinger antiaircraft missiles and ammo across the mountains on their Tennessee mules (supplied by the U.S. Army), but they won't be able to bring up the heavy armor that is indispensable for taking Kabul. Despite the PDPA's backpedaling on reforms in their attempt to conciliate Islamic fundamentalists, the valor of the fighting men and women of the army and militia forces provides hope for social progress in Afghanistan.

The Times Changes Its Tune

The danger is far from over. While the rebels' morale is flagging, their paymasters in Washington want more blood. President Bush is continuing to send vast quantities of military supplies via Pakistan because, as one U.S. "adviser" told *Time* (15 May), "we still think our guys can win." However, this opinion is not shared by other sectors of the American ruling class. Most dramatic was the front-page lead in the 23 April *New York Times* which exploded the myth of the valiant Afghan "freedom fighters" supposedly struggling for "independence" from a totalitarian regime installed by Moscow:

> "The frontal assault by the Afghan guerrilla forces on the key eastern town of Jalalabad was ordered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government at a meeting of the top civilian and military leadership of Pakistan, in the presence of the American Ambassador.... "No Afghan was present at the meeting on March 5."

Suddenly a portion of the truth was "fit to print" in the *Times*. The "exposé"

continued on page 4

Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to May 19 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee and joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany. A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the accounts. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign are being paid by the respective legal and social defense organizations in each country. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared, and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in U.S. dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 19 May 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+	Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	=	Total Collected
Australia Partisan Defence Committee Receipts Nos. 1-24	A$3,176.47 [$2,424.60]		A$0.00		A$3,176.47 [$2,424.60]
Britain Partisan Defence Committee Receipts Nos. 1-100 & 2/1-2/70	£3,619.00 [$5,841.07]		£56.40 [$91.03]		£3,675.40 [$5,932.10]
Canada Partisan Defense Committee Receipts Nos. 95401-95475	C$3,277.44 [$2,753.05]		C$535.00 [$449.40]		C$3,812.44 [$3,202.45]
France Comité de défense sociale Receipts Nos. 1/1-1/50 & 2/1-2/16	FF28,347.30 [$4,257.76]		FF1,864.75 [$280.09]		FF30,212.05 [$4,537.85]
Italy Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria Receipts Nos. 1-103	L.2,537,145 [$1,770.93]		L.0		L.2,537,145 [$1,770.93]
United States Partisan Defense Committee Receipts Nos. 5001-5154	US$11,627.17		US$2,736.53		US$14,363.70
West Germany Komitee für soziale Verteidigung Receipts Nos. 1-71	DM7,292.64 [$3,695.18]		DM170.64 [$86.46]		DM7,463.28 [$3,781.64]
International Totals (in US dollars)	$32,369.76		$3,643.51		$36,013.27

Showdown Over Abortion Rights

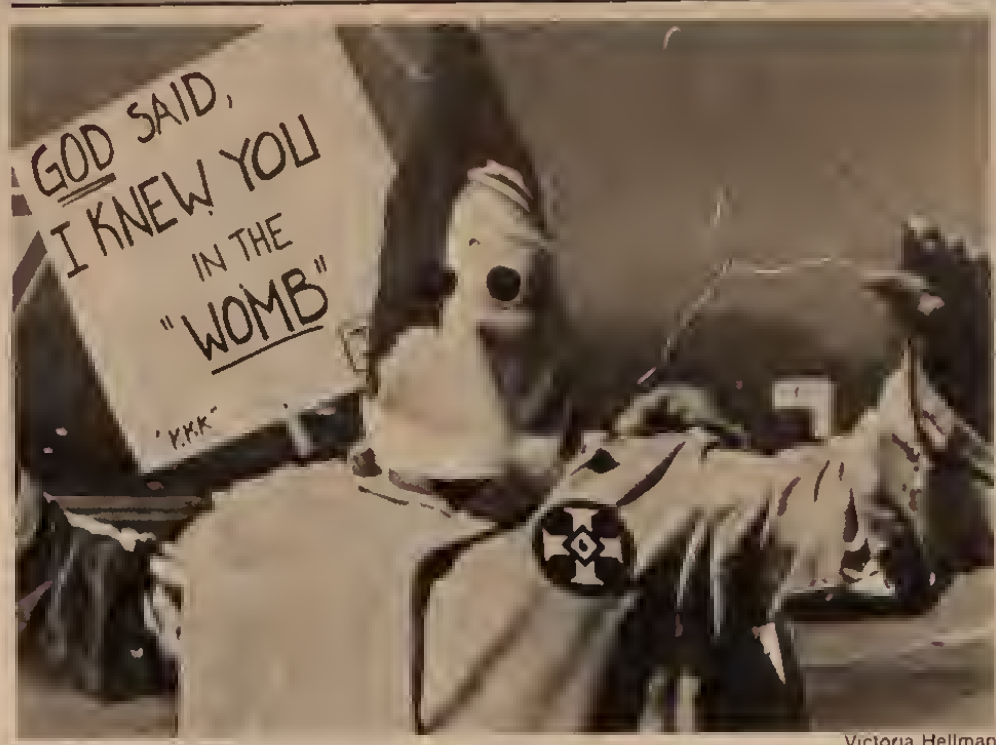
Klan Targets Dallas Clinic

The lynching nightriders of the Ku Klux Klan paraded outside the Routh Street Women's Clinic in Dallas on April 1, wearing their white sheets and hoods. Brandishing twisted coat hangers, these fascists threatened clinic workers and women seeking abortions at the facility. This time the KKK did not pull out their shotguns and blast away, as they did in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. But the deadly threat was there. As the *Dallas Morning News* (2 April) reported, the Klan carried signs: "KKK Hates Abortions." A few minutes later, several dozen pro-choice demonstrators showed up, shouting "KKK go away—Women's rights are here to stay!" Across the country, women's rights are under attack by an unholy cabal ranging from the Supreme Court to the fascists on the streets.

Janie Bush, a clinic worker and president of the Texas Abortion Rights Action League, told *WV* that the Routh Street Clinic is the most visible in the Dallas area. It is often targeted by anti-woman bigots. In 1987, she said, hooded Klansmen strutted outside the facility with signs including, "Help the Klan fight Jew-run abortion" and "Three and a half million Jews in all Europe in 1939. How did six million die? The real Holocaust is abortion concentration clinics."

These cross-burning anti-woman terrorists bomb at night, while "Operation Rescue" fanatics blockade clinics in the day. These reactionaries are the paramilitary shock troops of the capitalist state, whose armed guards—the rampaging cop terrorists in blue—beat and murder black people and other minorities across the nation.

Just three days after the KKK provocation, on April 4 shotgun blasts ripped the Dallas home and car of Norma McCorvey, the "real Jane Roe," as she was preparing to go to the mammoth April 9 abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C. McCorvey and her roommate, who were sleeping inside, narrowly escaped death. It was McCorvey's fight for her right to have an abortion that led to the 1973 Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion nationwide, a decision now under fundamental attack. Since going public with her story (a "docudrama" on her case was shown on NBC-TV May 15), McCorvey has been targeted by hate mail, harassment and vandalism, including eggs thrown at her house and baby clothes dumped on her lawn.



Victoria Hellman

Fascist hand of death: Klansman brandishes coathanger outside Dallas abortion clinic, April 1.

Dallas police said they had few leads—not surprising in the city that is the national headquarters of the John Birch Society, where abortion clinics are regularly picketed by reactionary "right-to-lifers." Last February, the Dallas AIDS Resource Center and gay groups' offices were gutted by arson in a huge fire. "Mysterious" fires also broke out in three Dallas abortion clinics last December, the same week in which Dallas judge Jack Hampton awarded a lighter sentence—30 years instead of life in prison—to a convicted murderer because his two victims were gay men! "I put prostitutes and gays at about the same level," said the judge, "and I'd be hard put to give somebody life for killing a prostitute"! Emboldened by Hampton's remarks, six members of the KKK, wearing surgical gloves, invaded a gay and lesbian church service.

The reactionary backlash against women's rights comes straight from the top. Ronald Reagan was the KKK's favored "Klandidate," and now Bush is pushing the Supreme Court justices to illegalize abortion. Last week Supreme Court Justice Anthony M. Kennedy blocked a 15-year-old (already 12 weeks pregnant) from having an abortion in Florida (though the next day the Court ruled the abortion could proceed). The hardest hit by the onslaught against abortion are poor and working women. Democrats and Republicans passed the 1976 Hyde Amendment banning Medicaid funds for abortion. By the next year federally funded abortions had dropped from 295,000 to 3,000 per year.

The fascist KKK and the "Operation Rescue" fanatics can and must be swept off the streets. In Dallas in February 1988, an integrated black, white and Hispanic turnout of over 600 anti-racist militants routed the Klan's attempt to march in support of the Dallas cops. In Philadelphia last November 5, a mass labor/black mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, spiked a KKK provocation at Independence Mall. The waves of anti-abortion bigots blockading clinics have outraged countless thousands, and increasing numbers have sought to defend the clinics. What's needed are massive mobilizations of all defenders of abortion rights, women and minorities, backed up by the power of labor, to preserve and extend women's rights and send the fascist terrorists crawling back into their holes. ■

Jalalabad Siege...

(continued from page 3)

went on to document what had been known for years, that the Pakistani military's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate "has shaped the Afghan rebel leadership," and "the Central Intelligence Agency has been the Pakistani directorate's main partner." This Company-inspired piece, which reads like some old CIA cable from Saigon, warned that the siege of Jalalabad had "bogged down" and "brought into question the ability of the guerrillas to achieve an early victory, or any victory, over the Soviet-backed Government." It's amazing what a whiff of grapeshot and a barrage of Soviet Scud-B missiles can do to clear the minds of these cheerleaders for the *mujahedin*.

Day after day, the *Times* breathes defeatism over Afghanistan: "With Soviet Weapons to Lean On, Kabul Is No Pushover" (19 March). "The guerrillas, as well as many Western military authorities...underestimated the determination of Afghan Government soldiers to fight" (22 March). White House, State Department, CIA and military intelligence officials who "were informally predicting Kabul's collapse within several weeks of the Soviet troop withdrawal on Feb. 15 now say it could take four to six months, or even longer" (24 March). The *Times* still has Donatella Lorch sneaking into Kabul to report on the guerrillas underground. But even this rabid *mujahedin* supporter almost got nabbed by the Khad secret police. (While she may get a thrill hiding for a couple of days under the folds of a *burqa*, the head-to-toe Afghan veil, how would Ms. Lorch like living in the forced seclusion of *purdah* for the rest of her life?)

Friends of Afghanistan Society

Afghan women take up arms against mujahedin, whose victory would mean enslavement of women, slaughter of leftists and intellectuals.

Now the *Times* reports (3 May) that a White House official admits that the Jalalabad assault was a "disaster, a terrible mistake," and says the time may come soon for a "reappraisal" and a deal with the Soviets. This semi-official mouthpiece of imperialist opinion is reflecting a faction in Washington that wants to stave off looming disaster. As the *Times* editorialized on 3 April, "now that the Soviet forces have been withdrawn"—i.e., since they can't kill Russians anymore—"it's hard to see what American interests would be served by a fundamentalist triumph in Afghanistan." They want to bank instead on Soviet leader Gorbachev's policy of retreat and treacherous concessions to Washington, by accepting his offer of a "mutual arms cutoff" in Afghanistan.

But meanwhile death and destruction are still raining down on Afghan cities. All the reporters who visited Jalalabad attested to the horrible slaughter and devastation wrought by the rebels, who have fired more than 130,000 rockets on the city. Even the *New York Times* noted, "Large sections have been bombarded and abandoned, while others, especially the mud-walled sections of the old town, have been shattered by the unrelenting rocket and artillery attacks of rebels who have received much of their weaponry from the United States." The *Los Angeles Times* quoted an Afghan official who "said 2,000 Jalalabad civilians were killed or injured in the last two months, 60% of them children."

The graphic evidence of the criminality of the CIA-backed rebels is a powerful reason to support the Partisan Defense Committee's campaign to aid the victims of Jalalabad. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Partisan Defense Committee Forum

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!

Abolish the Death Penalty!

Speakers:

Don Andrews
Partisan Defense Committee

Robert Bryan
Attorney and Chairman, National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty

Charles Garry
Attorney

David Stewart
Vice President, California Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

Saturday, June 10, 7:30 p.m.

120 Boalt Hall, University of California

Bancroft at College Ave.

BERKELEY

For more information: (415) 839-0852

Young Spartacus

Protest Benazir Bhutto!

Hail Heroic Afghan Defense of Jalalabad!

The following leaflet was issued May 20 by the Spartacus Youth Club in Boston.

Ms. Benazir "Pinkie" Bhutto, prime minister of Pakistan, is coming to Harvard on June 8 to deliver the commencement address at her alma mater. Today Ms. Bhutto, like her father Ali Bhutto and the despotic General Zia who killed him, is a linchpin for the CIA's bloody Afghan war. From bases in Pakistan where they are armed, equipped and organized by the CIA, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the ultra-reactionary *mujahedin* rain terror and destruction on Afghan civilians. For ten weeks they have tried to starve the city of Jalalabad into submission, firing rockets into Sikh temples, raping young girls, and massacring old men, women and children fleeing the besieged city. But the Afghan people have magnificently fought off these attackers whose aim is to *enslave women*, to roll back every element of social progress and incorporate Afghanistan into a greater Pakistani Islamic state.

The *mujahedin*'s failure to take Jalalabad has Bhutto and Pakistan's three armed services chiefs plotting their "strategic options" (London *Independent*, 19 May). The Pakistan army is now preparing to step in: five battalions are massed on the Afghan border to bolster the *mujahedin* losers. And while the CIA's cutthroats pump hot lead into Afghan people, Ms. Bhutto is invited as an honored speaker to babble about "democracy" in Harvard Yard. We must protest this obscenity! We call on every defender of women's rights, every partisan of social progress, to join us in a picket line demonstration at 2:00 p.m. on June 8 at Harvard's Holyoke Center.

The hypocrisy of "Fair Hahvahd" is boundless. A book-burner as a university commencement speaker?? In her years as a Cliffie, "Pinkie" Bhutto delighted in the pages of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, yet one of her first acts as prime minister was to outdo her domestic Islamic fundamentalist opponents in whipping up a murderous frenzy over Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*: "We banned the book because...it was in the interests of the state because it is important not to promote blasphemy" (London *Times*, 21 March). Ms. Bhutto has carefully constructed two faces—one for the West and one for the East—both propped on the shoulders of the CIA, which uses Pakistan as its main launching pad for anti-Soviet provocations in the region (Islamabad boasts one of the largest CIA stations on the planet).

What has this first female leader of an Islamic state done for the women of Pakistan? She betrayed the hopes of thousands of women who expected her to do away with the hated Hadood Ordinance against "moral offenses," under which women are condemned to death by public stoning for "adultery" and even prohibited from testifying at their own "trials." Over 3,000 women still languish in Pakistan's prisons and more are dragged in each day. Bhutto issued a *directive* that all Pakistani women should (like the pragmatic chameleon herself) submit to arranged marriages, wear head scarves, and not soil a man's hand with a female handshake in public. In her autobiography Ms. Bhutto comes across like a noxious mix of a collegiate Gloria Steinem and Marie-Antoinette, who returns to her dynasty and is aghast at the coarse army men "lolling on one of Mummy's delicate blue and white brocade Louis XV chairs."

Aubert/Sygma

Reuters

Ms. Bhutto and her generals (above). Pakistani fundamentalist mob burns effigy of Salman Rushdie, whose Satanic Verses was banned by Bhutto.

Ms. Bhutto is firmly following in the footsteps of her father Ali Bhutto, who she would have you believe was a saint. Tell it to the Bengalis, who were robbed for years by West Pakistan and then slaughtered in the war that gave birth to Bangladesh! Ms. Bhutto has quickly moved to establish a regime of nepotism and autocracy. She is her own finance minister, her own defense minister and the prime minister. Her government bleeds the poor to fund the Afghan war and oppress the many different ethnic peoples who live in the prison house that is Pakistan. With 25 percent of the population unemployed, and more living in wretched poverty (particularly women), a whopping *45 percent* of public spending goes to the military. As Marxists we are for the right of self-determination for all the peoples of Pakistan: Sind, Baluchi, Pushtun and Punjabi! Only through a common mobilization of the toilers of the region under a proletarian internationalist vanguard can there be a truly democratic solution to the many sectional conflicts and the abject misery of the masses of the subcontinent.

In one breath Bhutto lectures on her democratic "deliverance" of the country, and in the next threatens to dislodge by force the elected government in the Punjab. Two weeks ago, the Awami National Party in the Northwest Frontier province ruptured ties with Ms. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) over her continued aggression against Afghanistan. Now many oppressed Baluchis and Pushtuns have been forced to flee their homes for Afghanistan.

The embattled Afghan city of Jalalabad is today the front line in a looming international civil war. Afghan women are fighting for their lives. A *mujahedin* victory would mean a return to the darkness of the veil, to the bride price (the outright sale of young girls as property), to illiteracy and a lifetime of confinement in *purdah* (seclusion). The fate of thousands of leftist refugees from Khomeini's Iran and Bhutto's Pakistan also hangs in the balance.

Since the end of World War II, it has been the conscious policy of America's imperialist rulers to shape religious fundamentalism and pre-feudal reaction as an organized force for counterrevolution. John Foster Dulles wrote in 1950: "...the religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us and our task is to find and develop it."

That's exactly what the U.S. is pushing in Afghanistan. They hope to forge a dagger pointed right at the heart of the Soviet Union, where in 1917 the Russian Revolution ripped one-sixth of the globe away from the capitalist class. Nowhere is the treachery of Stalin's heirs more apparent than in Gorbachev's attempt to appease imperialism by pulling the Soviet troops from Afghanistan today.

A defeat for Ms. Bhutto and the CIA in Afghanistan would be one giant step forward for human freedom. The worldwide campaign initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (which we in the Spartacus Youth Club support) for material aid to the victims of CIA's cutthroats in Jalalabad is an expression of solidarity that has concretely assisted our international class brothers and sisters. It is in the same spirit that we urge you to join us in protesting Ms. Bhutto at Harvard. ■

Independent [London]

Pakistani women march through Lahore last summer protesting Islamic law which enslaves them to the veil.

Young Spartacus

Bloody Attack at Circle Campus

CIA's Afghan Thugs in Chicago

The Partisan Defense Committee's campaign for material aid to the civilian victims of the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in Afghanistan has won wide support—and evidently driven some reactionaries into a frenzy. At the University of Illinois-Chicago, a gang of fanatical thugs violently assaulted two Spartacus Youth Club supporters.

Emboldened by the university administration and the police who have been riding roughshod over leftist activists on campus, the right-wing stooges escalated their threats and physical violence. On May 11, an acquaintance of the attackers delivered a death threat to our comrade Mohan Namboodiri: "They are looking for you. They want to kill you." The next day, the gang leader of the May 9 assault, one Mohammed Daoud Miraki (an Afghan who, along with his cohort Nussen Hemmat, was mistakenly identified to us by the police as Pakistani), threatened a PDC supporter, saying: "Those who call our martyrs CIA agents will live to regret it." On May 16 Miraki boasted: "I have killed so many of you people already."

Our comrades were not cowed by threats from these would-be "holy warriors" and redoubled their efforts to distribute literature and collect funds in defense of Afghan women. On May 18, the cowardly woman-hater Miraki struck again. Uttering a gross sexist epithet, Miraki assaulted PDC activist Mary Quirk, and ripped open her blouse. Her husband, Kevin Quirk, a militant in the Amalgamated Transit Union, quickly stepped in and put a decisive end to Miraki's attack.

Then the university administration and campus cops went into action—*against the victims!* William McKay, building manager of the student center, rushed in and pushed Sufyaan Mateen, a black PDC supporter, up against a plate glass door. Next came the campus cops, who arrested Kevin Quirk, cuffed Mateen and threw them both into custody! We demand: Drop the charges against Quirk and Mateen! The cops *refused* to arrest Mohammed Miraki or allow Mary Quirk to press charges against this violent creep, saying that the university's McKay was the "only credible witness"! What is this—some kind of Islamic theocracy like Pakistan where it takes the testimony of two women to equal one man?

Mohammed Daoud Miraki is the son of General Gholam Sadiq Miraki, identified in a recent issue of the *Chicago Crucible*, a right-wing student paper at the University of Chicago, as the former second-in-command of the Afghan secret police. Miraki was a spy for the *mujahedin*, and thus an agent in one of the biggest CIA operations in history. General Miraki was rewarded for his pro-imperialist treachery with a nice home in Chicago. It would appear, however, that his son thinks he can stuff his fists into the faces of women and leftist opponents of the CIA on an American college campus.

The university administration has a long and *losing* history of trying to drive the left off campus. Nine years ago the same Willie McKay "permanently barred" Spartacist activist Sandor John from the campus as an "outside agitator." Our lawsuit against this ban won free speech rights for everyone, student or not, on this state university campus—a victory the university longs to undo. On May 10, the administration brought out massive police force to spike a protest by Palestinians against Israel's racist terror. Anti-CIA protesters still face criminal charges for a campus protest last fall. Now the UIC administration wants to exploit the violence of the *mujahedin* thugs to achieve their long-sought-after goal of silencing leftists. These right-wing sociopaths, aided by the cops and the administration, must not get away with intimidating the campus community!

We reprint below a leaflet issued on May 11 by the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club on the bloody attack on our comrades.

On Tuesday, 9 May at 1:00 in the afternoon, two Spartacist supporters were attacked in Circle Center while distributing literature and collecting funds in defense of Afghan women who are fighting for their lives against the CIA's cutthroats in Afghanistan. Two socialists, Mohan Namboodiri (a UIC student of Indian descent) and Eric Jostad, were threatened by several *mujahedin* supporters including two Pakistanis, Nussen Hemmat and Mohammed Miraki. These two then attacked. They pummeled Mohan's face, smashed his glasses, gouged his eye and punched his throat. Eric Jostad was punched, kicked, and slashed repeatedly on the head with the sharp edge of a metal can. A student who witnessed the assault pulled one of the thugs off Eric while another student wrapped a towel around Eric's head which was bleeding profusely. A member of the Socialist Workers Party also intervened, placing himself between Mohan Namboodiri and his assailant, which prevented our comrades from being more seriously injured.

Eric Jostad was taken by ambulance to Cabrini Hospital where doctors sewed up a half-inch-deep gash in his skull. We intend to press criminal charges.

This was a premeditated and potentially lethal bloody assault. Two young Marxists were the direct victims of this violent crime, but it was widely aimed at intimidating *everyone* who stands for elemental social decency and progress. In the last few weeks, a broad spectrum of UIC students, teachers and campus workers has responded very positively to the Partisan Defense Committee's campaign for material aid to the civilian victims of the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. These ultra-reactionaries are armed by the CIA and organized as well by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. They want to enslave women in the veil (chador) and lock them in seclusion (purdah), shoot schoolteachers, stone "adulterers," execute "blasphemers" and aim to annex Afghanistan into a dominant Pakistani state. But the Afghan working people are heroically fighting back and have repelled the nine-week rain of terror on the city of Jalalabad. In Afghanistan, the CIA's fundamentalist flunkies used to throw acid at the faces and legs of young women at Kabul University who refused to don the dehumanizing chador. Now UIC's would-be "holy warriors," having secured their own right to an education in the safe haven of an American college campus, attack Marxists who are fighting for the right of young Afghan women and men to have an education and a future.

Rightist pro-mujahedin thug Mohammed Miraki (left) led bloody assault on our comrades Mohan Namboodiri and Eric Jostad (wearing bandage).

Young Spartacus Photos

A handful of violent elements must not be allowed to appoint themselves thought-police and intimidate the campus community. Who could be next on their hit list? Students fighting to secure women's abortion rights in this country? Students must make it clear that the right to read socialist literature and engage in leftist political activity *will be defended* on this campus. We warn the right-wing *mujahedin* thugs at UIC: your violence is a profound strategic error. The United States today is an intolerant society. Your political purpose may coincide with that of America's rapacious rulers, but ugly anti-Muslim sentiment is also rife. Don't plant mines on the fields you've chosen to walk.

This is certainly not a religious or ethnic dispute. As Marxists, we are not opposed to people who follow the faith of Islam. At issue is "faith" mobilized as an organized reactionary social force—led by the Judeo-Christian kingpins of the CIA and the American government! Anti-communist thugs claiming the cover of their religion for their violent acts at UIC are no different than the Christian fundamentalists who terrorize women and health care workers at abortion clinics because "God told them to."

For nine years, Washington poured billions into Afghanistan to kill Soviet and Afghan soldiers. The Spartacist League hailed the intervention of the Red Army into Afghanistan as a necessary defense against the CIA-backed reactionary forces and the one hope for social progress in this hideously backward country. Now that Gorbachev has betrayed by withdrawing Soviet troops to appease the American capitalist rulers, the CIA's cutthroats are punishing the civilian population, shooting rockets into Sikh temples, murdering women and children refugees, trying to starve the city of Jalalabad into submission. Also at stake are the lives of thousands of Pakistani and Iranian leftists in Kabul who sought refuge from the terror of Khomeini's Iran and Bhutto's Pakistan. Our fight for a military victory over the CIA-backed forces and our campaign for direct material aid to their civilian victims is truly an internationalist struggle in the interests of the whole of the working people.

Today, America's rulers are a force of bloody worldwide reaction but certain democratic rights won by revolution remain in this country because the working people have fought to preserve and extend such rights as freedom of speech and the separation of church and state. The Marxists of the Spartacus Youth Club have a right to distribute our literature and organize at UIC. Students: stand up for your rights to read political literature, to talk and organize politically—let's make it clear that attempted violent intimidation of political life will not be tolerated at UIC. ■

Spartacist Forum

No to the Veil—Defend Afghan Women!

Afghanistan: Smash CIA's Cutthroats!

Thursday, June 15, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41, 116 West 11th Street

11th Street near 6th Ave.

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Mayekiso Freed—Save the Delmas 3!

South Africa

Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the 130,000-strong National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), is free from the noose of the apartheid butchers. In a victory for the working masses of South Africa and the world, the Alexandra 5—Mayekiso, his brother Mzwanele, Obed Bapela, Richard Mdakane and Paul Tshabalala—were cleared in a Johannesburg court on April 24 of all charges of sedition and subversion. When the judge announced the acquittal, the packed courtroom erupted in thunderous applause and shouts of "*Amandla!*" (power). At a celebration meeting held at a nearby church, Moses Mayekiso told the packed hall:

> "I thank the comrades here and all the international groups which made this victory possible. With their support we have won a little bit of freedom.... They supported the working class movement here, and we will carry on the fight against apartheid and capitalism towards socialism and democracy."

But in the same week that the Alexandra 5 went free, three black freedom fighters, members of the *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the ANC military arm, were sentenced to death. Jabu Masina, Ting-Ting Masango, and Neo Potsane are known as the Delmas 3 because of their trial's location in Delmas, a farming town 50 miles northeast of Johannesburg. They join the more than 270 other death row prisoners in South Africa, where 97 percent of those executed since 1980 have been black. "The past 12 months have witnessed a steady tempo of kidnappings and assassinations of anti-apartheid activists," as the *Johannesburg Star* quoted a report written by noted Witwatersrand University professor and activist David Webster. Days later he himself was gunned down, on May 1. Several thousand black and white mourners attended Webster's funeral May 6, the biggest political funeral since the state of emergency was declared in June 1986.

UPI

Moses Mayekiso and his wife Khola leave Johannesburg court.

Initially, Mayekiso and his comrades faced charges of high treason, which carries the death penalty, accused of forming the Alexandra Action Committee, which led the revolt in the impoverished black township in February 1986. The treason charges were dropped at the start of the final argument; sedition and subversion charges were substituted. The essential charge in the case was that the five had usurped the authority of the apartheid state by establishing "organs of people's power," organizing Alexandra residents into yard, block and street committees for defense against vicious police attacks, and forming "people's courts." The *New York Times* (25 April) reported that Justice P.M. van der Walt, at the end of the 18-month trial, ruled that the state had not proved its case and that the "defendants were only trying to upgrade living conditions in the bleak black township and were not trying to replace the township's council or render Alexandra ungovernable through protests."

After spending two years in jail as one of the "Alex 5," Mayekiso was released on bail last December. Many trade unions and left organizations took up his defense internationally, including the UAW, the Steelworkers and the International Metal Workers Federation. The fight to free the Alexandra 5 was actively supported by the Partisan Defense Committee, along with the Spartacist League/U.S. and other sections of our international tendency.

Despite the acquittal, and the dropping of treason charges, Judge van der Walt set an ominous precedent in South African law, ruling for the first time that "violence" was not a necessary element for a treason conviction, opening the way for more treason convictions on the basis of "thought crimes" against the apartheid state. As Moses Mayekiso stated at the end of the trial: "There can never be justice in apartheid, capitalist South Africa." International solidarity and hard class struggle by South African black unionists were key to freeing Moses Mayekiso—Free all victims of apartheid terror! Save the Delmas 3! Smash apartheid—For workers revolution! ■

Phone Workers:

Strike AT&T and the Baby Bells!

With union contracts for 175,000 phone workers set to expire May 27, AT&T is preparing a massive new attack on what's left of union gains—in particular, the company-paid medical plan—and threatening big layoffs. The struggle against Ma Bell promises to be a test case for the rest of the country. Yet the leaderships of the two unions involved—the Communications Workers of America (CWA) with 135,000 technicians, operators, clerks and others, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) with 40,000 workers concentrated in manufacturing—are downplaying strike talk in favor of a toothless consumer boycott and a weak-kneed "in-plant strategy" (read: work without a contract). This is a strategy of defeat—it will take a solid strike, with picket lines that *nobody* crosses, to beat the company's take-back schemes. No contract, no work!

The bosses' flagship newspaper, the *New York Times* (2 May), spelled out the attack on the medical plan, noting that the bargaining at AT&T "could set a pattern for many large corporations," starting with the seven "Baby Bell" operating companies (BOCs), whose contracts with 450,000 unionized phone workers expire in August. AT&T wants the workers to pay for a much larger part of the skyrocketing costs of the medical plan—"cost-shifting," in lawyers' jargon. One example of what this will cost workers: having a baby will go from $55 to $820. In addition, the company announced that some 16,000 jobs will be "phased out over the next five years," on top of the 78,500 non-management jobs lost at AT&T alone since 1985. Meanwhile, AT&T is making money hand over fist: profits were $594 million in the first quarter of 1989 alone, a 21 percent jump over last year.

The fact that the AT&T contract expires over two months before that of the seven BOCs—splitting the phone workers' struggle—is the product of *conscious sabotage* by CWA president Morty Bahr, who *volunteered* to move up the AT&T contract expiration date from August to May. When the CWA struck AT&T for a month in June 1986, Bahr enforced the companies' notorious "two-gate" policy, in which different entrances to the same workplace were created for AT&T workers and the local Bell workers. The obscene result was workers in the same union crossing each other's picket lines to work for the "non-struck" company.

Adding insult to injury, this time the AFL-CIO and CWA tops are planning "electronic picketing" instead of strike action; workers are supposed to use non-union Sprint long distance service instead of AT&T! This will have about as much impact as the AFL-CIO leaders' boycott of flying to "support" the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981. The lesson of PATCO is that all the phone unions must *strike together to shut down AT&T and the "Baby Bells."* It will take real class struggle to win, and that requires throwing out the traitors who are running the phone unions today, replacing them with people who have a real vision of a future where the workers rule.

Black Muni Driver Sentenced

Stand By Greg Wiggins!

SAN FRANCISCO—After a six-month-long nightmare at the hands of the racist American injustice system, Greg Wiggins, a black Muni bus driver, was sentenced on April 26 to 30 days in the county jail, three years probation, outpatient psychiatric counseling, a $100 fine plus $25 per month for probation costs! This is an outrage!

On 19 October 1988 while Wiggins was waiting to move his bus through a traffic roadblock on Bayshore Boulevard, he was subjected to racial epithets by SF police. Then the beating by the cops began which gave Wiggins severe injuries to his neck, back and throat, and a fractured hip that has kept him in constant pain. The beating was followed up with the standard police operating procedure—trying to frame the victim, Wiggins, with phony charges of battery and resisting arrest.

On March 3, Greg Wiggins was acquitted of the cops' trumped-up charges of battery on a police officer. But with the twisted logic inherent in racist, capitalist America, that he must have done something to trigger the police violence, he was found guilty of resisting arrest. Judge Paul Alvarado gagged the defense, disallowing testimony that exposed the cops' violent records, and systematically favored the racist district attorney Farrell. The jury was chosen from a panel with almost no blacks.

Wiggins and his lawyer Tito Torres plan to appeal the March 3 verdict and the recent sentencing. Angry uniformed Muni drivers, members of Transport Workers Union Local 250A, turned out daily at the court in solidarity with Greg. Unionists, from BART workers here to New York City transit workers, sent letters to the D.A. demanding the charges against Wiggins be dropped. The D.A. complained during the sentencing about the Muni drivers that attended the trial. Because of this labor support, Muni management backed off from its earlier threat to fire Greg. These labor militants must continue to stand by Wiggins!

WW Photo

Greg Wiggins

The police have a green light from San Francisco mayor Art Agnos, the liberals' darling, to terrorize blacks, trade unionists, leftists and homosexuals. Last September, United Farm Workers leader Dolores Huerta, a personal friend of Agnos, was brutally beaten into unconsciousness by the cops at an anti-Bush demonstration. In response, Agnos gave the SF Police Officers Association its payoff for supporting his '88 mayoral campaign as his police commission completely exonerated the cops.

The struggle against racist cop terror must be taken up by the multiracial trade unions. Bay Area labor must fight to overturn the frame-up of Greg Wiggins. The TWU must demand Wiggins immediately receive retroactive workmen's comp and assault pay due him. The union must also fight for two-man crews in Muni which would give drivers added protection as well as creating hundreds of jobs. Hands off Greg Wiggins! ■

Perestroika Fuels Economic Chaos and Nationalist Upheaval

Gorbachev's Troubled Harvest

The elections in mid-March to the Congress of People's Deputies sent shock waves through the Soviet Union and around the world. Prominent Communist officials and senior military figures were defeated. Rabid nationalists gained a majority in the Baltic republics, and various "reformers" won elsewhere in the USSR. In early April at least 19 people were killed in Georgia when troops were sent in to break up nationalist protests. The *New York Times* (4 May) reports a wave of strikes "to protest pay cuts resulting from new economic laws that require factories to be more cost conscious and tie a worker's pay to output." The Soviet Union under Gorbachev has become a seething cauldron of political passions fueled above all by economic discontent and resurgent national antagonisms.

A previous article, "Soviet Elections: A Vote for What?" (*WV* No. 475, 14 April), looked at the immediate results of the elections, and also discussed how Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika (restructuring) has worsened the economic shortages and introduced bureaucratized anarchy into Soviet industry. In particular, food shortages in the state shops, accompanied by extortionate prices in the private markets, are producing the conditions for a social explosion. Once again, as so often in the past, the imbalance between industry and agriculture is putting enormous pressure on Soviet society, from the top to the bottom.

What's wrong with Soviet agriculture? For Western bourgeois ideologues and many Gorbachevite intellectuals, the answer is simple. Stalin's forced collectivization, they contend, ruined the agrarian economy. And the only solution is a return to private farming. In fact, the neo-Bukharinites who now set the tone for Soviet intellectual life see Stalin's "great turn" of 1929-30, abandoning the market-oriented New Economic Policy (NEP), as the root of all evil in the present-day USSR. Agricultural collectivization is portrayed, for example, in Anatoli Rybakov's highly acclaimed and widely read novel *Children of the Arbat*, as the product of megalomania and ideological dogmatism run riot—a kind of political madness on a grand scale.

The historical reality was very different. By 1927-28 the inner contradictions of NEP had led, as the Trotskyist Left Opposition forewarned, to a deepening economic crisis. The better-off peasants were cutting down the acreage sown, hoarding grain and in many cases attacking Soviet officials, especially tax collectors. Growing food shortages threatened the fragile urban Soviet economy. The Left Opposition saw the only solution to preserving the unity of the urban proletariat and peasant masses (the *smychka*) in promoting collectivization and agricultural modernization (tractors and electricity). As against this, the Bukharinite Right proposed to pay peasants higher prices while borrowing from Western financiers to import more food. Such a policy would have simultaneously depressed the already grim conditions of the urban working class while strengthening tendencies toward capitalist restoration both from within and without.

At this point Stalin broke with the Bukharinites and lashed out at the peasantry with an unplanned, ill-conceived and brutal policy of forced collectivization. The peasants resisted with the mass slaughter of livestock, including draft animals. An estimated three to four million peasants were either killed outright or starved to death in the famine arising from the enormous dislocation of the agrarian economy.

Anti-Communist propagandists have since wildly inflated the number of victims of Stalin's "revolution from above" as well as the Great Purges of the late '30s, claiming the number is comparable to or even worse than the Nazi Holocaust. For example, Sovietologist Robert Conquest, now of the Hoover Institution, claims the Stalin regime killed 20 million people before 1939. This figure is endorsed by the American neo-Bukharinite Stephen Cohen, who declares: "Judged only by the number of victims, and leaving aside important differences between the two regimes, Stalinism created a holocaust greater than Hitler's" (quoted by Alexander Cockburn in the *Nation*, 6 March). Cockburn points out that both Soviet and Western scholars like Stephen Wheatcroft have demonstrated "that there is no demographic evidence to indicate a population loss of more than six million between 1926 and 1939 or more than 3 or 4 million in the famine."

The weaknesses of Soviet agriculture do indeed have their roots in the Stalin era. But the blame does not lie with collectivization per se nor even primarily with the savage and destructive way it was carried out. It is rather how Stalin treated the collective farms (*kolkhozy*) *after* they were established that has *unbalanced* the Soviet economy to this day.

The Trotskyists always linked collectivization to the *modernization* of agricultural production. The 1927 *Platform of the Opposition* called for "the systematic and gradual introduction of this most numerous peasant group [the middle peasants] to the benefits of large-scale, mechanized, collective agriculture." However, in his one-sided concentration on heavy industry during the 1930s, Stalin kept agriculture at a primitive level. Only 10 to 15 percent of total investment was expended on state and collective farms, although these accounted for well over half the labor force. In 1940, ten years after agricultural collectivization, only *1 percent* of the electric power generated in the USSR was consumed in rural areas!

To extract the maximum produce from the *kolkhozy*, procurement prices were frozen at the 1929 level despite the rapid inflation of consumer goods prices. Although real industrial wages fell sharply during the 1930s—perhaps as much as 40 percent—conditions on the collective farms were so terrible that *kolkhozniki* flooded into the cities looking for jobs. Those who could not find employment were rounded up and shipped back to their villages—or, if they resisted, to Siberian labor camps. Peasants were legally bound to the *kolkhoz*, and the whole system maintained by a totalitarian police-state regime in the countryside.

Even during Stalin's lifetime this system began to break down. The enormous social dislocations of World War II undermined the *kolkhozy*. The children of collective farmers, especially demobilized soldiers, found ways to escape the wretched fate of their parents and grandparents:

> "Young people approaching working age did not want to enter the *kolkhozy* and conscripted soldiers refused to

TASS from Sovfoto

Soviet-built combines harvest grain on a state farm near Saratov on the Volga.

Ogonyok

Going shopping in Gorbachev's Russia: scarcity means lines, and who polices the lines? "Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy" (Leon Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed).

return to them after completing their army service. Imprisonment or forced labor for refusal to work on the *kolkhoz* was deliberately courted as a means of getting out of the village. More and more peasant families retained only one person (usually one of the grandparents) as a *kolkhoz* member as a pretext to qualify for an allotment [private plot]. The other members of the family went on living in the village, but tried to find work elsewhere.... The result was that the rural population remained at a level of 108 to 110 million between 1947 and 1956, but the number of working *kolkhoz* members fell after 1948 by 0.5 million each year."

—Zhores Medvedev, *Soviet Agriculture* (1987)

Thus the last Stalin years saw the exodus begin of young, energetic people from the collective farms and eventually from the countryside altogether. With the relaxation of police-state controls after Stalin's death, this exodus would become a flood.

WV Photo

Der Spiegel

Plenty of food is available in private markets for those who can afford it. But state shops, selling at low official prices, are empty.

Soviet Agriculture: From Khrushchev to Brezhnev

When Stalin died in 1953, the chronic food shortages threatened the continued rapid growth of industry and urbanization. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, declared that "solving the grain problem" was the most pressing task facing the USSR internally. To this end he greatly improved the condition of the *kolkhozniki* both as a stimulus to production and to halt the flight from the collective farms. During Khrushchev's ten-year reign procurement prices for grain were increased tenfold, for meat fifteenfold. Yet many *kolkhozy*, especially in the non-"black earth" regions of central Russia, were so backward that even at prices many times higher they still could not cover their cost of production.

Instead of concentrating agricultural investment on improving the existing *kolkhozy* and state farms (*sovkhozy*), Khrushchev undertook an unprecedented *extension* of the area under cultivation. This was the so-called Virgin Land program in the semiarid steppes of southern Siberia and Kazakhstan. Initially, the project appeared wildly successful. Leonid Brezhnev first came to fame as the man who brought in a 20-million-ton grain harvest in Kazakhstan in 1956 (more than the entire output of the Ukraine that year). But soil erosion soon set in, and the dry steppe lands began to lose fertility (although these regions continue to supply a sizable share of Soviet food grains). In the early '60s harvests fell below the level attained in the late '50s. In 1964 so did Khrushchev: the failure of the Virgin Land program to solve the grain problem contributed to his ouster at the hands of Brezhnev.

The new Brezhnev regime denounced Khrushchev's "harebrained schemes" and vowed to put agriculture on a "scientific footing." Agriculture ceased to be, as it had been in Stalin's day, the abused stepchild of the Soviet economy. For the past two decades over 30 percent of planned investment has gone into the *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy*. Zhores Medvedev estimates total resources invested in agriculture (e.g., buildings, farm machinery, chemical fertilizer) roughly *tripled* between the mid-'60s and the mid-'80s. Initially, this greater investment paid handsome dividends. Agricultural output increased *almost 30 percent* between 1965 and 1970. 1973 saw a record grain harvest of 225 million tons, almost *double* the average production of the Khrushchev decade. However, from the mid-'70s onward it became ever harder to boost farm output, while the urban population continued to swell.

Wide World

Stalin's forced collectivization at its height: Banner calls for "Liquidation of Kulaks as a Class." Left Opposition advocated voluntary collectivization with the incentive of tractors produced by growing socialist industry.

At the same time, the Brezhnev era saw striking changes in the conditions and very nature of the rural labor force. A 1966 decree guaranteed collective-farm members cash payments at a rate comparable to state-farm workers performing similar tasks. Since many *kolkhozy* could not afford to make these cash payments out of their incomes, they had to borrow heavily from the State Bank. When they could not repay, they simply declared bankruptcy and transformed themselves into state farms. The *kolkhozniki* were perfectly satisfied with this outcome, which left them better off. Thus the Brezhnev years saw the wholesale *self-liquidation* of the *kolkhozy*, *not* back into private smallholding, but *into state farms*. In 1960 there were 22 million collective-farm members and only 7 million *sovkhoz* workers. By 1985 the number of *kolkhozniki* had fallen to 12.5 million, while state-farm workers had increased to about the same number.

During the past quarter century the once vast gulf between the conditions of the rural labor force and of the urban working class has narrowed appreciably, if not disappeared entirely. A PBS television series on Russia in the mid-'80s noted that "Soviet farmers' earnings are for the first time growing at a faster rate than those of industrial and office workers." A case in point is the October collective farm in the Kuban region of southern Russia. One member, Mariya Kulinich, is an illiterate old peasant born in tsarist times. Her son Slava, a combine-harvester operator, earns *three times* the Soviet average national wage during the harvest period when he works twelve hours a day, seven days a week. He is even able to afford a car:

> "Like most Soviet motorists he paid for it in advance and has had to wait a year for delivery. He is lucky—if he lived in one of the northern cities the wait might be much longer. Here in the south the process is relatively quick. Owning a car is still a luxury in the Soviet Union."
>
> —Alan Bookbinder et al., *Comrades: Portraits of Soviet Life* (1985)

However, a luxury some *kolkhozniki* can afford.

Meat and Oil

Key to the exceptional internal stability of the 18-year Brezhnev reign was the marked rise in living standards. The diet of both the rural and urban population improved substantially. Meat consumption per capita increased more than 20 percent between 1970 and 1980. By the early '80s the average Soviet citizen was eating as much beef as a worker in Thatcher's England, and far more pork and fish.

Given the relatively low productivity on the *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy*, the Brezhnev regime decided to *import* much of the grain needed to feed the rapidly growing Soviet livestock herd. It was able to do this due to the financial *windfall* from the oil-price explosion engineered by the OPEC/Seven Sisters cartel. During the 1970s the price of oil and natural gas—the principal Soviet exports to the West—increased tenfold.

Much of this massive inflow of Western currency was expended on purchasing animal fodder from the farms of the American Midwest, the Canadian plains, Australia and Argentina. In the late '70s-early '80s Soviet imports accounted for 20 percent of world trade in foodstuffs. At the UN and other international forums, representatives from poor Third World countries even criticized Soviet agricultural policies for driving up the world market price of food.

The Kremlin oligarchy was willing to live with this diplomatic embarrassment as long as it had the money to buy social peace at the dinner table. But in 1981 the oil-price boom went bust. At the same time, the costs of extracting fossil fuel from the frozen Siberian tundra were rising sharply—a 70 percent increase from 1975 to 1985, according to Gorbachev. Addressing last year's Communist Party conference in Moscow, Gorbachev told delegates: "We covered over the entire miserable situation with the money that flowed in as a result of the oil boom. Now there is no oil boom, and we're stuck in a hole" (*Der Spiegel*, 30 January).

Soviet grain imports were hostage not only to the wild gyrations of the world oil market but also to imperialist economic warfare. When in December 1979 Brezhnev sent Soviet military forces into Afghanistan to combat the CIA's counterrevolutionary "holy warriors," the Carter administration immediately cut off food shipments to Russia. In this period the Brezhnev regime backed the bloody Argentine junta—then waging the "dirty war" against its own people—in order to placate a major supplier of foodstuffs.

In any event, by the time Brezhnev

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AP

Stalin and Bukharin in 1929. Their program of "socialism in one country" was a repudiation of the October Revolution.

Soviet Agriculture...

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died in 1982, the USSR *no longer* had the financial resources to import 20-25 percent of its grain supply and buy the advanced technology necessary to retool and modernize the country's aging industrial plant. At the same time, the massive investments in the *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy* were unable to make up for reduced imports. Gorbachev complained last fall:

> "The fixed production assets of agriculture in 1987 totaled 347 billion rubles, or 3.3 times larger than in 1970.... You see what huge capital investments have been made, but they are not yielding the necessary return; the state has not received what it hoped for."
>
> —*Pravda*, 14 October 1988

Why not?

First, it should be noted that much of the output that is produced never reaches the urban consumer, due to the wretched state of rural transportation and storage facilities. (Partly due to historical fears of famine, the big Soviet grain terminals are located near the cities rather than in farm areas as in the U.S.) Many *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy* are accessible only by dirt roads. Fruit rots on trees or in trucks bogged down in mud. Milk curdles for lack of refrigerated storage facilities. However, the basic problem with Soviet agriculture is not the underdevelopment of the transportation/distribution infrastructure.

The real problem lies in what Russians call the "*chelovecheskii faktor*" (the human factor). Modern agriculture demands a highly technically competent labor force. A big American commercial farm has on average more capital per worker than a steel mill! However, in the Soviet Union the enormous inflow of machinery, fertilizer, etc., into the state and collective farms has been accompanied by a massive outflow of the labor necessary to utilize them efficiently. For example, in the mid-1950s there were 15 drivers and mechanics for every ten tractors and combines. By the mid-'70s there were only eight drivers and mechanics for every ten farm machines they operated and serviced. Moreover, the tractors and combines had become far more technically complex.

Soviet agriculture has been crippled by the headlong flight of young, energetic and educated people from the farms to the cities. In 1970 the percentage of people in their 20s in rural areas was half what it had been a decade before. Today, many collective farms have become practically retirement villages. In 1984 the principal government newspaper, *Izvestia*, reported that of the 440 members of a typical *kolkhoz* in central Russia 230 were old-age pensioners, most of them widows of Red Army veterans.

Der Spiegel

Peter Paz

Two faces of Stalinist bureaucracy in China: Mao's Great Leap Forward (left) produced economic chaos; Deng opened up China to imperialist exploitation (Otis elevator factory, above).

And imports can no longer compensate for these weaknesses. As Gorbachev put it last year: "We could borrow a billion dollars and with it purchase commodities, securing provisions, for a year or two. But what will we do in the third year?" So the Gorbachev regime chose to cut back sharply on food imports. But faced with the shortages now fueling popular discontent, the Soviet government has recently begun large-scale imports of grain (and other consumer goods). Thus, improving agricultural productivity has become a do-or-die issue for the advocates of perestroika.

Soviet Farmers Say Nyet to Decollectivization

Gorbachev is personally familiar with life on Soviet farms. Indeed, his father and other relatives were in the vanguard of the collectivization drive. But now he sees the only salvation in the spur of individual acquisitiveness and the whip of market competition. He blames the problems of Soviet agriculture on the fact that the rural labor force now has the mentality of proletarians, not peasant small-holders:

> "What has happened is that on collective farms and state farms man has been torn away from the land, from the means of production.... A person comes to a farm as a hired laborer, in order to put in a certain number of hours doing something or other; after all, he has to earn a living. There once was a certain incentive, of course, but this worker was not what a peasant on the land, on a livestock farm, should be...."
>
> —*Pravda*, 14 October 1988

Gorbachev's solution: to lease land to rural families on a permanent basis, and to allow these leaseholds to be bequeathed to the children. The Soviet leader also proposed to disband any *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* which does not show a profit—about *half* the 50,000 units in the USSR—thus *forcing* state-farm workers and *kolkhozniki* to become private farmers, form cooperatives on a strictly "free market" basis or find jobs elsewhere. Needless to say, this proposal did not go over very well down on the farms. Yegor Ligachev, Gorbachev's conservative rival in the Kremlin, saw a chance to score some points as he demagogically told *kolkhozniki* in the Siberian city of Omsk: "We did not establish Soviet power to treat people and work collectives so shamelessly." Aware that on this issue public opinion, especially in the countryside, was behind Ligachev, Gorbachev has backed off. A key Kremlin meeting in mid-March to decide agricultural policy decreed that the division of collective farms into individual leaseholds was *not* mandatory; members of every *kolkhoz* could decide for themselves.

Some of the Western media is acting as if wholesale decollectivization of Soviet agriculture were about to begin. But unless the regime dismantles the *kolkhozy, against the will of their members*, not much is going to change. An opinion poll taken by the official newspaper of the Russian republic, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (reported in the *Wall Street Journal* [10 March]), indicated that 45 percent of farmers did *not* favor leasing land while only *5 percent* were even willing to *try* it! Gorbachev admits his land-leasing operation is not exactly booming:

> "Leasing is also received with caution by part of the collective farmers and workers who have lost, over many years, the habit of working conscientiously and got used to steady incomes irrespective of the end results of their work."
>
> —*Atlanta Constitution*, 16 March

Echoing Gorbachev, the right-wing London *Economist* (11 March) complains: "The farmers themselves have been collectivised into a rural proletariat; few of them, it seems, are keen to become hard-working peasants...." It is second nature for the haughty editors of the *Economist* to denounce the supposed laziness of the lower orders, whether in Thatcher's England or Gorbachev's Russia. Soviet state-farm workers and *kolkhozniki* lead a damned hard life—a hell of a lot harder than that of Kremlin bigwigs and Fleet Street editors. And they know that their lives would get even harder if they tried to survive as peasant small-holders like their grandparents.

Furthermore, the mass of Soviet working people—both in the cities and the countryside—*despise* the money-grubbing, price-gouging entrepreneurs who have been spawned by perestroika. Soviet collective farmers do not want to see a new class of *kulaks* (rich peasants) flaunting their wealth and turning their less fortunate neighbors into hired hands. The *Washington Post National Weekly* (5-11 September 1988) gave a sympathetic account of the travails of one Yuri Danilov, who tried to set up a private ("cooperative") pig farm not far from Moscow:

> "The cooperative members were derided as 'money grabbers' and 'new bourgeoisie.' One night, a fire broke out in their barn. There was damage, but not enough to shut down the farm. Danilov figured it was an accident, but in March another fire destroyed half the barn. No longer was there any question that it was arson. In May, someone set fire to what was left of the building, reducing it to ashes."

Soviet Working People Against "Market Socialism"

This kind of response to the emergence of petty capitalism is not unique to Russia. The same thing is happening in China. China's market-oriented "reforms" have been held up as a model for Russia both by Western bourgeois ideologues and Gorbachevite intellectuals. For example, the Moscow weekly *New Times* (10 January) ran a gushing, sophomoric piece on economic life in China: "The people in China have already had a taste of a freer and wealthier life.... In short, a Soviet visitor sees something he has never seen or has seen a long time ago: abundance." Abundance, yes, for small-time capitalists, corrupt officials and well-placed intellectuals. But not for the mass of China's workers and peasants.

And abundance for the few is secured only by the repressive police power of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. In Inner Mongolia the government provides special bodyguards to protect private entrepreneurs from their hostile neighbors. Last year in the northern city of Shenyang a young worker killed his capitalist boss and was promptly executed for it. The *New York Times* (April 6) reports that "he became a minor folk hero because the boss was regarded as a tyrant who deserved what she got." In Deng's China, popular opposition to "building socialism with capitalist methods" has been gathering gradually over the past ten years. But in Gorbachev's Russia, working-class hostility to market-oriented reforms has been strong from the outset.

For decades Cold War propagandists have depicted Russia as a totalitarian police state where the Communist despots suppress the people yearning to live like in the capitalist "free world." But since Gorbachev took over the Kremlin, Western bourgeois ideologues have *reversed* their line. The Soviet leader is seen as a Westernizing reformer who wants to introduce more

TASS from Sovfoto

A dining room on the Zarya Kommunizma collective farm.

NYC Restaurant Workers Strike Against

"Travesty on the Green"

Central Park West at 67th Street was alive with music, chants and cheers as New York unions rallied May 17 in support of striking Tavern on the Green restaurant workers. The Musicians Union came with their instruments, there were Teamsters, city workers, and a contingent of Eastern airlines strikers, who were greeted by a sign, "Tavern Strikers Support Eastern Strikers in Solidarity." Tavern workers voted in January to join Local 6 of the Hotel Trades Council, but management refused to recognize the union, and in retaliation canceled the workers' medical insurance! As the strikers' banner says, it's "Travesty on the Green."

While New York's swank set and well-heeled tourists plunk down $350 for dinner in the tasteless "Crystal Room" at the Tavern, America's top moneymaking eatery, in "the back of the house" nearly 300 mainly Hispanic and black waiters, busboys and dishwashers slave at starvation wages. As *Daily News* (3 May) columnist Mike McAlary described it:

> "The elegant got by the strikers too easily. Once you have found the strength to ignore a homeless man as you walk into a Broadway theater, a striking busboy offers no problem."

A woman walking her poodle on a gold leash said the strikers' chants and hollers were bothering her dog. McAlary quipped, "Only in New York could a protest against a dog's wages upset a dog."

But the Tavern strikers do not stand alone. Hundreds have come out to man picket lines. Teamsters now say they won't deliver food, and even some cab drivers are refusing to deliver the tourists to the door. Victory to the Tavern on the Green strikers! ■

WV Photo

New York unionists join striking restaurant workers at Tavern on the Green.

L.A. Teachers Strike...

(continued from page 16)

is giving union cards to striking teachers to work on the docks during the strike. Teamsters have honored UTLA picket lines, halting deliveries to the schools.

But the leaders of the other key school union, Local 99 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), have issued a grossly misnamed "Strike Bulletin" to order 18,000 cafeteria workers, bus drivers, janitors and teaching assistants to *stay on the job*. Hiding behind a "no strike" clause in the Local 99 contract, the SEIU burcaucrats are not only sabotaging the teachers strike, they are knifing their own membership, whose contract expires in September. And the UTLA leadership has *discouraged* other L.A. unions from beefing up the strikers' rallies and picket lines, as they push the line that teachers are "professionals" apart from the rest of the labor movement. Picket lines mean don't cross! A solid, militant UTLA strike backed up by the other school unions can lead to a single union for all workers in the L.A. school system!

The scabherding by the SEIU tops is aiding the attempts of the board and LAPD cops to keep the schools open. The schools have been turned into jails, where scabs are paid up to *$330 per day* to force students to sit and watch reruns of "Daffy Duck" and "Pet Sematary." On the eve of the strike cops from the 77th District complained that "all these little predators" would be out on the street (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 May). This from the trigger-happy racist cops who have gunned down scores of black youths! Last fall, Los Angeles Democratic Party mayor Tom Bradley, an ex-cop who has backed the notorious LAPD to the hilt, boasted that over 20,000 youths had been arrested in their current South Africa-style "anti-gang" roundup!

The UTLA strike bulletin, "On The Line in '89," details dozens of incidents of pickets hit by scab cars. On May 22, the LAPD brutally arrested eleven teachers, including many UTLA officers, during a protest outside school board headquarters. And the cops are rounding up "truants," including student leaders who support the strike.

Much of the student and community support for the strike has come from Latinos, who comprise almost 60 percent of the student population in the L.A. schools. Student strikes in support of the UTLA earlier this year were centered in heavily Hispanic East L.A. (see "L.A. Student Walkouts Back Teachers' Demands," *WV* No. 471, 17 February). At a May 17 rally in Hollenbeck Park, several strikers carried signs that said, "I Support Bilingual Education." In a school district where 81 languages are spoken, where more than a quarter of the students are not proficient in English, there has been a racist mobilization against the bilingual education program.

Within the teachers union, racists in the Learning English Advocates Drive (LEAD) mobilized to force a vote in the UTLA against extra pay for bilingual teachers in an attempt to scuttle the program. The UTLA leadership, which had earlier balked at defending bilingual education, this time condemned the LEAD initiative, as it "pits teacher against teacher, and threatens to divide the union from the community" (*United Teacher*, 7 April). The union campaign against the LEAD initiative was crucial in winning the widespread, integrated support which has powerfully backed the strike.

The Los Angeles teachers strike is hugely popular—black, white and Latino students and their working-class parents know that if UTLA wins, everybody wins. L.A. teachers have taken a stand, and the class unity across race lines shown in the strike points to the multiracial workers party that must be forged to lead a socialist revolution that will deliver decent education and jobs for all. ■

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and more elements of capitalism into the Soviet economy. But, alas, the Soviet people want no truck with "free market" economics. For example, Margie Lindsay of the London *Financial Times*, in a book expressly directed at Western businessmen, writes:

> "The biggest stumbling block to the reforms, both political and economic, is the people. Until and unless Gorbachev and his Party manage to change attitudes and mentality, for all the laws, decrees, resolutions and exhortations, nothing will really change."
>
> —*Gorbachev's Perestroika: Implications for International Business* (1988)

That house organ of international financiers, the London *Economist* (11 March), likewise laments:

> "After decades of being told that the state will provide, many ordinary Russians (if not some of their more business-minded comrades in the smaller republics round Russia's rim), expect it to go on doing just that. When Mr. Gorbachev rattles on about the need for competition and a market, even a 'socialist' one, he meets blank incomprehension. Talk of unemployment and higher prices provokes outright hostility."

In their own way these Western capitalist ideologues are acknowledging the *strong elements of socialist consciousness* among Soviet working people. And this is not simply a desire for economic security—a guaranteed job and a stable cost of living. Soviet workers consider it a violation of basic social morality that some people should live, and live well, by exploiting others. The *only* genuinely popular economic measure of the Gorbachev regime was its earlier drive (a continuation of the campaign launched by the late Yuri Andropov) against corrupt officials, black marketeers and speculators. The highly influential Soviet sociologist Tatyana Zaslavskaya, herself an ardent advocate of market-oriented reforms, recognizes, "that such fortunes exist in our country is an outrage in the eyes of our working people. They object to the ostentatious life styles of moneyed people who do not work—an affront considered the worst kind of injustice" (*Soviet Economy*, October-December 1987).

Nonetheless, Western bourgeois ideologists and Gorbachevite "free marketeers" are right in one fundamental respect. A purely conservative economic program cannot work in Russia today. One cannot turn the calendar back to the seemingly halcyon days of the late 1960s-early '70s, when living standards were going up by 5 percent a year while the Soviet military was achieving strategic nuclear parity with the Pentagon. Dollars, deutschmarks and yen were rolling in as the world market price of Soviet oil and natural gas skyrocketed. U.S. imperialism was externally weakened and internally demoralized by the long, losing, dirty colonial war in Vietnam.

However, Brezhnev's policy of détente gave U.S. imperialism the needed breathing spell to partially recover from the "Vietnam syndrome." By the mid-'70s Washington was laying the basis for a new Cold War offensive through Jimmy Carter's anti-Communist "human rights" crusade. To match the Pentagon arms buildup, aimed at restoring nuclear first-strike capability, the Brezhnev regime sharply cut industrial investment while trying to maintain living standards. As a result, by the early '80s the Soviet economy had entered what Gorbachev termed "a pre-crisis situation."

The Kremlin bureaucracy under Gorbachev has responded to this pre-crisis situation by dismantling centralized planning in favor of market-oriented "reforms," encouraging petty capitalist entrepreneurs and foreign investment in joint ventures, and appeasing Western imperialism from Afghanistan to Angola. The liberal Stalinism of Gorbachev has enormously strengthened the forces of capitalist restoration, especially by fueling the poisonous passions of nationalism. To defend the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from its enemies, both within and without, the workers and collective farmers must sweep away the Kremlin oligarchy, restore genuine soviet democracy and re-establish the Soviet Union as a bastion of world revolution. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! •

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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China...

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demonstrate, more money for education, and disclosing the private bank accounts of top bureaucrats. But the students had tapped a deep vein of discontent, as demonstrations quickly spread to 20 cities around the country. And then came the workers, first individually, later in organized contingents. It is the hundreds of thousands of workers pouring into the center of China's capital which has stayed the hand of the bureaucracy.

Most dramatic is the immobilization of the army. Li Peng's order for a military crackdown was essentially ignored. Not only were the units which ventured into the capital surrounded by the populace, subway workers and management refused to transport them underground. The 38th Army, which is based in Beijing and includes many draftees from the capital, reportedly refused to move on the crowds. (The commander's daughter is supposed to be among the hunger strikers.) Now a letter has surfaced from seven former high-ranking military leaders, and signed by more than 100 officers, opposing bringing troops into the capital: "The army absolutely must not shoot the people" (*New York Times*, 23 May). The Paris *Libération* (18 May) quotes a former officer saying, "the situation in China currently rather resembles Hungary in 1956, except there is no possible Soviet intervention to save the regime."

In the face of this explosion of mass discontent, Deng called for "tough tactics," to "spill blood" if necessary to stop the protests; Gorbachev warned against "hotheads." While Bush and other Western leaders worry in public about "stability" in Beijing, privately they talk of counterrevolution. But it's far from clear that the inchoate mass upsurge is going in any such direction. What the Chinese working people urgently need is *genuine communism*, a genuinely Marxist and Leninist communist party to replace the bureaucratic regime with *workers and soldiers soviets* at the head of the poor peasantry. Instead of the nationalism of the Chinese Stalinists from Mao to Deng, which has led China into a counterrevolutionary military and diplomatic alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union and Vietnam, what's needed is *communist unity against imperialism*.

Independent (London)

AP

Beijing erupts in protest as students occupy Tiananmen Square (left). They are joined by workers (above) whose banner reads "Students: The workers have arrived."

AP

Student protesters fraternize with soldiers. Officers' letter says "People's Liberation Army" mustn't shoot the people.

Behind the Student Protests

The extreme volatility of Chinese student protests reflects the instability of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy with its constant, sharp zigzags. In the 1950s and '60s students were drawn to the utopian voluntarism of Mao Tse-tung with his promise of Great Leaps Forward and instant Cultural Revolutions. Used by Mao to terrorize intellectuals and intimidate his factional opponents in the bureaucracy, the student-based Red Guards were then suppressed by the army when they got out of hand. The more troublesome ones were sent to the countryside "to learn from the peasantry." There they encountered the vast poverty of a country which has 21 percent of the world's population but only 7 percent of the planet's arable land.

A decade later a new generation of students were drawn to Deng's "Four Modernizations," but this program ended up spawning a new class of rich peasants in the countryside and petty entrepreneurs (equivalent to the Nepmen in Soviet Russia in the 1920s) in the cities. In contrast to the Soviet Union, China today is a country of extreme and visible inequalities, of conspicuous consumption amid real hardship. Anywhere you go you can buy a Japanese rice cooker, as well as domestically produced consumer goods. But the mass of urban workers cannot afford them. Nor can other state employees (minor officials) on their salaries—hence the rampant corruption. A Japanese VCR costs the *annual wage* of an average worker.

Tremendous resentment has been building among the have-nots of Deng's China against the beneficiaries of "building socialism with capitalist methods." In one eastern Chinese city, a privately owned factory had its windows smashed and its power supply cut off, while local residents sued for a share of the profits. The owner decided to sell the plant back to the government. In Inner Mongolia the government provides special bodyguards to protect capitalist entrepreneurs from popular outrage. Now troops from Inner Mongolia are brought into Beijing to put down popular revolt. It is the seething economic discontent which turned the relatively small student protests for "democracy" into a mass upsurge that is threatening the bureaucracy's rule.

To some extent the students, a privileged, petty-bourgeois layer—in many cases themselves children of the bureaucracy—have stood opposed to the felt needs of the toiling masses. Initially they raised demands against inflation in order to reach out to the workers. But they quickly *dropped* these demands when they realized that inflation is the by-product of market-oriented policies which they by and large support. The students' hero of the moment is Zhao Ziyang, the CP general secretary, who is known as a consistent and enthusiastic supporter of Deng's economic "reforms." Moreover, Zhao's two sons are notorious examples of the corruption and nepotism the students are denouncing. As if to stress the students' self-conscious elitism, they formed cordons to keep workers from joining in the huge April 27 march by checking for student IDs!

Despite this mandarin-like disdain for commoners, the central, overriding demand of the students is "democracy." "I don't know exactly what democracy is," said one Tianjin University student, "but we need more of it" (*New York Times*, 28 April). Another, reflecting Chinese students' sympathy for Gorbachev's new course in the Soviet Union, said that "Gorbachev perhaps has chosen the right way to begin with political reform, but it will be a while before Chinese democracy will reach the stage of the Soviet Union." Gorbachev's glasnost may offer a degree of social truthfulness, but his market-oriented perestroika economic policies promise the growth of the kind of social inequality which Chinese workers (and many of the students) are rebelling against.

The Chinese students' enthusiasm for Gorbachev-type reforms and for "pure democracy" stems in good part from the *false* identification of militant Communism with Maoism—economic primitivism and "barracks socialism" (communal dining halls), the adventurism of the Great Leap Forward and destructive frenzy of the Cultural Revolution. Just as Stalin's crimes and perversion of Leninism have fostered liberal illusions within Gorbachev's Russia, so Mao's perversion of communism has done so in Deng's China. When Deng came to power in 1977, he benefited from popular reaction against Maoism. But now popular opposition to Deng takes the form of demanding "more democracy."

The students' thinking on how to organize "democracy" in the concrete conditions of today's China remains murky but, the yearnings of the Western and Japanese imperialists notwithstanding, it is significant that thus far there are no reports of the development of a mass pro-capitalist movement like Polish Solidarność whose leaders looked to Wall Street and revered the interwar fascistic dictator Pilsudski. The analogous development on the Chinese mainland would be a movement hailing Chiang Kai-shek and

Reuters

Students' poster greets Gorbachev at Peking summit.

demanding unification with Taiwan on the basis of a "free market" economy. Nonetheless, the students' illusions in classless "democracy" could help open the road to capitalist counterrevolution in China.

For Workers Soviets in China!

The workers' involvement in the recent round of demonstrations is a new, and for the bureaucracy ominous, development. One Western diplomat reported that they had to send an embassy car to pick up Chinese officials, who feared that "once they got out of their compound their drivers would join the demonstrators." The 18 May *New York Times* reported on Wednesday's massive demonstration in Beijing that "the demonstration today was the realization of one of the Government's worst nightmares—organized worker participation in what began as student protests." The *Times* has written of small isolated workers' groups calling themselves "desperados" and "kamikazes" who are roaming the streets to confront troop mobilizations. But European papers speak of mass contin-

AP

Cultural Revolution 1967: Mao used student Red Guards in bureaucratic power fight.

gents of workers. The 19 May Paris *Libération* noted:

> "...workers make up the majority of the hundreds of thousands of people who marched in the streets of the Chinese capital, converging on Tiananmen Square. They came into the city on an armada of trucks, buses and all sorts of vehicles, banging drums, gongs and cymbals and waving red flags.... The demonstrations are organized by *danwei* (work units), often with the assent and even instructions of leading cadres. A change is visibly under way in the largely spontaneous oppositional movement which was dominated until yesterday by students and intellectuals desiring democratization and basic freedoms. Thursday at Tiananmen the talk was rather about wages gutted by inflation, of corruption of the cadres and incompetent leaders. Communist militants were also more numerous and visible. Several hundred of them even marched behind a banner saying: 'Xiaoping, party members demand that you leave to take a rest'."

It was the threat of a general strike on Saturday, May 20 which reportedly led the Deng regime to declare martial law.

The workers have not taken to the streets in order to create "a beautiful, perfect system," as one of the student hunger strikers expressed his goal. They have been driven to defend their livelihood. The Chinese Stalinists' attempts to modernize the economy through reliance on the discipline of the market and the rule of bureaucratic fiat has seriously *eroded* the gains of even the *bureaucratically deformed* 1949 Revolution. Significantly, a number of the workers' contingents who marched into Tiananmen Square last week were carrying portraits of Mao and Chou En-lai.

But the workers have not yet entered the struggle as an *independent* political force, speaking in their own *class* interests. What's needed are *workers and soldiers soviets* (councils) as the organizing center of the proletariat standing at the head of all oppressed sections of Chinese society.

In recent years, tens of thousands of young workers have been stripped of even trade-union protection in the face of profit-gouging/job-slashing attacks by the new entrepreneurs and their Western and Japanese imperialist partners in the "special economic zones." These workers are increasingly active and conscious in their opposition to attacks on their job security and living standards. They are now faced with the threatened elimination of the system of lifetime employment, the "iron rice bowl"—a key gain of the revolution. Whereas prices scarcely rose in the first three decades after the revolution, inflation is now running at over 30 percent a year. Businesses openly flout laws forbidding child labor, while the sale of young women into marriage or prostitution is rising.

Meanwhile, ten years of Deng's Bukharinite program has almost totally decollectivized the countryside, where 80 percent of China's population still lives, and has opened the door to the Western and Japanese imperialists, objectively creating an extremely powerful force for capitalist restoration. Unlike Russia or Poland, where the bourgeoisie was basically wiped out, the Chinese bourgeoisie is alive and well and organizing from Hong Kong and Taiwan. The 4 May *New York Times* notes that Taiwan's influence on the mainland is substantial. The same article quotes a prominent Beijing economist, Wu Jinglian, who declared, "We have to build a system very close to Taiwan's...."

It is still, however, a long step from today's developments in China to the imperialists' goal of capitalist restoration. This would involve a series of acute social struggles culminating in a civil war. While Chinese Stalinism has certainly created conditions favoring counterrevolutionary forces, these same conditions can spark a movement leading to a proletarian political revolution based on soviets of workers which would also embrace the poorer peasants and other oppressed sections of society.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

What is the political character of the mass protests, what are the attitudes of the participants? A statement by Wang Gang, a young designer at a Beijing sweater factory, seems typical: "The Communist Party is generally good, but the problem is that it is manipulated by a handful of people like Li Peng and his puppet Government. They claim they are practicing Communism and they use the Chinese flag as their flag, but the people of the country feel these leaders are not real Communists" (*New York Times*, 22 May). The *Times* then adds: "Many Chinese demonstrators, like Mr. Wang, believe that democracy is possible under Communism."

In fact, *only* under proletarian rule, under *soviet democracy* such as was established in Bolshevik Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, can the working people rule directly in their class interests. Not even the brutal civil war, finally won by the Bolsheviks, could reverse these gains. Whence, under conditions of isolation and poverty, the rise of the parasitic Stalin bureaucracy—the model for Mao Tse-tung.

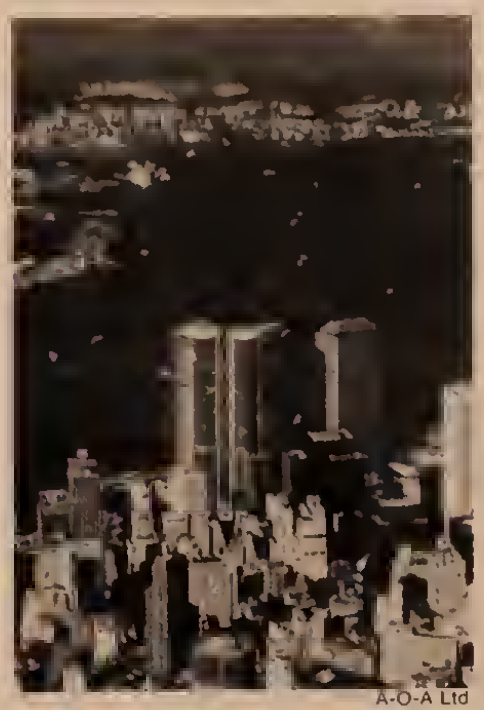
What would be the result of Western-style parliamentarism in China today? In a country where the majority of the population consists of peasants rather than workers, and where collective farming has virtually been eliminated, a parliamentary regime based on universal suffrage would represent peasant small-holders, some of them relatively wealthy. Under the relentless pressure of the world capitalist market, these petty proprietors would become dependent on Western and Japanese industrialists and financiers...and on the Chinese of the offshore island of Taiwan and Hong Kong. "Pure democracy" could only be a bridge—a very short bridge—to bloody capitalist counterrevolution and renewed domination of China by imperialism.

Kelley & Walsh

Spring 1927: Mass meeting of Shanghai workers on eve of Chiang Kai-shek's massacre of Shanghai's revolutionary workers.

Today's Chinese workers and radical intellectuals must recapture the *proletarian internationalism* which originally inspired Chinese Communism. The current student protesters like to identify themselves with the May 4th Movement of 1919. This protest movement was sparked when that exemplar of Western bourgeois democracy, Woodrow Wilson, revealed himself as just another rapacious imperialist politician by offering up Shantung to Japan, a U.S. ally in World War I. The May 4th Movement thus marked a decisive shift among the radical Chinese intelligentsia and advanced workers *away* from bourgeois democracy toward Bolshevism. A number of the leaders of the May 4th Movement became founders of the Chinese Communist Party, which they soon built into a mass revolutionary workers party in close collaboration with the Soviet comrades.

Despite all their heroic revolutionary struggles during the 20th century, the Chinese masses have never known *the democratic rule of workers and peasants soviets*. The national-democratic revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen, toppled the Manchu dynasty. But the aftermath was the division of China by rival warlords backed by the various imperialist powers. Under the inspiration of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution and with direct Soviet aid, during the 1920s China experienced an incipient proletarian revolution. However, the misleadership of Stalin and Bukharin tied the Chinese Communists to the militarist Chiang Kai-shek, paving the way for Chiang's annihilation of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard in 1927. In the aftermath, a number of Chinese Communist cadre, including the party's founding leader Chen Tu-hsiu, adhered to Trotskyism, the international left opposition to Stalin's perversion of Lenin's revolutionary internationalist program. However, Chinese Trotskyism was destroyed by savage repression by Chiang's Kuomintang, while the few survivors were imprisoned under Mao.



A-O-A Ltd

Danger of capitalist restoration: Chinese capital is alive and well in Hong Kong (above) and Taiwan.

When Mao's peasant-based Red Army overthrew Chiang's militarist clique in 1949, China experienced a *deformed* social revolution. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been exploited from time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords, rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie was destroyed. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were abolished. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by imperialist powers for over a century was unified and freed from foreign subjugation. Forty years of Stalinist bureaucratic rule have undermined and now threaten these revolutionary gains. Only a proletarian political revolution can defend them and open the road to socialism.

But China's nationalist Stalinist leaders have formed an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, a *military* alliance repeatedly consolidated in blood. Mao signed the U.S./China accord with Richard Nixon in 1972 as American bombs rained down on the Vietnamese workers and peasants. In 1979 Deng attempted a military invasion of Vietnam, and, though the attack was repelled, the Chinese bureaucracy has kept up constant military pressure on Vietnam's northern border and been the key supplier of arms to the barbarous Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea. Revolutionary-minded workers and youth in China today must demand massive aid to embattled and heroic Vietnam, and an immediate halt to Chinese aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in Afghanistan!

The Beijing bureaucrats' alliance with American imperialism also colors all the talk of "human rights." Today, Bush urges Chinese leaders to avoid bloodshed and not send troops against the student protesters. But barely two months ago he was soft-pedaling brutal government repression in Tibet, in which at least a dozen people were killed. The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is deeply nationalist, and its treatment of the Tibetan population is suffused with Han chauvinism. During the Cultural Revolution hands of Chinese destroyed more than 3,000 monasteries, and moved in massive numbers of Han settlers to swamp the native population. Of

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Panama...

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the Panamanian vote was as phony as a three "balboa" bill. (The Panamanian currency is the Yankee greenback, adorned with the likeness not of the Spanish conquistador but of George Washington.) The Americans did their best to buy the election, bankrolling the opposition to the tune of $10 million (via the National Endowment for Democracy). The CIA set up a clandestine radio station so secret that nobody listened to it. And they sent in scores of "election observers" including former presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, plus Bush's own bipartisan "dirty tricks" team headed by the two Senators from Florida who called for taking back the Canal almost from the minute they landed at the U.S.' Albrook Air Force Base.

Subtlety is not Noriega's strong point, so when election returns were running three to one against the official candidate, his brother-in-law Carlos Duque, the general dispatched soldiers to seize the vote tallies. Then he staged a classic *autogolpe* (self-coup) by annulling the elections on account of fraud. When pro-government "Dignity Battalions" beat opposition presidential contender Endara and vice presidential candidates Arias Calderón and Guillermo Ford bloody, with TV cameras rolling, Bush saw his chance. If Libya's Colonel Qaddafi was the bogeyman of the Reagan administration, the target of virulent "terrorist" hysteria-mongering and murderous bombing raids whenever U.S. imperialism needed a distraction from some foreign policy disaster, Noriega has been cast in that role by Bush. The pictures flashed around the world of bloodsoaked Guillermo Ford were exactly what the U.S. was looking for.

Bush sent in 70 C-141 transports loaded up with infantry and armor, yanked out the American ambassador and demanded backing from the Organization of American States, that "Yankee ministry of colonies," as Che Guevara dubbed it. In return for promising to fork over some of the $50 million in back U.S. dues, he got a resolution, rewritten to Washington's specifications, accusing Noriega of "abuses" in Panama and sending an OAS delegation to "investigate." Noriega replied that "Today it's Panama, tomorrow it will be the other countries, because this is a United States mechanism for aggression" (*New York Times*, 18 May). Bush obviously wants to pull another Grenada, recalling Reagan's rape of the tiny black Caribbean island. But a lot of Panamanians know the Yankees too well to welcome an invasion. We say: "U.S. troops out of Panama, now, all of 'em!"

Up the Canal Without a Paddle

"The fact is that, except for Puerto Rico, no other Latin American country has been so dominated by the United States, suffering 18 military interventions and the continuous occupation of the Canal Zone," wrote the North American Congress on Latin America (*Report on the Americas*, July-August 1988). Southcom's HQ in the former Canal Zone is the largest U.S. military station in Latin America, the launching pad for U.S. support to the contras, spy flights over El Salvador and Nicaragua, and dispatching troops for imperialist adventures in the Caribbean. The massive U.S. military presence a decade after the Canal was supposedly transferred to Panamanian sovereignty is a very sore subject locally. Even opposition candidate Endara declared, "We are not in accord with military intervention by any country. It will cause more problems than it solves."

Haviv/AFP

U.S.-supported opposition vice presidential candidate Guillermo ("Billy") Ford is beaten by Noriega's "Dignity Battalion" thugs.

While Bush intoned that "the crisis in Panama is a conflict between Noriega and the people of Panama," in fact the country is wracked with big class and race divisions. The opposition is headed by the inbred aristocracy who ran it as a private "cousins' republic" for three-quarters of a century. And the anti-government "civic" demonstrators consist of young professionals who made it big in the banking boom following the signing of the 1977 Canal treaties. In this combination Zürich/Miami by the Canal, they live in Florida-style subdivisions and work in U.S.-owned "offshore" banks whose Swiss-style numbered accounts facilitate money laundering, whether for the CIA or drug mafias. The upper-class opposition is known locally as *rabiblancos*, or "white tails," referring both to its tendency to turn tail and to its racial composition.

The *rabiblancos* are filled with contempt for Panama's poor, black and mestizo population. But to the chagrin of the country club set, that is who has the guns. As the *New York Times* (17 May) noted:

> "In Panama, unlike many Latin American countries, the officers do not come from the social and economic elite. The armed forces are mostly recruited from the poor of Panama.... The soldiers are poorly educated and loyal to leaders that take care of them and their families.

China...

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course, the various lamas (Tibetan religious leaders) see themselves as the living incarnation of counterrevolution, and the Dalai Lama led a CIA-aided feudalist uprising in 1959. But Marxists oppose the racist notion of "reactionary peoples" that are to be obliterated. Chinese revolutionaries must reject the Great Han chauvinism which has characterized the bureaucracy's policies toward all national minorities: Uighurs, Mongols, Koreans, etc.

For Leninist Internationalism

Without the Soviet Union the People's Republic of China would simply not exist. Despite Stalin's treachery, Soviet-supplied arms were key to the victory of the Red Army over Chiang and in enabling China to prevent U.S. imperialism from overrunning the Korean peninsula in 1950. Only fear of widening the war to the Soviet Union prevented the U.S. from atom-bombing China during the Korean War. In itself, the fact that Soviet and Chinese leaders are today on better terms represents a net loss for imperialism. Deng, after all, has been Washington's pre-eminent anti-Soviet ally. But the preconditions for this *rapprochement* are dangerous indeed: Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Kremlin pressure on Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia, and economic "reforms" which strengthen capitalist-restorationist forces at the expense of the working people.

For diplomatic reasons, imperialist leaders have been circumspect in their public comments on the events in Beijing. But their journalistic mouthpieces are more blunt. *Der Spiegel*'s 22 May cover story headlined: "Uproar in China: The End of Communism?" The uproar in China *is* the result of a deep crisis, not of communism and Marxism but of decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule. This is recognized by such high-ranking Soviet spokesmen as *Izvestia*'s top political commentator Aleksandr Bovin, who said in a recent interview with the *Los Angeles Times* (15 May):

> "What we have is Stalinism. It may be neo-Stalinism or Maoist Stalinism or Brezhnevian Stalinism or some other sort of Stalinism. But what we are trying to change, here in the Soviet Union and in China, is a system created by Stalin."

But the "solutions" put forward by Gorbachev and Deng and the rest of the bureaucratic "reformers" have nothing in common with the program of communism. In fact, they directly threaten the revolutionary underpinnings of workers rule.

Today Chinese workers can't afford to buy the necessities of life. Russian workers can't find them in the stores... and Polish workers in the Lenin Shipyard find their jobs on the chopping block. Less than a decade ago, the Polish workers, goaded by the gross economic mismanagement of the bureaucratic Stalinist rulers, under the leadership of Solidarność consolidated around an anti-socialist program in the interests of the Vatican, West German and Wall Street bankers, and the CIA. So today the hated Stalinist regime is now carrying out part of Solidarność' program—by laying off thousands in the shipyards at the behest of the bloodsucking International Monetary Fund. The situation cries out for an authentic communist opposition to recover the historically socialist traditions of the Polish proletariat.

It is the Trotskyists who stand with the Afghan defenders of Jalalabad against the murderous *mujahedin* backed by the U.S. and China; the Trotskyists who defend Polish strikers against their Solidarność leaders and Stalinist rulers in league with the IMF bankers; who call for communist unity of Chinese and Russian workers against imperialism, through proletarian political revolution from Beijing to Moscow and in the rest of the Soviet bloc.

Given China's economic backwardness, the Stalinist program of building "socialism in one country" is more obviously utopian than in the Soviet Union. The efforts of the nationalist bureaucracy in Beijing, from Mao to Deng, to rapidly transform China into a great world power have led to one dead end after another. Socialist construction in China is integrally linked to extending the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, especially Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. The road to the modernization of China can only be based on international socialist planning. No step can be taken on this road without breaking China from the imperialist warmongers in Washington.

Time magazine (29 May) commented with uncommon insight for a bourgeois journal:

> "Thus China's turmoil is not surprising in light of its inhabitants' mounting frustrations. Nonetheless, true revolutions, as opposed to coups or intermittent mass protests, are extremely rare and all but unheard of in situations in which the state wields so much force. Without a core of ideologically inspired revolutionaries, without its own Jacobins, Bolsheviks or even latter-day Long Marchers, China is unlikely to have a full-scale revolution."

As Leon Trotsky insisted half a century ago, "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership." For the struggles of the Chinese students and workers to avoid the trap of bureaucratic co-optation, or worse, serving to strengthen the forces of capitalist reaction, a Trotskyist party of the proletariat must be built in China, part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Roman Orozco

Noriega uses nationalist rhetoric against U.S. attacks to rally support among Panamanian minorities and poor.

> "General Noriega has closely identified himself with the poor and keeps their loyalty. His paramilitary Dignity Battalions, which apparently carried out the beating of opposition candidates last week, were recruited among the unemployed...."

Pockmarked Noriega, locally known as "pineapple face," is a prime example—and in a country where some one-third of the families were barely surviving before the crisis began, the patronage of Noriega's army is a powerful incentive. Furthermore, the *rabiblancos*' "bosses' strikes" have thrown the Panamanian workers out of work and closed the stores where they bought food; over the last year, soup kitchens have sprung up around the country.

Panama's minorities in particular know all too well that the U.S. is no friend of theirs. Not only were thousands of Caribbean black laborers imported to build the Canal, but they died from accidents and disease in proportions far above their numbers. "It was nothing less than slavery," said one retired black union leader, whose father died on the Canal (*New York Times*, 16 May). The Americans, these paragons of the "free world," also introduced and maintained strict racial segregation in the Canal Zone. Much of the Panamanian poor and middle class hates Noriega, but they have no use for the "opposition" either. A popular slogan at Panama's national university is "Neither the *rabiblancos* nor the dictatorship."

The aggressively white, technocratic opposition's protests during 1987-88 were mostly limited to honking from their comfortably air-conditioned cars and banging pots and pans from balconies. And often they didn't even go that far:

> "As General Noriega refused to fall before the protests his opponents had, by September last year [1987], lost their stomach for battle. A few hot-heads made tape recordings of honking horns and bashed pots and pans and played them at full volume out of street-facing stereo speakers.
>
> "But 'confrontation,' as they call it, was finally called off after word spread that the general had flown in 50 Aids victims from Miami especially to sodomise captured protesters."
>
> —London *Independent* (1 March 1988)

In the days following the elections, as Noriega failed to topple in the breeze from the waving handkerchiefs of the opposition and a May 17 "general strike" fizzled, they started to get "yuppie flu" from the tension, complaining of sniffles, sneezing, upset stomachs and bad dreams!

Moreover, as *New York Times* reporter Lindsey Gruson pointed out in response to charges by the U.S. ambassador that Noriega was trying to assassinate opposition vice presidential candidate Ford, while the government "routinely uses torture," human rights groups "note that unlike most countries in the region except Costa Rica, political killings in Panama are rare, and even opposition leaders said an attack of the kind portrayed by the Ambassador was uncharacteristic of General Noriega" (*New York Times*, 17 May). Compare this to the U.S.-initiated death squads in El Salvador, who have killed tens of thousands of workers and leftists, or the CIA's contra cutthroats in Nicaragua, who routinely murder peasants and attack government health clinics and schools!

While he is now spouting nationalist slogans, Noriega is certainly no defender of Panamanian independence. To the contrary, for years he was on the CIA's payroll as a prized "asset," becoming the second-highest-paid U.S. government employee after the president himself. The Company's ardor cooled, however, when Noriega, for reasons best known to himself, refused to go along with a December 1985 proposal by then-National Security Advisor Admiral Poindexter and Ollie North, of Contragate fame, to aid a planned invasion of Nicaragua. So the Reagan administration decided to pressure Noriega out with a Florida indictment on drug trafficking charges. (The same U.S. Attorney, Leon Kellner, who indicted Noriega also quashed the prosecution of Contragate drug-and-arms traffickers on then-Attorney General Ed Meese's orders.)

By screaming "Drugs!" Reagan and Bush hoped to get an easy score in Panama and make up for their frustrations in Nicaragua and the Contragate fiasco, all with the full backing of Congress. But Noriega didn't take the hint and stayed put, leaving the U.S. exposed as an imperialist colossus with feet of clay. Florida Democratic Senator Bob Graham ominously remarks:

> "If Noriega can get away with stealing this election from the Panamanian people, then a destructive precedent will have been set concerning Nicaragua's election, scheduled for next February. Thus, the future of Panama is directly linked with the future of democracy in this hemisphere."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times* (12 May)

Graham would like to send the Marines into Panama City, rip up the 1977 Canal treaties and then go on to Managua. But if Reagan couldn't pull it off with his loser contras, Bush isn't likely to either.

For a Socialist United States of Central and South America!

In the wake of the 1810-1820 Latin American revolts against Spain, many of them financed and armed by Great Britain, U.S. president James Monroe warned the British against empire-building in the Western Hemisphere. Ever since, while advocating an "open door" in the Far East and other colonial regions, the United States has tried to keep the door closed on European powers and, recently, Japan fooling around in its "own backyard." Add to this imperial arrogance Washington's Cold War crusade against Communism. So today, though the Canal's importance as a naval avenue is diminished since the U.S. Navy's biggest ships can't squeeze through it, Panama is a key financial and transportation crossroads of Latin America, and Washington and Wall Street will fight to hold on to their neocolony.

The left press has focused on Panamanian "national sovereignty" as codified in the treaties signed by President Carter and General Omar Torrijos in the late '70s. Thus the rad-lib *Guardian* (17 May) says that "defending Panama's sovereignty also involves organizing to demand that Bush honor the 1979 [sic] Panama Canal Treaty." The Communist Party, whose Panamanian comrades are part of the pro-Noriega coalition, frets that "the United States will use Noriega as an excuse to abrogate the Canal treaties" (*People's Daily World*, 11 May). Yet Panamanian "sovereignty" under Torrijos or Noriega is a fiction. This appeal to the Carter treaties legitimizes the presence of 17 military bases in the former Canal Zone and the U.S.' supposed "right" to intervene in Panama (under the so-called "DiConcini Condition").

The petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua stated that "if the United States intervenes militarily in Panama, we Nicaraguans will know how to act in accordance with our Latin Americanist spirit" (*New York Times*, 11 May). But in the face of Bush's waving the Big Stick over Noriega, Latin American rulers have crawled before Washington. The answer to the bribes, loans, threats and military intervention which have held Latin America in thrall, subjecting the millions to plunder and starvation at the hands of the imperialists and their local junior partners, is not nationalist rhetoric but internationalist class struggle, including in the heart of the colossus of the north. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, stated the case plainly over 50 years ago:

> "The American bourgeoisie, which was able during its historic rise to unite into one federation the northern half of the American continent, now uses all its power, which grew out of this, to disunite, weaken and enslave the southern half. South and Central America will be able to tear themselves out of backwardness and enslavement only by uniting all their states into one powerful federation. But it is not the belated South American bourgeoisie, a thoroughly venal agency of foreign imperialism, who will be called upon to solve this task, but the young South American proletariat, the chosen leader of the oppressed masses. The slogan in the struggle against violence and intrigues of world imperialism and against the bloody work of native comprador cliques is therefore: the *Soviet United States of South and Central America*."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "War and the Fourth International" (1934)■

AP

Oligarchy-led opposition known as "white tails" demonstrate May 17.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent in May 16 Times Square demonstration against U.S. imperialist intervention in Panama.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

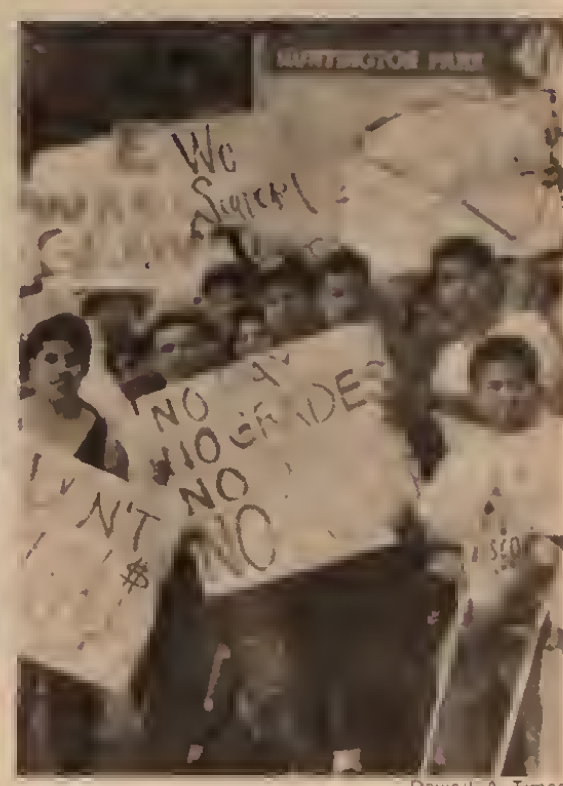
Students Join Teachers on the Line

Victory to L.A. Teachers Strike!

LOS ANGELES, May 22—Over 23,000 teachers here have struck the Los Angeles Unified School District for the first time in 19 years. Thousands of pickets, members of the United Teachers—Los Angeles (UTLA), rallied across the city and surrounded schools with picket lines on May 15. School board head Leonard Britton had dared the union to strike, in an attempt to break the back of a union protest. Since February teachers have been withholding grades in order to force the board to negotiate a contract after 15 months of bargaining. After a week the strike is solid, as UTLA holds out for its demands of a two-year, 21 percent wage increase and more power over curriculum, schedules, teaching methods and school budgets.

Many non-union substitute teachers have joined the lines and there has been a huge outpouring of student and community support for the strikers. On the second day of the strike, teachers rallied in Exposition Park and then marched to nearby Manual Arts High School, surrounding it with a picket line of 2,000 which swelled with students. The same day, 500 Franklin High School students staged a "jumpout" to join teachers' picket lines. Escaping the police and school administrators who had locked them in, students climbed over fences and tied up traffic in solidarity with UTLA.

WV Photo


Davis/L.A. Times

Teachers rally in Exposition Park on May 19 (left). Students have poured out of the schools to support the strike.

Workers and minorities in the scores of communities that make up the L.A. school district—the second largest in the nation, with 594,000 students and 32,000 teaching employees—recognize that a victory for UTLA is crucial for labor in low-wage, non-union Southern California, and particularly for the future of the heavily minority students. Local 13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

continued on page 11

Explosion on the Third Rail

NYC Transit

On the graveyard shift May 17 on the A line under Brooklyn, subway workers were removing a cracked rail with a pinch bar. The adjacent 600-volt "third rail" was left on while they did their job. Suddenly, the half-ton rail sprung loose, there was a huge explosion, and the 12 transit workers were engulfed in a fireball.

Track workers Norman Anthony, Tyronne Vaughn and Philip Boone were taken to the burn unit of New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center with second- and third-degree burns over large sections of their faces and bodies. Anthony and Vaughn remain in critical condition as we go to press.

This was no accident! *It was the result of deliberate NYC Transit Authority policy*. And it has happened before. The obsolete exposed "apron" that bridged two sections of the covered 600-volt third rail on the curve where the men were working was supposed to be removed, along with 355 others, after a similar accident severely burned track worker Charles Hart in June 1986. It was this "apron," covered only with the 1/4-inch rubber mat laid over it by the workers, that was contacted by the rail, producing the short circuit and resulting fireball. But anyone who gives a damn about workers' lives can see instantly that when work is being done inches from the third rail, *power must be shut off!*

WV Photo

Track gang in NYC subways. "Death on the tracks" is transit bosses' policy.

TA president David Gunn *now* says he's going to "err on the side of safety" and "put the burden of proof on justifying why [the power] should be turned on" when track is replaced. This cynical hedging from a union-buster who has helped turn the NYC transit system into a deathtrap is small consolation for the injured track workers and their families, who ought to sue the TA for millions!

When two signal workers were run over last March by a train that couldn't be stopped in time, the TA first checked the urine of the horrified motorman for drugs and alcohol, then decided to hang the dead men. But it was TA policy *not* to inform train operators that Stewart Melsinker and David Davis were on the tracks at Astor Place station. They died the victims of a decrepit system that substitutes workers' blood for capital investment.

NYC transit workers are members of the powerful Transport Workers Union Local 100. Militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU are fighting for elected union safety committees with the power to *shut down* unsafe and dangerous work on the spot (see "New York Transit: Death on the Tracks," *WV* 475, 14 April).

But the TWU bureaucrats who run the union (and who can't even pronounce the word "strike") look for every opportunity to cut a deal with management when workers' lives are at stake. Local 100 president Sonny Hall alibied the bosses when Melsinker and Davis were killed; then laid a wreath at Astor Place as part of a hollow AFL-CIO-sponsored "Worker's Memorial Day," whose slogan might as well have been "Mourn the Not Yet Dead." As the transit militants wrote:

> "Sonny Hall says: 'Do It and Grieve It Later.' That means 'Die First and Grieve It Later'.... The only way workers have ever won anything, including safety in the workplace, is by wielding their power in defiance of the bosses' laws.... We spend every day in the tunnels and barns and under the buses and cars and we know what works. Without us, the city doesn't move. You can bet if we ran transit, we'd make it run safe!" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 479 9 June 1989

For the Unity of China Under the Leadership of the Workers!

Beijing Massacre— Civil War Looms

AP

Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 4: slaughter of student rebels by pro-government troops.

Independent (London)

Enraged by the killing, the defiant populace torched armored military vehicles.

Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets Must Rule!

JUNE 6—Chinese Stalinism has provoked a political revolution that may well spell the doom of this bureaucratic, anti-worker regime. The massacre of students and other protesters by the despised Deng regime has brought China to the brink of civil war. The bloodletting, with victims numbering perhaps in the thousands, did not succeed in intimidating the populace. Defiant and heroic, the rebels marched out of Beijing's Tiananmen Square singing the socialist workers anthem, the *Internationale*. They fought tanks with rocks, iron pipes and firebombs. "This tremendous mass movement shows that the Chinese people still have the same old revolutionary spirit," an old Chinese Communist told American television with evident pride.

All over Beijing, roads are littered with burned-out buses and military vehicles. While the regime proclaimed the students "counterrevolutionaries," there are numerous reports of soldiers brought in to repress them breaking into tears when confronted with the masses' anger. Many of the troops abandoned their trucks and armored personnel carriers, some even burned them. There have already been clashes between army units which support the youthful protesters and those which support the decrepit Deng regime. A stream of Red Flag limousines removed leading party figures from Zhongnanhai compound, Beijing's Kremlin. Crowds applauded sympathetic troops as they moved into the city to liberate the seat of the Chinese state from the butchers of Tiananmen Square.

The earlier three-week standoff between student protesters and the regime had something of the character of political theater (including a statue of "the goddess of democracy") and pressure politics. But illusions in peaceful reform, in replacing hard-liners with soft-liners, were buried under the corpses in Tiananmen Square. "Our Government is already done with," declared a young worker as he stood, rock in hand, facing the soldiers that fateful bloody Sunday. But what government will replace the corrupt and murderous Stalinist clique? Only a government based on *workers', soldiers' and poor peasants'*

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World Bankers Bleed Poland

Solidarność/ Stalinist Pact Against the Workers

SEE PAGE THREE

The Fight for Communist Leadership

International Communist League Launched

SEE PAGE EIGHT

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Whose Ox Is Gored?

In this issue, we are pleased to initiate a new feature in WV, *a column by Mumia Abu-Jamal, which will appear periodically in this and other newspapers. Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on Death Row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order.*

A funny thing happened recently when a Southern State Representative introduced a bill to add a new aggravating circumstance to an existing death penalty statute.

The bill died in committee.

That *is* News.

When Gallup polls tell us, repeatedly, that nearly 70% of Americans polled support the death penalty, and a group of politicians refuse to enact a law broadening the scope of crimes punishable by death, something is, as they say, in the air.

That "something," by the way, smells pretty rotten.

Even on the heels of the recent *McCleskey* case, where the Supreme Court's majority acknowledged that racial discrimination ("discretion," in the Court's terms) was alive and well in America's capital punishment schemes, the decision by the Texas legislature to scuttle a bill seeking to broaden its death penalty, gives the clearest possible evidence that death is not a tool to deter crime, but a lever to liquidate the poor, the powerless.

The *Dallas Times Herald*, Feb. 21, 1989 edition, ran a piece, subheaded, "*Police... Oppose New Death Penalty.*"

The article detailed Houston's State Representative Ron Wilson's attempt to introduce a bill making it a capital offense for any peace officer, guard or jailor at a county or state facility to kill a person in custody.

Dallas police called it "unfair."

A top D.A. there opposed the bill, because it "would be like picking on" 'em.

One could probably search the 37 death penalty states in vain for a D.A. who publicly opposes a pro-death bill.

But, then, perhaps it's *this* bill.

A bill making it a capital crime to kill jail detainees would never see the light of day in, say, South Africa.

Did it fare any better in the "land of the free," and "home of the brave"?

Today, well over 1/2 a million people are in this nation's cages, with more Africans in U.S. jails, than Blacks in South African gaols.

Perhaps this bill may have saved the life of Loyal Garner, the young African father from Louisiana, beaten to death in the Sabine County Jail, in Dec. 1987, whose jailor-assailants were acquitted.

Perhaps such a bill may have saved the life of 27-yr.-old Arnaldo Ortega, a Puerto Rican pummeled to death in the bowels of Jersey's Hudson County Jail, in March 1989, by the infamously racist "Doom Squad."

Then, perhaps not.

History has taught us that it matters little what laws lie written in books, for a system permeated by racism is still a racist system, its declarations of due process and equality before the law, notwithstanding.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund's figures for October 1986 show a death row population in Texas of 218.

Of that number, well over 55%, some 122 people, were Black, Hispanic, or Native American. That number has, undoubtedly, risen in the past 3 years, dramatically.

The Lone Star State has decided that its civil servants, even those who kill persons in their custody, will never join that grim number.

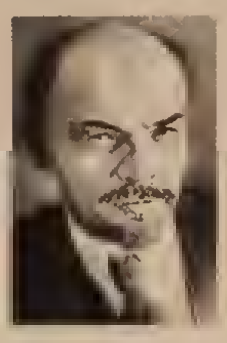
From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, M8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

TROTSKY

Smash NATO Anti-Soviet Alliance!

Forty years ago, at the onset of the Cold War, the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party exposed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an imperialist alliance directed against the fundamental gains of the Bolshevik Revolution.



LENIN

The real tip-off on this pact is contained in the speech of another visiting dignitary—Winston Churchill—delivered in Boston four days before the pact was signed.

As the climax to his ferocious war-incitation against the Soviet Union, Churchill voiced what is the deepest, if not openly avowed, feeling of all the capitalist rulers in the world. He said: "The failure to strangle bolshevism at its birth and to bring Russia, then prostrate, by one means or another, into the general democratic system lies heavy upon us today."

Thus, it is not merely the present Soviet Union under the police rule of Stalin that is the source of the war-like moves of the capitalist powers. Their mortal hostility flows from their hatred of the Russian Revolution itself, their fear of the Soviet Union as it was in the days of its birth under Lenin and Trotsky....

Indeed, if the imperialists failed to "strangle bolshevism" at its birth, it was not for lack of trying. This "prostrate Russia" of 1917 to 1921, as Churchill describes it, was assaulted by the armies of all the leading capitalist nations, including the United States and Great Britain. The upsurge of their own workers at home prevented at that time the imperialists from wiping out the young Soviet Union in blood.

Instead of being a pact against the alleged "aggression" of the present Stalin regime, the North Atlantic military alliance is in reality the latest and most ominous stage of the long years of planning and preparations to complete successfully the aggression originally launched against the Soviet Union more than three decades ago.

And today, as then, only one force can fail this aggression which is leading directly to a third world war of atomic destruction. That force is the working class of the world.

—*Militant*, 11 April 1949

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 479 **9 June 1989**

Final Appeal for Jalalabad Victims Aid Fund

Since early March, the Cold Warriors in Washington have unleashed the CIA's "holy warriors" in a bloody siege of the Afghan provincial capital of Jalalabad. Now that the heroic defenders of Jalalabad have beaten back the *mujahedin* siege, U.S. imperialism and its Pakistani client state have been thrown into turmoil. On May 25, Pakistan prime minister Benazir Bhutto fired Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, the head of Inter Service Intelligence, which for the past ten years has served as the CIA's regional quartermaster in doling out *billions* of dollars in high-tech weaponry to the fundamentalist cutthroats. Now Bhutto is coming to the U.S. to discuss a "political solution" with contra-in-chief George Bush. The Spartacus Youth Club at Harvard University has called a demonstration to protest Ms. Bhutto's appearance there on June 8.

In response to an appeal by the Afghan government for a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance, the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany undertook an international campaign under the slogan "No to the veil! Defend Afghan women! Support Jalalabad victims of CIA's cutthroats!" In immigrant communities, at factories, workplaces and union halls, among foreign students, people wishing to express their solidarity with the embattled working people and emancipated women of Afghanistan have donated generously to the campaign. Starting at the massive abortion rights march in Washington, April 9, at May Day events from Barcelona and Copenhagen to Mexico City and Tokyo, over $37,700 has been raised for the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund.

The siege of Jalalabad has been beaten back, and the international aid campaign has been highly successful. We urge our readers and all defenders of social progress and women's rights to make a final effort to give what they can to aid the civilian victims of the CIA's "freedom fighters." Please send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Sta., New York, NY 10013. ■

Friends of Afghanistan Society

Afghan women mobilize to fight against CIA's mujahedin cutthroats.

World Bankers Bleed Poland

Solidarność/Stalinist Pact Against the Workers

After a humiliating defeat in the June 4 elections, the Polish Stalinist regime has openly appealed for a coalition government with Solidarność. Recognizing Solidarność' "decisive majority" in this "plebiscite," a government spokesman declared: "As a result of this election there arises the issue of responsibility for the Polish state. Somebody has to be responsible for its stability." This is an open statement of political bankruptcy. And what they mean by ensuring "stability" is to clamp down on social struggle in order to pay off the staggering financial debt to the Western bankers. The clerical-nationalist Solidarność leaders have already joined hands with the ruling Polish United Workers Party. But as the consequences of this *pact against the workers* are being felt, Solidarność itself is beginning to unravel.

Throughout Poland strikers have begun shouting down Lech Walesa, now the country's leading strikebreaker. In Warsaw hundreds of women marched against a new law, pushed by the Catholic hierarchy, which would make abortion punishable by three years in prison. General Jaruzelski praises Adam Michnik, editor of the new pro-Solidarność daily paper, for denouncing the official Communist unions. And the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, where Solidarność originated in 1980, are now slated to be closed down. One section will be leased to an Anglo-Polish capitalist outfit, whose manager declared: "There will be no strike trouble in private yards. We will get the unions out of the yards."

The Polish political world has been turned upside down by the "Round Table" accords signed last March between the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy and the Solidarność "free trade union" bankrolled by the CIA. Eight years ago we branded Solidarność as a company union for the Western bankers. Lech Walesa & Co. hailed Ronald Reagan, sought to dismantle Poland's socialized economy and called for bringing in the IMF, the international bankers' cartel that orders starvation austerity to pay off the foreign debt. Now the Warsaw government has taken up big chunks of this program, in alliance with Solidarność, and Polish workers are paying the price.

The stated basis for the Round Table pact: to create the conditions for "normalizing financial relations with the West." This means shutting down dozens of enterprises, throwing hundreds of thousands of workers onto the streets, selling off state property to private entrepreneurs and foreign multinationals, and doing away with subsidies for food and other necessities. As one of the principal Solidarność negotiators at the Round Table, Bronislaw Geremek, put it, "Not only do we know that the material situation is bad now, but we know that it will certainly get worse" (*Washington Post*, 16 March).

In return for its part in making the material situation get worse, Solidarność was granted jerry-rigged "free elections" to a new, upper house of parliament and 35 percent of the seats in the old Sejm. Significantly, Solidarność' national campaign manager is a bona fide capitalist, Andrzej Machalowski, while in Warsaw the Industrial Association (a group of private entrepreneurs), as well as the church hierarchy, has a say in choosing Solidarność' candidates.

AP Photos

Walesa and Jaruzelski unite in imposing IMF-dictated "shock treatment" on Polish workers. Silesian copper miners (right) walk out in defiance of government/Solidarność pact.

In any case, *all* the candidates in this election stand for the International Monetary Fund's *diktat* over Poland. Stalinist managers and Solidarność spokesmen revel in "let them eat cake" rhetoric. Industry minister Mieczeslaw Wilczek, a former bureaucrat turned millionaire businessman, sounds like Margaret Thatcher as he condemns price subsidies for milk and medicine. Advertising for foreign investment, Wilczek gave an interview in the West German *Der Spiegel* (16 January) proclaiming "Labor in Poland Is Exceptionally Cheap"! And he wants to make it even cheaper, like in Taiwan or South Korea.

While Polish intellectuals and entrepreneurs are trying to launch their parliamentary careers, Polish workers are desperately fighting for their economic survival. The past few months have seen a rash of strikes in defiance of the Jaruzelski/Walesa pact. "The Round Table won't feed us," chanted striking women textile workers in Lodz. At Warsaw's huge Huta Warszawa steel mill, Walesa implored striking workers: "I beg you, let's put these things off for a moment." Early last month 20,000 copper miners walked off, and went back only after winning a 30 percent wage increase and higher bonuses (of course, these gains will be rapidly eroded by the near 100 percent a year inflation devastating the Polish economy).

The workers are beginning to recognize that Walesa & Co. are *traitors* to their class. Thus, last March striking postal workers formed their own, independent union and declared:

> "Solidarity does not identify with the interests of striking work forces. Driving at an accord with the government, Solidarity is losing the traits of a union and turning into a political movement interested in co-governing the country. "We do not want to be manipulated by the Communist Party and its agencies or be disciplined by Solidarity."
>
> —*Christian Science Monitor*, 20 March

What these postal workers call the Communist Party is in reality a collection of corrupt, venal and cynical bureaucrats who prostitute everything communism stands for.

The situation in Poland is crying out for a genuine communist (i.e., Bolshevik) party to raise the revolutionary program of canceling the debt to the bloodsuckers of Wall Street and the Frankfurt Börse; for restoring centralized economic planning under workers control, not bureaucratic fiat; for the strict separation of church and state; for free, legal abortion on demand; and for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the bankrupt Stalinists and establish a government based on the democratic rule of workers soviets.

In the absence of a real communist alternative, the volatile situation in Poland can certainly lead in the direction of counterrevolution. Ominously, the most vocal *political* opposition to

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Defend Abortion Rights Against Clerical Reaction!

Reuters

Protest in Warsaw against proposed law, pushed by Catholic church hierarchy, which would imprison women for having abortions.

Resurgent German Nationalism vs. U.S. Cold Warriors

AP/Wide World

Aviation Week & Space Technology

Bonn and Washington clash over "modernization" of short-range Lance missiles, designed to fight "limited" nuclear war in Germany.

AP

Behind the Rift in NATO

A British journalist asks Margaret Thatcher quite seriously if West Germany is going to stay in NATO. Leading Bonn politicians denounce the "Anglo-Saxon" powers. NATO war games are disrupted, not by anti-nuclear activists, but by ordinary German citizens. A public opinion poll shows over 70 percent of West Germans would like a foreign policy of "equidistance" between the United States and the Soviet Union. When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visits West Germany later this month, he is expected to receive a tumultuous welcome. And at the same time that neo-Nazi parties have made striking gains in recent local elections, there is much talk of a "red-green" coalition of the Social Democrats (SPD) and the eco-pacifist Greens taking over the West German government in 1990.

For decades the Federal Republic of Germany has been the linchpin of NATO and the stable core of the capitalist order in West Europe. But the 40th anniversary celebration of the anti-Soviet imperialist alliance in late May threatened to become a battle royal between its two most powerful members. On the eve of the NATO summit, West German president Richard von Weizsäcker gave a speech celebrating 40 years of the federal republic, assertively declaring West Germany is "not a plaything for others." At the Brussels summit, the differences between Washington and Bonn were papered over by an elaborate compromise on "modernizing" the short-range Lance nuclear missile. But already Chancellor Helmut Kohl is coming under fire in the Bundestag (West German parliament) for selling out.

The Lance is no "mini-nuke": it carries a warhead *six times* as powerful as the A-bomb which incinerated Hiroshima. Now the Pentagon wants to replace it with a pinpoint-accurate missile with a striking distance increased from 80 to 280 miles. This "upgraded" weapon is thus intended to replace the intermediate and "shorter"-range missiles which NATO supposedly agreed to eliminate in the 1987 INF treaty. Far from being a defensive, battlefield weapon, the "modernized" Lance could hit targets far behind Soviet and East German front line forces. For Cold War generals like former NATO commander Bernard Rogers and his successor John Galvin, this is supposed to be a "war fighting" weapon, a key to their first-strike strategy Airland Battle 2000.

Not surprisingly, Germans call the Lance and similar weapons "German-range" and "anti-German" missiles. The slogan, "The shorter the range, the more dead Germans"—coined a few years ago by Christian Democratic "defense" expert Volker Rühe—has gained near-universal acceptance in the federal republic. As Bonn foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted with ill-concealed bitterness, short-range missiles "do not have the range to reach the territory of most of our partners" (London *Independent*, 29 April). Thus the Bonn regime wants to postpone introducing the new and improved Lance pending negotiations with the ever-accommodating Gorbachev to reduce Soviet short-range missiles.

At Brussels Bush sought to sidestep the issue of short-range nukes with a "hold initiative" for massive conventional troop reductions...by the Warsaw Pact forces. He proposed cutting *ten* Russian troops for every American soldier. Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze called the proposal "a step in the right direction." Yet Soviet concessions have only emboldened the imperialists, and with economic collapse in Poland and growing nationalist conflicts in the Soviet Union, the vultures gathered in Brussels smelled blood.

Two days later Bush, accompanied by West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, went to Mainz to give a "roll back Communism" speech calling for tearing down the Berlin Wall and "self-determination for the whole of Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe" in a capitalist Europe where Bonn and Washington would be "partners in leadership." Fifty years ago this August, Stalin tried to buy peace with Hitler, to no avail. Because proletarian revolution failed to follow World War II in the West, the imperialists have used the last 40 years to prepare a new Operation Barbarossa. Whatever their rivalries, for them the Enemy Number One remains the land of the October Revolution.

Der Spiegel

West German chancellor Kohl (left) with Mikhail Gorbachev. Bonn's Ostpolitik aims to regain East Europe for German imperialism.

Washington-Bonn Axis Unraveling

We have often pointed out that support for disarmament and détente in West Germany does not simply express an understandable longing to prevent war. It also expresses resurgent German nationalism directed against both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. And nothing better unites Germans of all political persuasions than fear of a "limited" nuclear war, that is, limited to German territory. Despite this, until last month Kohl's Christian Democratic (CDU) regime was willing to go along with the Pentagon's plan for modernizing the Lance. But recent elections in West Berlin and Frankfurt were a disaster for the CDU and their coalition partner, the liberal Free Democrats. In both cities neo-Nazis gained sufficient votes (about 7 percent of the total) to give the SPD and Greens a majority.

The election results were not only a symptom of the growing nationalist mood, a repudiation of the NATO loyalism ("Atlanticism") of the Kohl regime. West Germany's vaunted *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle") has in the last period given way to high unemployment, higher consumer taxes and cutbacks in state medical benefits. Additionally, working people are afraid that the scheduled "full integration" of the Common Market in 1992 will lead to a *leveling down* of West German wages and social programs to some common (lower) European level.

These economic discontents and fears have bolstered the electoral prospects of the reformist SPD. But they have also been effectively exploited by the fascists to scapegoat immigrant workers (Turks, southern and eastern Europeans, North Africans) who do the low-paid, dirty jobs for German capitalism. Defense of immigrants' rights and the struggle for a shorter workweek to combat unemployment are key to smashing the renewed fascist threat in Germany. No less key is combatting the nationalist demagogy which now permeates West German political life from the

Christian Democrats through the Social Democrats and Greens to the so-called radical left.

Playing to the nationalist mood, Bonn politicians have struck a posture of defiance against the British and Americans. West Germany has also demonstrated its dominant role in continental West Europe by lining up the smaller NATO countries (Spain, Italy, Denmark) behind its position on the Lance dispute. "If anybody is isolated, it is the Anglo-Saxons," hoasts Theo Sommers, editor of the influential left-liberal *Die Zeit*.

Why all the *Sturm und Drang* over a squabble that could be easily resolved? After all, for the past 20 years Bonn has generally favored a softer line than Washington in dealing with the Russians. In the early 1970s the Nixon gang feared that the *Ostpolitik* of Social Democrat Willy Brandt was a step toward cutting a separate deal with Moscow. Henry Kissinger wrote in his memoirs: "From Bismarck to Rapallo it was the essence of Germany's nationalist foreign policy to maneuver freely between East and West" (*White House Years* [1979]).

But now the entire West German ruling class seems to be moving in this direction. Much of the heat coming from Washington and London is because they feel betrayed by Kohl, whom they regarded as a staunch NATO loyalist—their man in Bonn. The snotty Tory London *Economist* calls the West German chancellor "jellied Kohl," referring to his spinelessness. Certainly, no one could ever accuse Helmut Kohl of having political backbone. But in his own oafish and wishy-washy way Kohl represents the interests of *German* imperialism, which are increasingly divergent from those of American imperialism.

Herein lies the significance of the Greens. This is not just a collection of ecology activists, no-nuke pacifists and lifestyle radicals. The Greens are a party of German yuppies, the vanguard of renewed nationalism among the younger generation of the country's educated elite. Even in calling for West Germany out of NATO, the Greens were expressing nationalistic as much as pacifist sentiments. And now the younger elements of the ruling Christian Democrats, that is, the children of the German bourgeoisie, are beginning to speak the same language as the Greens. One such CDU activist told the *Wall Street Journal* (13 March): "We aren't anti-American, but we are less likely to give trust automatically to the Americans the way our parents have. We must become more sovereign."

It takes two to make a fight. The Bush administration has treated the West German government like an exasperated parent cracking down on a rebellious teenager. However, after vowing not to "back down" over the Lance affair, Bush has come under fire from influential sections of the American ruling class for needlessly driving a wedge between the U.S. and its most important European ally, and for failing to exploit Gorbachev's conciliationism. Senate Armed Services Committee head Sam Nunn, Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Admiral William Crowe, former CIA head William Colby favor at least making a show of negotiating with the Russians. And Paul Nitze, one of the original architects of the Cold War, called Bush's position "crazy" from the standpoint of most Europeans.

Drang nach Osten, Once Again?

One of the most cogent arguments for Washington to backpedal on the Lance dispute came from rabid right-winger Pat Buchanan: "NATO's crisis is not a crisis of military preparedness: it is a *political* crisis which will become a disaster if we force down Germany's throat an atomic weapon which is, after all, designed for Germany's defense" (*Boston Herald*, 22 February). Buchanan, who is notorious for defending Nazi war criminals, would be happy to see a powerful reunified German imperialism. But most of the American ruling class, not to speak of the French and British, do not share Buchanan's "*Deutschland über alles*" sentiments.

Quite the contrary. *Newsweek* (15 May) understated the obvious: "The thought of a united Germany once again dominating Central Europe is frightening to Western neighbors and Russia alike." The French writer François Mauriac, a liberal Catholic, once quipped he loved Germany so much he was happy there were two of them. Of course, the American, British and French ruling classes would prefer two, three, many *capitalist* Germanies. But this is hard to arrange in the real world ...and getting harder. As former CIA director Richard Helms put it:

> "The splitting of the country after World War II means that the reunification of Germany is, for Germans, The Big Thing. Underneath everything else is the steady current: How are we going to reunite the country? *Glasnost* and *perestroika* have touched that chord, and you now have a great deal of discussion of the issue. It's going to be absolute murder for NATO and for us and for everyone else."
>
> —*Washington Post* (7 May)

Der Spiegel

Ominous rise of German nationalism: the fascist Republikaner Party in recent election rally.

Der Spiegel

Foreign workers, leftists march against fascist Republikaner threat in West Berlin.

Polls in West Germany show overwhelming approval—in some cases over 80 percent—for Mikhail Gorbachev. At the same time, a poll by the respected liberal *Der Spiegel* indicated that Adolf Hitler's standing has improved among today's West German public: 25 percent viewed the Führer of the Third Reich positively or neutrally. This is not at all an inexplicable contradiction. The German ruling class sees Gorbachev's "new thinking" leading to the *breakup* of the Soviet bloc, thus *reversing* Germany's defeat in World War II. When bourgeois and Social Democratic politicians talk in the Bundestag of an end to the Cold War, of the "de-ideologizing" of East-West relations, they mean the time has come for a reunified Germany to reassert its dominance in Central and East Europe.

In his widely publicized speech on the rift in NATO, Foreign Minister Genscher strongly reaffirmed West Germany's claims east of the Elbe: "The members of the Federal government have sworn on oath to dedicate their efforts to the well-being of the German people. The obligation deriving from that oath does not stop at the border cutting through Germany." He went on to speak of Germany's "special responsibility" toward Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest of East Europe. In less highfalutin language a senior Bonn official stated that East Europe "is our historic sphere of influence."

West German capital is preparing for a new *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the east) through the massive economic penetration of the bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. Its trade with and investment in East Europe are greater than all of the other Western imperialist powers combined. For example, over 200 West German firms now operate in Hungary compared to less than 20 U.S. multinationals. Nonetheless, American imperialism, too, believes the time is ripe (or rapidly ripening) for the reconquest of East Europe for "free world" capitalism. The rival Cold War ideologues Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski have both publicized their grand strategies for breaking up the Soviet bloc. The current division in NATO thus *anticipates* the division of East Europe between German and American imperialism.

But there's an old Russian saying about trying to divide up the skin of a live bear. The Soviet workers state—born of the Bolshevik Revolution—remains powerful despite decades of Stalinist degeneration, and Gorbachev's surrendering one position after another in the Cold War. Capitalist restoration in East Europe cannot be achieved through "peaceful" economic means. The ground is now being laid for a bloody civil war and Western imperialist military intervention. The "peace" politics of Genscher, the Social Democrats and the Greens are in reality leading toward war and counterrevolution in Central and East Europe.

When Reagan visited Europe in 1982, he was greeted by large-scale protests, especially in West Germany, against American militarism and warmongering. In a leaflet entitled "The Main Enemy Is At Home!" (*WV* No. 307, 11 June 1982), the international Spartacist tendency stated:

> "Today, as in the 1920s, Germany is the key to Europe. The division of Germany into two states of counterposed class character symbolizes the inextricably linked tasks facing the European proletariat.... For revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution in East Europe!... "Only the workers of the world, who in Marx's words 'have no country,' can establish an equitable and harmonious international division of labor based on socialization of the means of production. The alternatives are nuclear barbarism or revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a *socialist* united states of Europe."■

West Germany has the highest concentration in Europe of NATO nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union.

China...

(continued from page 1)

soviets—as in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution—can save China from descending into anarchy, warlordism and bloody capitalist counterrevolution. *For the unity of China under the workers' leadership!*

While pro-regime military forces still occupy the center of Beijing, the rest of the city is in the hands of insurgent workers and students: "everywhere in Beijing people reacted to the killings by torching vehicles and creating blockades. The troops only controlled a few major thoroughfares, and elsewhere citizens continued to control the streets" (*New York Times*, 5 June). In the great industrial metropolis of Shanghai, student activists and militant workers have set up barricades using buses, trucks and cars. And a de facto general strike has brought economic activity to a standstill. In the central industrial city of Wuhan workers and students occupy a strategic bridge over the Yangtze River, a crucial transport link between northern and southern China.

The crowds kept chanting, "The People's Liberation Army must not fire on the people," and many of the soldiers believe it. The PLA is now *politically split*. The massacre was carried out by one particular military unit, the 27th Army, which was recently transferred from Inner Mongolia to the capital. The 27th has long historic ties to the Deng clique. Its commander is a relative of Chinese president Yang Shangkun, Deng's deputy and a prime mover in the suppression of the students' protests. Significantly, after the bloodbath the 27th Army has acted not as a conquering army but a *besieged* force. CBS News (5 June) reported:

> "The tanks are ranged in a particular formation pointing in all directions. Down below them on the highway, below the overpass, are many trucks full of troops. Now, this is clearly a defensive formation that is set up not expecting attack from unarmed civilians, but from other military units."

The main unit moving up against them is the 38th Army. This is the regular Beijing garrison force and has many ties to the civilian population, especially the students. Beijing University students in the army reserve reportedly spend their summers training with the 38th. It was the 38th Army which for two and a half weeks refused to enforce the martial law ordered by Deng and his hardline premier Li Peng. And now many soldiers of the 38th quite likely have relatives killed in the butchery of June 4.

As China moves rapidly toward civil war, the government has gone into hiding. None of the top leaders have been seen in the past few days. Rumors abound that Deng is dead or dying of cancer, that Li Peng was shot and wounded by a soldier whose relatives were killed in the massacre. The 5 June edition of the Communist Party newspaper *People's Daily* is nowhere to be found and may not have come out at all. An Asian diplomat in Beijing summed it up: "Nobody's in charge, as far as we can tell."

Chung/Asiaweek

Thousands of students massed in Tiananmen Square, singing the Internationale, demanding democratic rights and an end to bureaucratic corruption.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Conditions are exceptionally favorable for the working class to take charge in China. Industrial workers have enormous social weight in the main arenas of struggle, Beijing and Shanghai, as well as Wuhan and Canton. It was the hundreds of thousands of working people pouring into the streets who stymied the regime's attempt to impose martial law. Motorcycle squads of workers reported on troop placements around Beijing. And the mass of soldiers identify with the working people. They, too, are hard-hit by the raging inflation resulting from Deng's market-oriented policies. As a result of government cost-cutting measures, military units have even gone into business for themselves:

> "As a consequence, some units have used their trucks to start transportation companies, their repair depots to serve as commercial garages and their hospitals to admit private-paying patients.
>
> "Sometimes, ill soldiers have even been turned away to cater to patients who can pay.... This has created wide demoralization."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 June

In the countryside the poorer peasants resent their wealthy neighbors, the new class of Chinese kulaks spawned by Deng's "free market" economic reforms. And now, to cut down on inflation, the government is paying peasants for grain, pigs and other produce with worthless scrip rather than cash. While the students display more than a little petty-bourgeois elitism, the formation of workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' soviets would *polarize* the student movement, attracting those activists motivated by genuine social idealism.

There are, however, powerful forces in China which could lead to military bonapartism, warlordism and the disintegration of a unified state. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, rival militarists divided China into their own fiefdoms. In a certain sense the Mao-Stalinist regime perpetuated this pattern with different units in the PLA linked to rival factions and cliques. Furthermore, Deng's market-oriented economic policies have produced enormous regional as well as social inequalities. The provinces on the eastern seaboard have benefited from the concentration of industrial investment and foreign capital, while the peasant hinterland has fallen further and further behind.

Only the working class, under the leadership of a genuine communist vanguard party, can unify China through developing a just, egalitarian and prosperous society. The restoration of centralized economic planning, under a workers and peasants government, is necessary to begin to even out the now enormous regional differences. At the same time, a Chinese soviet government would scrupulously respect the national rights of the non-Han minorities, granting autonomy for Inner Mongolia, Tibet and the Turkic-speaking peoples of Sinkiang.

To secure the internal unity and prosperity of China requires a revolutionary *internationalist* perspective. Deng is now hated in China almost exclusively for his crimes against the Chinese people. But one of his greatest crimes was to ally China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, an alliance sealed in blood. It was right after Deng's triumphant tour of the U.S. in 1978 that he launched the Chinese army against heroic Vietnam. Beijing has for the past decade been a major arms supplier to the genocidal madman Pol Pot in Kampuchea and the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. Yet the "pro-democracy" movement has not denounced these crimes.

A truly communist China would help forge the unity of the world working class and oppressed toilers against imperialism. A first and elementary step is to generously aid the reconstruction of impoverished Vietnam, whose decades-long struggle inflicted the greatest-ever defeat on U.S. imperialism. And Chinese workers must link up with the powerful Soviet working class, whose resistance to Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika can open the road to proletarian political revolution in the USSR. A revolutionary internationalist government in Beijing would also be a tremendous impetus for socialist revolution in Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. To construct a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party in China it is necessary to break workers and radical students from liberal illusions and Stalinist-nationalist prejudices.

Neither "Pure Democracy" Nor Maoism—For Lenin's Communism

A few days before the massacre Deng's henchman Yang Shangkun declared: "If we fall from power, the Chinese People's Republic will collapse. Then there will be a restoration of capitalism" (London *Guardian*, 29 May). What hypocrisy! These are the men whose proclaimed policy is "building socialism with capitalist methods." These are the men who dismantled centralized planning and eliminated collectivized agriculture, smashing "the iron rice bowl" (guaranteed employment) for

Xinhua

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping with his top generals. Troops originally called out to enforce martial law balked at suppressing the mass protests.

Hires/Gamma-Liaison

workers and promoting a new class of rich peasants. These are the men who have set up "special economic zones" for Western and Japanese investors to exploit Chinese workers, who lack even minimal trade-union protection. These are the men who have brought prostitution and child labor back to China.

For years Western capitalists have held up Deng's China as a *model* of economic reform for a Communist country. Even after the massacre the London *Financial Times* (5 June) praised Deng's record "of economic reform and the open policy towards foreign capital." Likewise, the *Wall Street Journal* (5 June) wrote that Deng "moved the nation away from the Maoist era of bitter class struggle.... In its stead, China began trying Western-style economic incentives and the rule of law."

At the same time, the Western bourgeois media has lionized the student "pro-democracy" movement, trying to portray it as opposition to Communist rule. Certainly, the students have strong illusions in some kind of pure, classless democracy which many of them seem to identify with America. Thus they erected a large statue of the "goddess of democracy," modeled on the American Statue of Liberty, and provocatively placed it opposite the huge portrait of Mao Tse-tung hanging in Tiananmen Square. Some student activists appealed to the Bush White House to pressure the Deng regime to "democratize" China.

Since the massacre, many supporters of the "pro-democracy" movement abroad have campaigned for the U.S. and other imperialist powers to launch a diplomatic and economic war against China. A group of Chinese exchange students in the U.S. wrote an open letter to Bush saying that the Chinese Communist Party had turned into an "evil fascist dictatorship" (*New York Times*, 5 June). One member of this group even stated that "Chiang Kai-shek wasn't so bad." Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was a bloody military dictatorship which cruelly oppressed China's workers and peasants in the service of Wall Street. Thus the cult of "pure democracy" could develop into an ideological basis for capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist subjugation.

However, in the minds of Chinese students and even more so the workers, a desire for democracy coexists with intense patriotism toward the People's Republic of China. The naive belief that the People's Liberation Army would never fire on the people was itself testimony to the depth of support to the 1949 Revolution. For the first time in the 4,000-year history of the Chinese state, the working people of China did *not* view the army as an instrument of brutal oppression and exploitation.

Western journalists have found *no* protesters who denounced the 1949 Revolution, vilified Mao and praised Chiang Kai-shek. When some hooligans splattered paint on Mao's portrait in Tiananmen Square, there was universal outrage and everyone was convinced it was the work of provocateurs hired by Li Peng. Immediately a banner was placed next to the defaced picture, saying "This was not done by the students or the people."

More surprisingly and significantly, in protest marches a number of workers carried portraits of Mao, who was no sympathizer of democracy and freedom. But the founder of "People's China" was held up as a symbol of Spartan virtue and Communist ideals against the corrupt and cynical Deng clique. The London *Independent* (24 May) observed that "while few would relish any return to dogmatic Maoism, the past does offer an appealing if highly romanticised vision for many Chinese: prices were stable, crime was low and unemployment was unheard of."

While idealization of the Mao era by some young workers is certainly understandable, it indicates woeful ignorance of their own history. Mao's Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s was an insane economic adventure—backyard steel furnaces—and ended in total collapse and widespread starvation. The destructive frenzy of the Cultural Revolution—a decade-long, convulsive factional struggle within the bureaucracy—took many times more lives than the massacre in Tiananmen Square. When Deng ousted the Maoist "Gang of Four" in 1976, Chinese society, especially the intellectuals, welcomed him. Students affectionately greeted him, "Hello, Xiaoping," using his given name.

In both China and the West, Mao and Deng are viewed as polar political opposites. But they represent only *different wings* of Chinese Stalinism, two sides of the same coin, as it were. The crimes of both Mao and Deng have the same root cause: the *bureaucratically deformed* nature of the social revolution which triumphed in China in 1949. But those whose vision is limited to the blinkered outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy look at the present convulsion in China and see only a "counterrevolution." Thus Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party declares the students "an instrument for the bourgeois opposition." And they praise "the restraint shown by the leadership of the Communist Party of China," gushing: "Not one shot has been fired." Try again next week, Sam.

A Mondadori

Armed workers seized Shanghai in 1927. Stalin told revolutionary workers to give up their guns to Chiang Kai-shek, leading to bloody massacre.

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Demonstrators in Shanghai, May 19. Industrial proletariat of Shanghai is key to perspective of workers political revolution.

For a Trotskyist Party in China!

The imperialist bourgeoisies are salivating over recent developments in the Soviet bloc. Some, like the West Germans, are seeking to undermine the deformed and degenerated workers states economically. Others, like the Cold Warriors in Washington, seem to think East Europe is going to fall into their laps. President Bush declares in a press conference, "Communist bureaucrats beware in Poland." (About China, the Pentagon/CIA/White House bunch are more circumspect, fearing they could lose the "invaluable" listening posts on the Soviet border provided to them by Beijing.) The more rabid in this crew, like former Nixon staffer William Safire, proclaim that "Counterrevolution—civil war—is under way," from China to the Soviet Union and beyond (*New York Times*, 5 June).

Civil war is breaking out, but it's by no means all going toward counterrevolution. Washington got a big black eye when it tried to take Jalalabad after the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan. Then Bush declared war on the world's tinniest tinpot dictator, Panama's Noriega, and got nowhere. He's consistently been losing the "peace" war with Gorbachev, barely making it through the NATO summit without a split with the Germans, who would prefer the nuclear holocaust elsewhere. Bush's only known allies are Maggie Thatcher and the Mexican president (who's paying the price in the form of massive political repudiation and rumbling social discontent). And now he's had to cut off military supplies to his Chinese allies.

And while there are plenty of procapitalist elements in China, with close links to Chinese capital in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, the current protests are oriented not toward counterrevolution but in the *opposite* direction, feeding off discontent with the procapitalist economic policies of the Deng regime. They promised consumer goods and delivered... but only for the privileged petty-bourgeois layers. Having sown the wind, they're now reaping the whirlwind of political revolution. A Beijing Commune was taking shape in Tiananmen Square. And moreover—unlike East Berlin 1953, the 1956 Hungarian workers revolt or the 1968 Prague Spring—it is a political revolution without the presence of the Soviet army and the complicating factor of perceived national oppression.

The central weakness of the Hungarian uprising was the absence of a Leninist communist party to lead it. As we wrote in our article, "Political Revolution in Hungary—Ten Years After" (*Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966), "a revolutionary party in Hungary would not only have assumed the task of leading the Hungarian workers to state power, but, as a section of a disciplined *international* party, would have assisted in the vital work of preparing and leading insurrections in other European countries." And in another article in the same issue on Mao's "Cultural Revolution," we noted:

> "The destruction of Maoism in China, at the hands of the proletariat, will open the door to the victory of the exploited masses of Asia and it will accelerate the revolutionary struggle in Viet Nam, India and Japan. In turn, workers' governments in these countries, particularly in industrially advanced Japan, can help China to break out of its present viciously limiting circle of economic development."

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was based centrally on an urbanized, class-conscious industrial proletariat led by a communist vanguard party uniting advanced workers with Marxist intellectuals. The Chinese Revolution was based on a peasant (i.e., petty-bourgeois) army led by declassed intellectuals like Mao and Deng. From its inception the Maoist regime had a petty-bourgeois *bonapartist* character, trying to balance above all classes in Chinese society. Thus it requires another revolution for the working class to achieve *political power*. That revolution has now begun. ■

Henriette/AFP

Workers' motorcycle contingent enters Tiananmen Square. Growing involvement of workers in mass protests poses prospect of Beijing Commune.

International Communist League Launched

It is with pride tempered with a sober assessment of our responsibilities that the Spartacist League/U.S. announces our adherence to the newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), previously the international Spartacist tendency. The SL/U.S. is thus the disciplined U.S. section of the ICL. Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky, Lenin's companion in arms and founder of the Red Army, proclaimed the creation of a new International to carry forward the authentic Leninist program abandoned and besmirched by the Communist International under the sway of J.V. Stalin and his anti-revolutionary bureaucratic clique. The ICL today fights to reforge the Fourth International.

In the shadow of the approaching second imperialist world war, Trotsky observed with increasing urgency that the objective preconditions for world proletarian revolution were overripe, but what was lacking to uproot decadent capitalism on the world scale and establish a socialist world order was an authentic revolutionary leadership at the head of the proletariat. The spread of the barbarism of fascism and the oncoming world war were not the only deadly dangers confronting the workers of the world at that crucial moment; posed also was the question of the very survival of the Soviet Union and the remaining gains of October.

Today once again, those who struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation in what is unquestionably a period preparatory to war still confront that same excruciating crisis of leadership, but in a different situation. The contradictions of Soviet society and the problems of the Chinese revolutionary struggle, both brilliantly analyzed by Trotsky, have exploded with pent-up force. In the capitalist countries, the working class certainly lacks the level of socialist consciousness and organization it possessed in the 1920s and 1930s. The legacy of Stalin's reign of terror inside the Soviet Union, and of the repetitive betrayals of crucial revolutionary opportunities, has been the massacre of pro-Communist militants from China to Spain to Greece to Chile to Iran. Stalinism has created millions of anti-Communists and the general level of identification of human progress with the idea of communism stands at a relative low point. Yet as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact.

Le Bolchévik

Banner of newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) raised at annual Lutte Ouvrière fête, Paris, May 1989.

The Homeland of October Is in Grave Danger—All Power to Workers Soviets!

Under Gorbachev we have witnessed an attempt to "restructure" the Soviet economy in the direction of encouraging powerful forces toward capitalist restoration, combined with a "diplomacy" of apparently limitless appeasement of imperialism which is being paid for in blood in Afghanistan (although the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad has evidently been thrown back, much to the dismay of American policymakers and the Pakistani annexationists), and which has devastating implications as well for the working people from Nicaragua to Southern Africa to Indochina. Now within the USSR, national antagonisms—spurred by the recent "reforms" termed "market socialism" which encourage the richer republics to seek greater autonomy from their poorer neighbors, but also nourished by decades of the bureaucracy's Great Russian chauvinism—threaten to dismember the homeland of the October Revolution. The slogan of "free elections" and the agitation, for "national independence," particularly in the Baltic states, in this context can be nothing but a transparent cover for the program of capitalist restoration. Should nationalist unrest spread to the Ukraine, this would be extremely ominous. The anti-Semites of the Russian nativist "Pamyat" fascists have grown dangerously, protected by elements of the bureaucracy. Today, the continued existence of the bureaucratic caste, the heirs of Stalin, constitutes a more immediate and direct threat to the conquests of October than ever before: what is posed is nothing less than civil war. *Only* through the return to the working people of their state, through the rule of *soviets* (councils of workers and soldiers), can the egalitarian consciousness (the idea that nobody should live off the exploitation of the labor of others) which remains deeply ingrained in sections of the Soviet working masses be mobilized in decisive struggle to uphold the gains of October.

The effects of what is termed "market socialism" are clearly shown in Eastern Europe. In Poland, the Stalinist bureaucracy's gross economic mismanagement and heavy-handed repressiveness opened the road for workers' grievances to be channeled into a reactionary-clericalist company union on behalf of the "free trade union" CIA along with the Western bankers and the Vatican. Every leader of Solidarność is and has been since 1981 a traitor to the working class on behalf of NATO imperialism. Today the Polish regime and Solidarność are selling the country to the IMF and are prepared to allow the historic centers of the proletariat—the Lenin Shipyard workers, the miners of Upper Silesia—to be dismembered. The Stalinist schema of "national autarky" has come home to roost—Down with the Stalinist nationalists in Moscow and East Berlin who allow the imperialist world market to regulate the terms of trade between "fraternal socialist" trading partners: reforge the historic link between the German and Polish proletariats through proletarian political revolution!

In China, a fully fledged political revolution has begun. What began as a student upheaval around vague demands for greater democracy was embraced by the working people of Beijing who came out into the streets seeking by their massive numbers to block the unleashing of troops against the demonstrators. Some units fraternized with the crowds; other units were brought in to shoot down the people. Tremendous resentment has been building among the salaried people against the beneficiaries of "building socialism with capitalist methods"—a full-fledged NEP. The only progressive solution lies in the unity of China under workers' leadership. And this immediately poses pointblank the need for a revolutionary, a Leninist-Trotskyist, party.

Stalin and Mao and all the pygmy Stalins and Maos have done everything they could to make "communism" a code-word for murdering your own people and trying to get little concessions from imperialism by being its cat's paw, as the Chinese have been America's agent militarily against Vietnam. In part, illusions in "Western democracy" among the Chinese students stem from the misidentification of militant communism with Maoism—i.e., economic primitivism and "barracks socialism," the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, the student protesters are singing the *Internationale*.

Decadent Imperialism Has Been Given a Breathing Space

Today the capitalist world remains marked by the decomposition of the short-lived "American Century": having emerged as the dominant capitalist power after the devastation of Europe and Japan in World War II, Washington's "new world order" quickly unraveled, beginning with the Chinese Revolution and America's consequent embrace of its former enemy, Japan, as a bulwark against the spread of revolution in Asia, continuing with the Cuban Revolution and underlined by the dirty, losing war against the peasants and

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SPECIAL 16 PAGE ISSUE

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SPARTACIST

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

The struggle for the continuity of Lenin and Trotsky's communism: The Bulletin of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist); founding issues of American Trotskyists' Militant (1928) and Spartacist (1964).

workers of Vietnam. Now beset by sharp trade rivalry with Japan and the demands of resurgent German imperialism to assume its "rightful" place as the leader of capitalist Europe, American capitalism has become the world's biggest debtor nation; its essential industrial plant decays while its exports increasingly center on raw materials and agricultural products. At the same time this wounded capitalist colossus maintains its ambition to police the world from Latin America to the Persian Gulf, while possessing a nuclear arsenal which could destroy the world a hundred times over.

The resurgent bourgeois anti-Sovietism of the 1980s, inaugurated by Jimmy Carter's hypocritical "human rights" crusade and escalated under the unashamed Cold Warriors of Reagan/Bush/Thatcher, highlighted the timidity and demoralization of the "left." Also standing out sharply are the criminal passivity of the trade-union "leaders" who, confronted by sharp attacks on the workers' living standards and working conditions, continue seeking to eschew the traditions of mass militant struggle which built the unions; the craven subservience of the "black elected officials" to the racist ruling-class establishment whose only program for jobless black youth, welfare mothers, the homeless amounts to genocide; and the bankruptcy of the "liberals" who have largely abandoned the pretense of concern for the workers and poor. Today the communists, whose aim is the proletarian conquest of state power and the reconstruction of society on a new basis, are at the same time the most consistent defenders of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the gains of bourgeois revolution: the right to bear arms; the separation of church and state—against the imposition of religious fundamentalism as a political program; against censorship, whether by "creationists" seeking to ban the teaching of evolution or "anti-pornography" feminists or the burning of Salman Rushdie's "blasphemous" novel; against the racist death penalty; for the liberation of women. In Britain, where the bourgeois revolution was early and uncompleted, we say: Down with the monarchy, the aristocracy, the established churches—For a voluntary association of workers republics in the British Isles! In Japan, where the bourgeois revolution came late and from the top down, we demand the abolition of the emperor system—For a Japanese workers republic!

Front page of Spartacist, 1966: From its inception our tendency has fought for authentic communism against the betrayals of Stalin and Mao and all the little Stalins and Maos.

Founding Conference of Spartacist League . . . Pages 10, 11

SPARTACIST

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"GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

MAOISM RUN AMOK

The Red Guards, bearers of Mao Tse-tung's thought, instruments of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have answered their critics: "Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful, their supernatural powers far-reaching and their magic omnipotent, for they possess Mao Tse-tung's great invincible thought. We wield our golden rods, display our supernatural powers and use our magic to turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, pulverize it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better! We must do this to the present revisionist middle school attached to the Tsinghua University, make rebellion in a big way, rebel to the end! We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and hewing out a proletarian new world!"

And *Peking Review* (9 Sept. 1966), the authoritative foreign-language political organ of the Chinese government, approves.

Bureaucratic Dangers

Such grotesqueries are symptoms of the dangers a bureaucracy, once its power is consolidated, poses to any workers state. When such a bureaucracy attempts

MAO's HEAD floats down the Yangtze while Stalin's has come to rest on a Budapest street.

"Not a single one of the tasks of the 'bourgeois' revolution can be solved in these backward countries under the leadership of the 'national' bourgeoisie, because the latter emerges at once with foreign support as a class alien or hostile to the people. Every stage in its develop-

War and Revolution

Lenin, in his work on imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay, showed that the system of class relations had now become (as Marx had analyzed) a barrier to the development of the productive forces, leading to interimperialist rivalry and war to redivide the world's spoils. The first imperialist world war brought unprecedented suffering and mass slaughter of the working people and revealed most of the Socialists of the Second International to be cowardly chauvinist tails on the imperialist ambitions of their "own" ruling classes. But defeat in war can be the mother of revolution, and Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who had built up a hard revolutionary party and broken sharply from the social-patriots, were able to transcend their own inadequate theoretical formulas (which had denied the possibility of proletarian revolution in backward Russia) and thereby to lead the small but militant Russian working class to the taking of state power, on the basis of an internationalist program. This historic conquest on behalf of the workers of the world led straight to the foundation of the Third (Communist) International, which was able to expose the "socialist" pretensions of the respectable reformist gentlemen of the Second International and win the allegiance of advanced workers and subjectively revolutionary militants on every continent.

But the international revolutionary wave which swept up the working masses from Germany to Bulgaria receded and was thrown back; the failure to extend the Russian Revolution, particularly the failure of revolution in Germany with its powerful working class, left the young Soviet workers state isolated. Trotsky summed up the causes and future implications of the playing out of that cycle of revolutionary struggle in his *Lessons of October*.

In the USSR, under conditions of extreme poverty and demoralization, with the working class decimated and exhausted by the Civil War, the way was open for a conservative bureaucracy to arise as a parasitic excrescence upon the working class. By 1924, this bureaucratic caste had acquired self-consciousness and a program: the self-contradictory dogma of "Socialism in One Country"—the antithesis of the Leninist outlook of internationalism which had animated the revolution. Predicated on the illusion that it was possible for an isolated Soviet workers state to survive and coexist with capitalist imperialism over an extended period, this program in Stalin's hands meant the destruction of the Communist International as an instrument of revolution and ultimately led straight to the murder of all the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. In place of soviet democracy was created a monstrous apparatus of bureaucratic control: first by the Stalinized party, then by the Stalin faction, and finally by Stalin backed up by a small handful of cronies, after the purge trials wiping out all the Bolshevik Old Guard.

Beginning with Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" and carried forward with new momentum under Gorbachev's *glasnost*, the heirs of Stalin in the Kremlin have been forced increasingly to acknowledge the crimes of Stalin: the brutality of forced collectivization, the deportations and executions of oppositionists, the purge of the Red Army on the eve of World War II. In part a reflection of the emergence of a new generation of Soviet leaders lacking personal responsibility for Stalin's dirty deeds, and of the growth of a new layer of Soviet academics and bureaucrats embarrassed by the transparent mendacity of official Soviet history, Gorbachev's *glasnost* is mainly a response to the intractable problems of the Soviet economy. The call for "openness" in political discussion is centrally intended as an adjunct to *perestroika*, or "restructuring" of the economy in line with market forces, and much of the debate has as its not-so-secret agenda the refurbishing of the reputation of Nikolai Bukharin and the economic program of the Right Opposition.

Yet the Gorbachevites have been unable to prevent the raising in the discussion of the archetypical "blank space" of Soviet history: the figure of Leon Trotsky. Even as Stalin's heirs seek to replace their discredited lies with new and different distortions, the question of Trotsky is potentially explosive, for—unlike Bukharin, Stalin's bloc partner until 1929—Trotsky led a fight against Stalin and the epigones, aimed at restoring the domestic and international policies pursued by Soviet Russia to a Leninist course. The policies which Trotsky fought for from 1923 until his murder by Stalin's assassin represented the Leninist alternative to Stalin, the "gravedigger of revolution." Today Trotsky's road is the only means for the survival of the Soviet Union.

Beginning in 1923, Trotsky and his supporters of the Left opposition sought to address the problems of the devastated Soviet economy through policies aimed at reconstituting an industrial proletariat and overcoming the divisions between city and countryside through a perspective of industrial growth. They predicted that Bukharin's program of "socialism at a snail's pace," implemented by Stalin, would enormously strengthen forces toward capitalist restoration, eventually compelling the ruling clique to adopt measures proposed by the Left. This is what happened, but instead of the Left's policy (voluntary collectivization with the incentive of mechanization of agriculture), Stalin's version was the now-infamous brutal forced collectivization.

It is unquestionable that, even under bureaucratic leadership, the Soviet planned economy made tremendous progress and a modern country was forged in formerly backward Russia. Nonetheless, even after 50 years Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the Soviet economy and society in his *Revolution Betrayed* (1937) remains the touchstone for understanding Russia today. Only the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian political revolution to reverse the political dispossession of the working class by the privileged bureaucratic

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ICL Launched...

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caste can unleash the creativity and productivity of the Soviet working people and regulate the problems (e.g., heavy industrial investment vs. consumer goods, egalitarianism vs. "material incentives," centralized planning vs. local control, and the problem of quality) which have bedeviled the Soviet economy recurringly and have re-emerged in sharpened form today.

Rejecting the suicidal dogma of "Socialism in One Country," the Left oppositionists in the 1920s struggled to reassert the perspective of international extension of the revolution as the only effective answer to the isolation and capitalist encirclement of the first workers state. Events in China, where Stalin's opportunistic subordination of the Communists to the treacherous bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek led to the beheading of a powerful revolutionary struggle, confirmed Trotsky's warnings. But while some of Trotsky's cothinkers believed this vindication would lead to gains for the Left, Trotsky observed that whereas a successful Chinese revolution would have increased the class consciousness and confidence of the Russian and international proletariat, the setback of revolutionary struggle would only strengthen Stalin's hold.

The International Left Opposition, constituted in 1930, after Trotsky had been exiled from the USSR, considered itself a forcibly externalized faction fighting to return the Third International to a revolutionary course. But when Hitler's Nazis were coming to power in Germany in 1933—based on the bourgeoisie's fear of revolution by the powerful, pro-socialist German working class—the Stalinists refused to fight. Nor did this disaster precipitate any fundamental struggle within the Communist Parties internationally. The Trotskyists declared that the Third International could not be reformed. Especially with the promulgation in 1935 of the "People's Front" policy—the systematic perspective of an alliance with the parties of so-called "democratic" imperialism—the conclusion was inescapable: there was no place for revolutionists in the Stalinist Communist Parties. In place of Lenin's revolutionary International had been consolidated a powerful anti-revolutionary apparatus as a new obstacle to revolution, more disciplined and effective than the old social democracy. The false identification of Stalinism with Bolshevism provided Stalin with dedicated political agents throughout the world; only Stalin and perhaps a half-dozen cronies (who these were changed over time) knew what it was all about. Millions who loyally carried out his dictates, up to and including the murder of Trotskyists, believed all the while that they were fighting for socialism.

In 1933, the Trotskyists constituted themselves as the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninist) in recognition of the imperative need for an authentically communist new International, the Fourth International. Trotsky rightly foresaw that the menace of German fascism would lead in a straight line to war against the Soviet Union. As the interimperialist rivalries and alignments of the upcoming war took shape, the Trotskyists struggled against time to break the Stalinists' hold over the advanced workers. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 on the basis of the document, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (the "Transitional Program"), and the perspective put forward in "War and the Fourth International" (1934) of uncompromising revolutionary defeatism toward all imperialist combatants, including those aligned with the USSR, combined with revolutionary defensism of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The launching of the Fourth International was opposed by some, like Isaac Deutscher, who argued it was premature. Trotsky insisted that, on the contrary, the second imperialist world war would, like the first, provoke social convulsion throughout the capitalist world and a new wave of international revolutionary struggles. And he predicted that the brittle system of Stalinist rule in the USSR, which had arisen as an accommodation to the breathing space for the imperialist world order secured by the failure of the post-WW I revolutionary wave, would itself crack under the impact of the new world war or soon thereafter.

The validity of Trotsky's predictions was in fact confirmed by the Red Army's initial collapse in the face of Hitler's invasion, as well as by the turbulent social conditions in Western Europe at the war's end. In Italy and Greece, naked treachery by the Stalinists was needed to militarily and politically disarm the leftist Resistance forces and hand power back to the capitalist class (however, Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia refused to commit suicide—they led a peasant-based indigenous revolution to victory and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state). In France the Stalinists endorsed "national reconstruction" to re-establish a stable bourgeois regime. Trotsky's insistence on the need for revolutionary leadership was tragically confirmed by the results of its absence: the Stalinists, who emerged stronger than before in Italy and France based on their resistance to the Nazis, were successful in deflecting revolutionary struggle.

Central to that outcome was Stalin's success in putting over the lie that World War II in the Allied imperialist nations was a struggle of liberation—that it was a great battle against fascism and for a better world. In the context of the mass popular revulsion against fascism, Stalin's policy of the Popular Front—the alliance with "democratic" imperialism—prevented the growth of mass antiwar sentiment paralleling the massive radicalization of World War I. The lie was successful; a war fought so that U.S. imperialism could emerge as the predominant imperialist power, the capitalist "world policeman" which rained death down on Vietnam for two decades after Dien Bien Phu, was popularly accepted as a war of the people against fascism.

Nonetheless the victory of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc was conditional. It was the Red Army which had smashed Hitler's Wehrmacht; moreover, Hitler's East European puppets had all made a mad dash for the nearest American headquarters, leaving behind a power vacuum which the occupying Soviet army quickly filled. The victorious imperialists had to divide Europe with Stalin.

The war devastated the small forces of the Fourth International—having geared up for battle against fascism and war, they were in effect militarily defeated. The physical obliteration of the Left Opposition in the USSR was completed by the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Large numbers of Trotskyist cadre in Europe and Asia were wiped out by war and repression. The decimation of the most promising young Trotskyist leaders was a factor in the emergence of a revisionist current within the FI in the early 1950s. So was the passivity of the American Socialist Workers Party, a relatively strong party nourished by close collaboration with Trotsky, and located in a country insulated from the real carnage of the world war.

The revisionist current, led by the impressionist Michel Pablo, abandoned the perspective of workers revolutions in order to become for a time entrists into and political tails of the CPs. Worshipping the accomplished fact of Stalinism's continued existence, they had decided it would endure perhaps for "centuries" and they therefore decided that a "new world reality" would compel it to play a "roughly revolutionary" role, obviating the need for Trotskyist parties. Within a couple of years, Russian tanks were crushing the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Today it is very clear that the CPs play no such revolutionary role in the world, while the bureaucratic caste of Stalin and his heirs has brought the Soviet Union itself to the threat of civil war, and a political revolution has begun in China. Trotsky's expectation of a terminal crisis of Stalinism is as alive as today's headlines.

Today the representatives of the revisionist current—having passed through a period of vicarious guerrillaist/pro-Stalinist enthusiasm which included hailing the massacre of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, then having gone for "Eurocommunism" and Soviet dissidents, and in a big way for the Solidarność devotees of Marshal Pilsudski (the bonapartist founder of modern capitalist Poland)—are in a position to do some harm as vociferous apologists of those demanding "national liberation" for the Baltic republics. In their mouth, "Trotskyism" is made out to be some kind of latter-day left social democracy.

The bourgeoisie is celebrating in anticipation of the "end of Communism." The Stalinist bureaucracies have indeed reached the point of terminal crisis. But their crisis is because they are opposed to everything communism stands for. The national antagonisms in the Soviet Union, the revolt in China, arise in response to "market socialist" policies that are counterposed to centralized socialist planning. The bureaucratic stranglehold over political and cultural life, the appeasement that has emboldened imperialism—these are not communism, but its antithesis.

Novosti

AP

Leon Trotsky (above), co-leader of October Revolution, founder of the Red Army, fighter against Stalinist usurpation of the revolution.

An International Program Mandates International Organization

"By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historical tasks. Opportunists find international control intolerable and they reduce their international ties as much as possible to harmless formalities...on the proviso that each group does not hinder the others from conducting an opportunist policy to its own national taste.... International unity is not a decorative facade for us, but the very axis of our theoretical views and our policy." (Leon Trotsky, "Defense of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition," 7 September 1929).

From the time of our tendency's inception as a left opposition within the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1960s, we have recognized that national isolation must in short order destroy any subjectively revolutionary formation, not least one subjected to the pressures of operating in the heartland of world imperialism, the United States. We stand proudly on our record of 25 years of struggle for authentic Trotskyism and are working on documenting it archivally and historically. In January 1974 an interim Conference centered on European work and perspectives, with participation of comrades from seven countries, was held in Germany. The document which formed the programmatic basis for the Conference accepted the "responsibility to struggle actively for the constitution as soon as possible of a democratic-centralist international Spartacist tendency."

In July 1974 the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" announced the constitution of a nucleus for the early crystallization of the international Spartacist tendency, to be governed under the principle of international democratic centralism. The document sharply attacked the federalist practices of competitors claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, noting that Pablo's political heirs of the "United Secretariat" and the Healyite "International Committee" "have chronically mocked the principles of internationalism and of Bolshevik democratic centralism as their different national groups or nationally-based factions have gone their own way—ultimately in response to the pressures of their own ruling classes."

In particular the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" noted the revisionists' invocation of the U.S. government's Voorhis Act as a convenient excuse for anti-internationalism. The Voorhis Act, passed in 1940, sought to massively inhibit international political affiliation

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Poland...

(continued from page 3)

the Jaruzelski/Walesa deal comes from the rabidly anti-Communist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), which claims the mantle of Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland. Students inspired by the KPN carried the slogan "Bolsheviks to the Morgue" as they demonstrated in Krakow last month. KPN führer Leszek Moczulski, who declares "We will fight Communism, we will fight the Soviet Union," boasts that recently the flow of Solidarność activists into his organization has been "massive."

To combat Pilsudskiite nationalism, the Polish working class must return to the internationalist tradition represented by Rosa Luxemburg, Poland's greatest revolutionary socialist. Luxemburg greeted the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution as the only way forward for the workers of Poland and throughout the world:

> "...the Bolshevik tendency performs the historic service of having proclaimed from the very beginning, and having followed with iron consistency, those tactics which alone could save democracy and drive the revolution ahead. All power exclusively in the hands of the worker and peasant masses, in the hands of the soviets—this was indeed the only way out of the difficulty into which the revolution had gotten; this was the sword stroke with which they cut the Gordian knot, freed the revolution from a narrow blind alley and opened up for it an untrammeled path into the free and open fields."
>
> —*The Russian Revolution* (1918)

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Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's"—Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa of the early Polish Communist Party.

The Road to the Round Table

However, due to the absence of Bolshevik-type parties elsewhere, the political turmoil unleashed by the first imperialist world war failed to produce victorious workers revolutions outside Russia. The isolation of Soviet Russia grew with the defeat of the Red Army before Warsaw in 1921 by Marshal Pilsudski's forces, heavily aided by French imperialism. And it was sealed with the defeat of the German October two years later. Isolated and surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, the Soviet Union underwent a *bureaucratic degeneration* personified by the rise to power of Josef Stalin. Thus the Soviet Army which in 1945 liberated Poland from the nightmare of the Nazi occupation was no longer the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky. As a defensive response to Western imperialism, with the onset of the Cold War the Stalinists expropriated the Polish bourgeoisie and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

In 1956 and again in 1971, Stalinist rule in Poland was shaken by workers' uprisings. Seeking to buy off the combative Polish proletariat, during the 1970s the "liberal" Gierek regime promised an "economic miracle" while mortgaging Poland to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. When the regime imposed a moderate austerity program to repay its foreign debt in the summer of 1980, a massive strike wave swept Poland, giving rise to Solidarność. Although Solidarność drew on workers' legitimate grievances against the bureaucracy, its leaders from the beginning looked to reactionary Pope John Paul Wojtyla's Vatican.

At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated around an anti-Communist program couched in the language of "free world" imperialism—"free elections" in Poland, "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc. While almost all so-called leftists in the West joined with Reagan and Thatcher in chanting "Solidarity with Solidarność," the international Spartacist tendency raised the alarm: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

As Poland stood on the brink of civil war in December 1981, the military, under General Jaruzelski, launched an effective coup checking Solidarność' bid for power. The near-bloodless suppression of Solidarność indicated a certain popular disillusionment with Walesa & Co. Noting the Polish Stalinists "were forced to take measures defending historic gains of the proletariat," we insisted that only a communist opposition could defeat Solidarność politically—repression could only arrest the situation, not address its causes.

During the next few years the underground Solidarność leadership campaigned for imperialist economic warfare against Poland and openly came out for the restoration of capitalism. A 1985 program demanded a "free market" solution to the economic crisis complete with a Warsaw stock market (see "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986). We documented how this "trade union" was liberally supplied with American dollars channeled through the AFL-CIO ("Solidarność' Dirty Dollars," *WV* No. 458, 29 July 1988).

At the same time, Poland's socialized economy was being crushed and disintegrated under the weight of its Western debt, which has climbed from $27 billion in 1981 to $38 billion today. Desperate to secure hard currency by any means, the Jaruzelski regime has encouraged hundreds of thousands of Polish workers and intellectuals to work in West Europe or Third World countries. Permanent and accelerating inflation has so undermined the value of the zloty that the American dollar is increasingly the medium of exchange in the Polish People's Republic.

The 1986 Polish economic "reforms," inspired by Gorbachev's perestroika, have accelerated the privatization of the economy, spawning a new class of millionaire businessmen. Many of these private entrepreneurs, like industry minister Wilczek, are drawn from the ranks of the bureaucracy. Many more bureaucrats function as silent partners in Poland's capitalist outfits and joint ventures with foreign multinationals. Meanwhile, the IMF was demanding that Poland subject its economy to a Latin American-style "shock treatment"—wholesale bankruptcies and massive unemployment, starvation and homelessness.

But Jaruzelski & Co. understood that this would encounter desperate working-class resistance. In explaining the background of the Round Table accords, the well-informed British journalist Timothy Garton Ash noted, the "interior minister presumably drew on police intelligence reports about rising popular discontent and the danger of an explosion" (*New York Review of Books*, 15 June). It was Poland's top cop, interior minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak, who was the main architect of the deal with Solidarność. Caught between the ruthless demands of their imperialist creditors and the threat of explosive resistance by a hostile and desperate population, the top echelons of the Stalinist bureaucracy are trying to abdicate. Hence the call on Solidarność to take "co-responsibility" for the state.

The Jaruzelski/Walesa accords have not brought political stability to Poland. Quite the contrary. They have further fractured the Stalinist bureaucracy while discrediting Solidarność in the eyes of many workers. In fact, the official trade unions, led by old-time Stalinist hacks, have actually gained some credibility by demagogically denouncing Solidarność for selling out to the government! The *Washington Post* (7 April) projected that Solidarność "may find itself politically squeezed between its perceived alignment with a relatively sluggish economic reform program pursued by the party leadership under Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and the populist appeals to frustrated workers by the hard-line communist unions."

WV Photo

As Solidarność geared up in fall 1981 for attempt to grab power, Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrated: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

Defend Abortion Rights in Poland!

While Solidarność is being discredited by its support for the IMF-dictated economic "shock treatment," the authority of the Catholic church has been weakened by its campaign to imprison women who have abortions. Last February Catholic deputies in the Sejm introduced legislation (drawn up by lawyers appointed by the National Bishops Conference) to repeal the 1956 laws which permit abortion in case of medical or economic hardship. The relatively liberal abortion laws are one of the remaining gains of the "de-Stalinization" period. Today, the Catholic hierarchy is demanding a total ban and a three-year prison term for women convicted of having an abortion and up to five years in prison for doctors who perform the operation.

As one pro-abortion activist observed, such a cruel measure is *worse* than the laws which existed under the fascistic "regime of the colonels" in the late 1930s. It would also swell the prisons to the bursting point, since estimates of the annual number of abortions range from 400,000 to more than one million. Abortion, which costs the equivalent of $10, is the main means of birth control in a country where, thanks to the church, contraceptives are almost non-existent. Furthermore, the severe housing shortage makes it very hard for young couples to raise several children even if they want to.

The church hierarchy's assault on abortion has further discredited and to some degree split Solidarność. Walesa didn't hesitate in branding abortion "murder." But his social-democratic sidekick Jacek Kuron squirmed under questioning, declaring "I am for the protection of life," but adding that he opposed imprisoning women for abortion. The issue has unleashed a storm of popular anger against the church previously unthinkable in Poland. Reporting on a pro-abortion march last month, the London *Financial Times* (11 May) noted that "for the first time in many years, Warsaw heard anti-clerical slogans chanted in good faith, as the march went past the residence of Cardinal Josef Glemp, leader of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland."

One group of protesters, described by the West Berlin *Tageszeitung* as "non-party communists," marched under the slogan "Stop clericalism." Even some women Solidarność supporters participated, criticizing Walesa & Co. for being "too much in the hands of the Church." Many Solidarność activists are critical of Glemp and the bishops for weakening their electoral support. The strong backlash over abortion has put the Catholic hierarchy on the defensive. At a recent news conference church spokesman Slawomir Siwek angrily railed at reporters:

> "Why is it that this issue has become the focus of this intense campaign against the church in Poland and even abroad. At times it seems that this question of abortion has become the sole issue in the first weeks of the election campaign, and that the whole dispute between the government and opposition has been forgotten and everyone is focusing on the church."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 19 May

The latent anti-clericalism revealed in the present struggle for abortion rights indicates a vital basis for rebuilding a real communist party in Poland, especially among women workers and radical intellectuals. Such a communist party would demand that Polish women

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ICL Launched...

(continued from page 10)

through "registration" requirements intended to paralyze political organizations. Already in 1953, when the SWP was still adhering to "orthodox Trotskyism" but shrinking from waging an aggressive international fight against Pablo, they cited the Voorhis Act to justify their passivity in the international arena which had facilitated the rise of impatient young impressionists like Pablo: in his May 1953 speech, "Internationalism and the SWP," the party's leader, James P. Cannon, said that after 1940 "We no longer belonged to the Fourth International because the Voorhis law outlawed international connections. Our role, therefore, could only be advisory and consultative" (*Speeches to the Party*).

Our 1974 "Declaration" charged: "The 'Voorhis Act' with its patently unconstitutional and contradictory provisions has never been used by the government—only the revisionists." We cited the United Secretariat's evasion of our appeal against expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party: the USec's Pierre Frank replied to us on 28 May 1965: "...we call your attention first of all to the fact that the Fourth International has no organizational connection with the Socialist Workers party and consequently has no jurisdiction in a problem such as you raise."

Our 1974 "Declaration" also quoted, from a 1974 SWP internal bulletin, a particularly explicit SWP formula for nationally limited political responsibility:

> "The Socialist Workers Party proclaims its fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International but is prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating to it. All political activities of members of the SWP are decided upon by the democratically elected national leadership bodies of the SWP and by the local and branch units of the party.... There are no other bodies whose decisions are binding on the SWP or its members."

Our document cited as well the assertion of national autonomy by the sinister "International Committee" of Gerry Healy, whose American publicist, Tim Wohlforth, wrote in his 1972 pamphlet, "Revisionism in Crisis":

> "With the passing of the Voorhis Act in 1940 the SWP was barred from membership in the Fourth International by law. Ever since that time the SWP has not been able to be an affiliate of the Fourth International. So today its relationship to the United Secretariat is one of political solidarity just as the Workers' League stands in political solidarity with the International Committee."

And we quoted our response to Healy in 1966 when he sought to suppress an opponent's pamphlet by claiming it would render his U.S. supporters as well as ourselves vulnerable to the Voorhis Act:

> "The Voorhis Act is a *paper tiger*—never used against anyone and patently unconstitutional. For the Justice Department to start proceedings against a small group like ours...would make the government a laughing stock, and Healy knows this. He is aware that for years the SWP has hidden behind this very act to defend its own federalist idea of an International."

The first delegated international conference of the international Spartacist tendency was held in Britain in 1979. Over the following decade, the development of the sections, particularly in Europe, and their cohering of leaderships has become an increasingly important component in shaping the international tendency. Now looking back at the pressures to which a decade of Reaganite bourgeois reaction has subjected our American organization, we must believe that if our tendency had not achieved significant international extension, the SL/U.S. would have become an eccentric and disintegrating American sect.

Today, our small forces confront very high stakes. The achievements of the international Spartacist tendency, now the ICL, are modest: our militant labor/black mobilizations against fascist provocations in the United States—an expression of our consistent understanding that the fight against racial oppression is key to the American workers revolution—have been warmly greeted, as have other legal and social defense initiatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and cothinkers internationally; we have protested every move by U.S. imperialism against the Latin American masses, and raised funds for Nicaragua; among some layers of the Communist movement in West Europe we have become known as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union"; our forthright championing of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, under the slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples," was grudgingly admired by elements of the Western CPs which were seeking to resist the "Eurocommunist" drift toward greater social-democratic accommodation with one's "own" ruling class. Recently, our offer of an international brigade to fight the CIA's *mujahedin* "holy warriors" after Gorbachev's cowardly withdrawal and, when that offer was declined, our publicity and fund-raising campaign for the civilian victims of Jalalabad met with surprising support from women and from Muslim immigrants and other minorities in many countries, as well as among Stalinist milieus. Our defense of the program of "permanent revolution" for those vast areas of the world deformed by imperialist domination—i.e., that the proletariat, independent of the weak and cowardly bourgeoisie and counterposing a vision of social emancipation to the ideologies of nationalism (particularly the nationalism of the majority), must take power to achieve even those democratic tasks formerly associated with bourgeois revolutions—has won us a hearing among oppressed national minorities.

Revolutionary regroupments on the program of Leninist internationalism are the means to resolve the disproportion between our small forces and our task. The heirs of Stalin manifestly lack the capacity to defend the Soviet power, of which they have been simultaneously the parasitic defender and the counterrevolutionary disorganizer for 65 years. Yet to the same measure that they have brought "communism" into disrepute thanks to the crimes they have committed in its name, they have also reduced their ability to manipulate the allegiance of dedicated pro-Communist workers throughout the world. No longer can a Stalin and his half-dozen conscious accomplices wield "monolithic" parties as instruments of class-collaborationist treason in the name of "building socialism."

We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. We choose the communism that had Lenin as its greatest teacher in the imperialist epoch. We choose the communism of Lenin's comrade Trotsky, who beginning as early as 1923 understood the main lines of what needed to be done. We choose the communism that Stalin utterly betrayed as he deliberately destroyed the Third International. We choose the communism of a new Fourth International that will do away once and for all with the exploitation of man by man and establish a socialist society based on a new vision of the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life.

We must believe that, failing sudden working-class upsurge against the conditions of capitalist decay, the reforging of a communist Fourth International, built of authentic communist parties on every continent, will be arduous and often dangerous. But this is the only road forward for all of humanity. Yet as we seek to bring this program to bear among the world's workers and oppressed, we must recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational imperialist ruling class foreshortens the possibilities: we probably do not have much time.

But experience, not least bitter negative experience, can also be a powerful and accelerating teacher. We had better follow the precepts and practices of such comrades as Lenin and Trotsky. Thus we could cut short by months or years the time required for the necessary rearmament of the communist movement. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 11)

receive free abortion on demand and also free contraception on demand. Against Pope Wojtyla and the inheritors of the Inquisition, the watchword of the Polish proletariat must be: Separation of church and state!

For Trotskyism in Poland!

For years the Cold War battle cry "Solidarity with Solidarność" united Reagan, Thatcher and Mitterrand with the overwhelming majority of Western self-styled leftists. These leftists, especially the myriad pseudo-Trotskyists, denied or tried to obscure the fact that Solidarność was the principal agency for imperialism in Poland. Yet even published figures show that between 1985 and 1988 Solidarność received more money ($3.6 million) from the CIA-front National Endowment for Democracy than did any other "free trade union" in the world (*International Labour Reports*, May/June 1989). And Walesa and his cohorts publicly demonstrated that their "comrades" in the West were the most right-wing politicians this side of fascism. Last fall Walesa embraced Britain's Iron Lady in the Gdansk shipyards while Soldarność supporters chanted "Viva Thatcher!"

Now as Walesa and Jaruzelski are dancing together to the IMF's tune, Western leftists find it embarrassing to sing that old "Solidarity with Solidarność" refrain. So various fake-Trotskyists have taken to glorifying the small Polish Socialist Party (Democratic Revolution) (PPS-RD). The United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel fills its publications with pages of documents from the PPS-RD. The British Workers Power group declares that the PPS-RD "could represent an historic gain for the world working class if its left wing can become the nucleus for forging an independent Polish internationalist workers' party" (*Workers Power*, May 1989).

But what is this supposedly potential nucleus for "an independent Polish internationalist workers' party"? Formed in 1987, its founding declaration stated that the new party stands closer to Pope Wojtyla's "social teaching" than to Marxism. Today, the PPS-RD has organized a bloc with Pilsudskiite anti-Communists of the KPN and the "Fighting Solidarność" group to oppose the Round Table accords. Moczulski's KPN stands *to the right* of Walesa, Kuron & Co., while "Fighting Solidarność" shares Walesa's program for "free market" capitalist exploitation in Poland.

Workers Power admits the reactionary nature of the PPS-RD's allies. It also notes that some of the party's activists want to resurrect the old PPS of Josef Pilsudski and even defend Pilsudskiite anti-Semitism. Nonetheless, Workers Power hails the PPS-RD because it refuses for now to negotiate with Jaruzelski. "The job of Trotskyists is to directly participate in its debates so as to ensure that the PPS-RD does not become a pro-capitalist and nationalist party," Workers Power concludes. But what are ostensible Trotskyists doing in a party that requires such a debate?

Polish Trotskyism must be rebuilt on the *anti*-nationalist traditions of Ludwik Warynski's Party Proletariat, and of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania led by Luxemburg and Jogiches, as well as the early Communist Party led by the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa). The internationalist traditions of Polish Communism were so strong that Stalin had to repeatedly purge successive leaderships, and in 1938 dissolved the entire party. Stalinism managed to wipe out this Marxist heritage, installing a regime of opportunists and careerists in postwar Poland. And the Polish working class has not—yet!—reappropriated its own revolutionary socialist traditions.

There is no progressive solution to Poland's crisis within the framework of nationalism and Stalinism. Only a proletarian political revolution can liberate Poland from the bloodsuckers of Wall Street and Frankfurt because only a revolutionary workers government can affect the *international conditions* to counter imperialist retaliation. Only from the standpoint of socialist internationalism can Polish workers effectively appeal to Soviet workers, who have their own reasons for opposing and resisting Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika. At the same time, revolutionary workers in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin would have the moral authority to appeal to workers in West Europe and the United States to overturn capitalist rule. Forward to workers soviets in Poland! Forward to a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

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Coal Miners Strike...

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miners have been on strike since January 23. The company refuses to sign the UMW pension plan, instead offering retired miners a pittance of $1,000 a year. And the management is out to eliminate the union safety committee in the mine. This is a life-and-death struggle—without the safety committee there will be many more dead and crippled miners, who labor in one of the most dangerous jobs in the world.

The Pittston strike is labor's cause. In the first weeks of the strike, hundreds of miners were arrested as they blockaded entrances to Pittston's mines and coal processing plants in southwest Virginia. After company thugs viciously ran down union pickets outside the Moss No. 3 preparation plant in Russell County on May 2, Trumka *called off* efforts to stop the scab coal trucks, in favor of government "mediation" in New York. But the Pittston bosses and *their* state are out for blood.

Labor History Archives, Wayne State University

Coal miners face off against troops during 1920s coal wars.

In late May, as the union resumed civil disobedience tactics at Pittston facilities, coal company judges handed down hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines against the UMW for "blocking the company's interests." On May 27, six busloads of miners were arrested at Moss No. 3, which rakes in over $1 million a day for Pittston. Virginia governor Gerald Ballies hired on extra state prosecutors to handle the arrests, and is spending $1 million a month for the army of state troopers that has invaded the coal fields.

In the last week of May, 1,100 strikers were arrested, including the 2,000th miner arrested since the strike began—a wheelchair-bound retired miner who had his health care cut off by Pittston. As we go to press, three leading UMW organizers of the Pittston strike were jailed on contempt of court charges for refusing to halt the mass sit-in demonstrations.

Coal War Country

The marches leading up to the Charleston rally invoke the miners' history of militant class struggle against the coal bosses. Marchers from Logan will spend a night on Blair Mountain, an area where one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of the American labor movement was written in the coal wars of 1920-21.

During the years of World War I the United Mine Workers, for the first time, had succeeded in organizing the Fairmont and Kanawha coal fields in West Virginia, but had had little success in Logan, Mingo and McDowell counties. The coal companies' hired thugs terrorized union members and sympathizers. UMW organizers who entered the area were driven out or killed.

The film *Matewan*, by director John Sayles, powerfully depicts the UMW's fight to bring the union to Mingo County, forging class solidarity between the West Virginia miners and the black and immigrant workers brought in by the coal bosses to try to break a strike. The film closed with the murder of pro-union men by company detectives in January 1921, but the struggle continued.

That summer, 10,000 armed miners set out to march through Logan County to Mingo and McDowell. When the marchers reached Blair Mountain they were attacked by company goons, county deputies and the U.S. Army. President Harding sent the famed Billy Mitchell light bombing squadron to Blair Mountain to drop bombs on the miners. In the bloody coal wars which followed, over 50,000 striking miners were evicted and the union was driven out of Mingo County.

Last August over 300 UMW members and sympathizers marched to Matewan to unveil a monument to those slain by the infamous Baldwin-Felt detectives. UMW Local 1440 member Ken Bowers, who participated in the memorial march, stated, "the history of the early mine wars is important, and it is history that repeated itself during our strike against A.T. Massey" (*UMW Journal*, December 1988).

Trumka's "Selective Strike" Disasters

Like the Massey strike, the Pittston and New Beckley strikes are being run as part of UMW president Richard Trumka's strategy of "selective strikes." Isolated groups of miners are left to go it alone against the coal barons backed up by the arsenal of the capitalist state. The UMW bureaucracy is playing by the bosses' rules, pushing civil disobedience and "corporate campaign"-style consumer boycotts. They are pleading with profit-hungry banks and stockholders to "do right" by the miners. Begging the likes of Chase Manhattan—owned by Rockefellers who have rivers of coal miners' blood on their hands—spells certain defeat for the miners.

But the class-collaborationist gimmicks of Trumka are not going down well with all miners. A striker, Henry Combs, said, "Our representatives tell us, 'Don't resist arrest.' They don't want any violence out of us altogether." Combs added, "It does get aggravating when you see your [union] brother being carried off by the hair of the head" (*Roanoke Times & World-News*, 30 April).

As a striking New Beckley miner told *Workers Vanguard*, summing up recent UMW strikes from Massey to Pittston. Trumka's "selective strike" strategy "has slit our throats." He's right, and many other UMW members certainly think the same way. It was only after the entire UMW was pulled out of the mines in a five-day "memorial strike" that the fight against Duke Power's Brookside, Kentucky operation in 1974 was finally won. Miners must break with Trumka's disastrous strategy, and bring out the power of the entire UMW to defend *and win* the Pittston and New Beckley strikes!

Defend the Kentucky Miners!

The bitter defeat of the A.T. Massey strike in 1984-85 was the direct result of Trumka's "selective strike" strategy which left them twisting in the wind. And not only has the industrywide contract been abandoned by the UMW tops, but five Kentucky miners railroaded in the bosses' courts for defending picket lines during the A.T. Massey strike have been left to rot in prison by the UMW bureaucracy. Four of these union brothers, Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland, are serving 35-45 years in the Ashland, Kentucky prison. Last December the UMW International withdrew strike benefits from Donnie Thornsbury's family, forcing them onto welfare.

A fifth miner, Paul Smith, was acquitted of the same federal "terrorism" and "conspiracy" charges a year ago, but he now faces a murder charge in state court in Kentucky. Smith's appeal against this double jeopardy was denied on April 7. Now he faces a possible death sentence if he is convicted. Free all the Kentucky miners!

Trumka has brought Jesse Jackson to the coal fields to bolster his "corporate campaign" and civil disobedience tactics, telling miners to lie down like sheep before the company wolves. Jackson and Machinists president "Wimpy" Winpisinger, who is sabotaging the Eastern strike, will be featured speakers at the Charleston rally. And acting as lawyers for Trumka and the UMW bureaucracy are some fake-leftists like the Socialist Workers Party with their misnamed *Militant* newspaper.

WV Photo

Trumka and Democrat Walter Mondale at 1983 UMW convention.

SWP supporters actually voted for Trumka's rotten 1988 UMW contract, and the *Militant* has been silent on Trumka's role in the betrayal of the Kentucky miners. Needless to say they have no strategy to offer as an alternative to the sellout deals by Trumka, but then again the SWP also supported to the hilt the government's man, Arnold Miller, in 1972. That's why both they and the Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (who also backed Miller in 1972) stuck with Miller as he suppressed wildcat strikes, year after year, and when he became the most hated man in the coal fields during the 1977-78 110-day coal strike.

The real story of that powerful rebellion by the UMW ranks is told in the *Workers Vanguard* pamphlet, *The Great Coal Strike of 1978* (see ad on this page). And *WV* has continued to tell the truth:

> "Trumka, like Miller and Church before him, has chopped away at the miners' militant traditions, chaining the union to the capitalist courts and the bosses' Democratic Party. Fifteen years of these 'reformers' in the Labor Department's pocket together with the union-busting of the Carter and Reagan years have decimated the UMWA, the oldest and once the most powerful industrial union in the U.S."
>
> —*WV* No. 447, 26 February 1988

Everyone from the coal bosses to the ranks of the UMW knows that there is no lack of courage or determination among the Pittston miners: in the words of miner Ronnie Mitchell, "How do you intimidate a man who spends his day putting his head between two rocks?" The burning question is *leadership*. To win the strikes at Pittston and New Beckley, UMW militants must demand an industrywide strike and a standard union contract at every union pit. Union caravans pouring into Charleston on Sunday should be pouring into southwest Virginia to send the Pittston gun thugs packing. Pull out the entire UMW now! Victory to the Pittston and New Beckley strikers! ■

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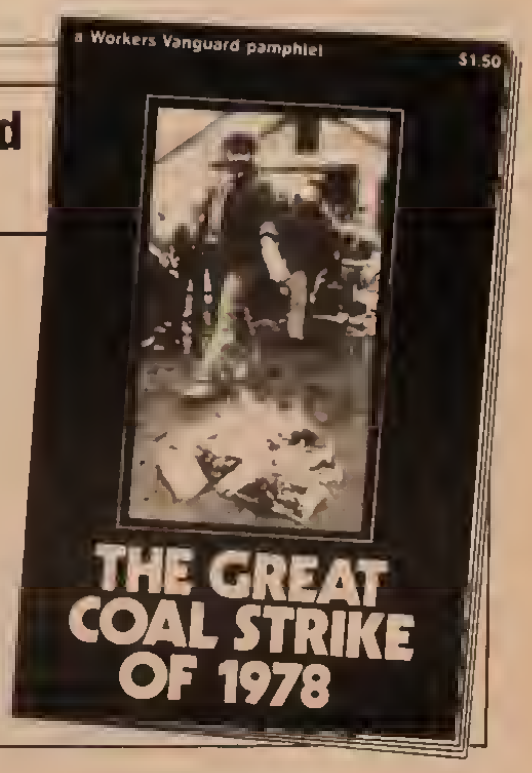

"Drug War"...

(continued from page 16)

District. Brandishing assault rifles, they ordered residents to haul their beds, sofas and TVs out onto the street where they were soaked in a downpour. The hit teams were part of a Special Operations Group imported from a "paramilitary training center" in Camp Beauregard, La. "The SOG units are trained to handle civil disturbances, anti-terrorist strikes and other hazardous missions" reported the *Washington Post* (16 May). Mayor Marion Barry even went in person with eviction orders, rousting 16 people from their apartment into the street. It was the capital of the USA, but it looked like Crossroads township under the apartheid whip.

"In South Africa, you have black men in the work camps and the women in the Bantustans. Here we have the black men in prison and the women in the projects," a black psychologist told ABC-TV commentator Ted Koppel in a special April 27 *Nightline* "town meeting of the air" on "D.C.—Divided City." The District of Columbia council even ordered a curfew banning youth under 18 from city streets after 11 p.m. without a pass. A judge blocked the city from enforcing this measure putting black youth under virtual house arrest, saying it "gives me the chills." Thereupon the council passed another "anti-loitering law" targeting "drug zones." From "Gangland L.A. to Murder Capital D.C.," the media and government are pushing the drug war as a "law and order" crusade. But increasingly black people are seeing it for what it is—racist state terror.

Perkins/Washington Post

Paramilitary U.S. Marshals invade D.C. living rooms in "anti-drug" mass evictions of black people.

Racist Rulers Want to "Take Back" D.C.

It's no accident the drug war has been launched first in Washington, D.C. In this 70 percent black city, "home rule" was not won until 1974. Even this token democratic measure sticks in the craw of the racists on Capitol Hill, who still hold veto power over the city government. Republican Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire complains of "blood running on the streets like some third-world capital." And from the White House, Barbara Bush declares, "Everyone in Washington is ready to get our schools back, get our city back." When William Bennett declared D.C. the "test case" in the war on drugs, he didn't even invite black mayor Barry. As columnist Dorothy Gilliam wrote in the *Washington Post* (13 April), "William J. Bennett believes his sobriquet 'drug czar'—or maybe he misheard and thought they were saying 'plantation master'."

In his inaugural address, after all the rhetoric about a "kinder, gentler" America, Bush called for a "new intolerance" toward drugs. What does this "intolerance" mean for Washington? Bush is floating the idea of "bringing in the National Guard under federal command, or using regular military forces," reported the *New York Times* (21 March). Congressman Stan Parris, ranking Republican on the House D.C. Committee, wants a federal "public safety director" to take over the city's police and fire departments, prisons and courts. Rudman is preparing bills to federalize the police and establish a "federal constabulary" to police the District like a colonial possession.

A small city of 630,000, Washington is already crawling with cops. Most cities have two cops for every 1,000 people; Washington has three times that many. And over and above the 3,950-strong Metropolitan Police Force, there are 3,000 "special" cops guarding everything from the president to the museums to the mall. Now a special "Metropolitan Area Task Force" on drugs is being established, drawing in agents of the DEA, FBI, U.S. Marshals, Defense Department, U.S. Attorney's Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau, Customs Service, Park Police, and state and local police agencies from Maryland and Virginia. Military intelligence agents have been assigned and the D.C. National Guard is being mobilized to "help" local cops with infrared night-vision goggles and heavy weapons.

They're saying "D.C." stands for "Dodge City." Washington had a record 372 murders in 1988, and in the first three months of 1989 that rate has already more than doubled. When Congressional racists whipped up hysteria about how the city's reputation as "Beirut-on-the-Potomac" might scare away tourists, Mayor Barry responded grotesquely, "Outside of the killings, we have one of the lowest crime rates in the country." This shows why Marion Barry won't be around much longer. But the mayor had a point. A *New York Times* (28 March) article linked the soaring murder rate to the absence of an entrenched crime mafia. This "left a vacuum for independent drug operators who are now killing one another over turf in the new and profitable drug trade." District police chief Maurice Turner said the cops had "arrested 43,000 people last year" and bluntly added:

> "Eventually the turf will be divided,. they will go out and sell their drugs, people will pay their drug bills on time, and we're not going to have all these shootings that we have. What more do you want us to do?"

When Barbara Bush says "everyone" wants to "get our city back," she's referring to the *bipartisan* consensus over the drug war. Architects of the project are "new right" ideologues like Jack Kemp and William Bennett. Housing secretary Kemp is pushing legislation to evict entire families from housing projects when one member is declared a "drug suspect." His pet project is to condo public housing, "selling" off apartments to residents, i.e., to kick out the poor. Bennett is a protégé of Boston University's ultrarightist president John Silber, and won his spurs running Marine recruiters through BU student protesters' picket lines. As Reagan's education secretary, Bennett's department tried to stop the history of the Holocaust from being taught in the schools. Now as Bush's drug czar he proposes to use a new federal law calling for the death penalty in certain drug-related murders to override the D.C. ban on capital punishment.

AP Photos

Washington, D.C. housing projects resembled a South African township as Mayor Marion Barry personally supervised dumping of black tenants' possessions.

But if the Reaganite new rightists are running the show, the Democrats are running point in the PR department. Jesse Jackson, who hoosted Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" to drugs campaign, had hopes of being appointed America's top narc in a Democratic administration. In his '88 presidential primary campaign, Jackson was feared and despised by the "mainstream" Democratic pols who wanted to go all out in racist appeals to bring back "Reagan Democrats." Now with Mayor Barry besieged with corruption charges, the ruling class is looking for Jackson as black front man in the nation's capital. This would also conveniently take Jackson out of the '92 presidential race. So a *New York Times* (3 May) editorial cynically urged, "Run, Jesse, run."

Civil Liberties Under Assault

> "Mandatory I.D.s. Confiscating people's property. Throwing entire families out of their homes. And all without due process. No, we're not talking about a totalitarian state. It's happening here in America."
>
> —Ted Koppel on ABC-TV's *Nightline* (18 April)

The "war on drugs" has little to do with stopping drug trafficking, and a lot to do with the regimentation of American society. Drug testing has become pervasive throughout industry, particularly in transportation, as a witch-hunting device to keep organized labor in line. Any accident on the rails or in the air and the first thing they do is haul in the whole crew for testing—letting the bosses off the hook for faulty equipment and deadly working conditions. It's part of an all-sided assault on privacy. The Supreme Court recently upheld the DEA's practice of randomly picking out people at airports who fit the "drug courier profile"—like paying for a ticket in cash or staying in Miami less than 48 hours. And now the Nielsen TV ratings have developed a "people meter" that can scan anything from your living room to airports "looking for known terrorists"...or anyone else.

So they've been gearing up the apparatus of legal repression. A prime example is the new California Street Terrorism Enforcement and Protection Act, under which parents can be held responsible for "gang-related crimes" of their children. A Los Angeles woman, Gloria Williams, was hauled away in handcuffs on the grounds that she supposedly "condoned" the membership of her 15-year-old son in the "Crips" street gang. The "proof"—a blue headband (the Crips' "colors") and snapshots of a birthday cake with icing that read "Happy C Day" (because the Crips avoid any mention of the letter "B," associated with their rivals the "Bloods"). "I did all I could to help my son," said Mrs. Williams, an assembly line supervisor in an electronics plant, who took a course in "parenting" and enrolled her son in an alternative education program. But the cops preyed upon her concern to entrap her into discussing her son's problems, and using these "admissions" they busted her (*Los Angeles Times*, 31 May).

Vowing to "take back the streets by taking criminals off the street," in late May Bush unveiled a $1.2 billion program to hire more cops, federal agents and prosecutors, and build new jails. The prisons are overflowing, and hundreds of thousands more people will be incarcerated. The *Economist* (22 April) reported that the U.S. will have *one million* people behind bars by the end of 1989, double the number ten years ago, and the federal prison population is expected to "double or triple" over the next dozen years. The main reason is "some fairly horrendous sentences...on people who possess or sell drugs." Already *over half* of all federal prisoners are convicted of drug-related charges. And particularly in big cities, minorities are overwhelmingly the ones victimized. In New York City, for example, *91 percent* of all inmates are black or Hispanic.

With the shortage of prison space, the authorities' "solutions" for where to put the prisoners are increasingly grotesque. Republican Bush wants "tent prisons" on former military bases. Preparing for a summer surge in arrests, liberal Democratic New York governor Cuomo proposes to hold up to 3,000 prisoners in gymnasiums. Cuomo also plans to use house arrest, with "an automatic dialing machine that calls the pris-

oner's home at random times and matches the voice that answers to the prisoner's recorded voiceprint" (*New York Times*, 3 June). In New York City, in addition to the hundreds of prisoners being stowed on barges, they've converted the former men's shelter on Ward's Island into a prison, and a homeless shelter in the New Lots section of Brooklyn is being turned into a 200-bed jail.

In the interests of beefing up a "strong state," the ruling class has seized upon the "drug crisis" to militarize America. National Guard units were called in last spring to patrol the Texas and Florida borders, and are being mobilized in ten states to "support" local police operations, including with helicopters, to "interdict" drugs. The Reagan/Bush regime's purported interest in stopping drug traffic is patently absurd. These people are up to their noses in cocaine trafficking—that's what they used to grease the whole Iran/contra operation. In the ABC-TV special on "Divided D.C.," one black participant said:

> "You get your airplanes, you go over to your other countries, you bring drugs back, you put them in these black neighborhoods.... Don't try to put the blame on all black people. We don't own no airplanes, buses, trains. The U.S. government plays a great big part and it's called genocide in America, and that's what it's about."

UPI

Bush and his point men, Attorney General Thornburg and drug czar William Bennett (right), get set to wage war on the ghettos.

Genocide in America

In response, *Nightline* host Koppel asked, "What William Bennett proposed, how does that come down to a genocide plan?" A woman replied, "It seems that blacks are expendable here." A man said: "Homelessness. Don't only talk about drugs. Look at New York City. I used to live down in the subway. I could take you to Grand Central Station where you got people down underneath the subway eating rats. It's racial. It's number one racial because the white man in America, he's saying, 'I'm tired of helping these black people. Let them kill themselves'." This is a nationalist perception, but about America's *white capitalist rulers*, it is certainly true.

The black ghettos, once maintained as holding pens for what Marx called the "reserve army of labor," are now reduced to rubble. Today the inner cities have become a dumping ground for an entire population which post-Vietnam capitalist America no longer "needs." A cover story in *U.S. News & World Report* (10 April) titled "Dead Zones" noted, "Whole sections of urban American are being written off as anarchic badlands.... Unmaintained public housing is literally crumbling, and garbage piles up obscenely in vacant lots." But "the economics of crack undid these neighborhoods more than its chemistry. When cocaine, long considered the rich man's drug, suddenly became available in $5 crack rocks," it created "an industry that generates tens of billions of dollars all by itself.... Adam Smith's invisible hand of capitalism never worked better."

In the total devastation of the inner cities, it's a basic question of economics. Where else is the money going to come from when there are no jobs? The sheer enormity of the poverty, the joblessness and hopelessness is masked by government statistics. Officially, the unemployment rate of blacks last year was 11.8 percent, two and a half times the rate for whites. But when you add in the "hidden unemployment" of those who have given up looking for work and those forced to take part-time jobs, according to Urban League figures the black jobless rate soars to 21 percent. Among black youth (16 to 19 years old), barely *one quarter* (26.9 percent) *have any kind of job at all*, full or part-time. Almost half of all black children grow up in poverty. And this has barely changed over the past decade and a half.

Moreover, economic indicators only begin to describe the desperate condition of black America. The statistics on black mortality are shocking. The leading cause of death among black men between 15 and 34 is homicide. Black life is short, and getting shorter, at both ends of the scale. Comparative infant mortality rates for blacks are *twice* as high as for whites. And while overall life expectancy for whites rose to 74.8 years in 1986, for blacks it is falling, to 69.4 years. The main causes of increased death for blacks are, in order, AIDS, homicide, influenza and pneumonia. AIDS is increasingly becoming a black and Hispanic disease, and thousands of desperately poor minority victims wither away in public hospitals or on the streets. For many racists, AIDS is the "final solution" to black unemployment. And as we wrote of the new "Welfare Reform Act" of 1988:

> "*Genocide is what this new 'workfare' is all about!* Millions of single mothers on welfare who refuse to take a job—any job, anywhere, at any starvation wage—will be cut off without a cent, literally left to starve. Suspected fathers are supposed to be hounded down through genetic 'paternity' tests to have their wages garnished... not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—*because there are no jobs to get*."
>
> —"Genocide U.S.A.," *WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Crack, the harsh, cheap, highly addictive cocaine derivative, has indeed become a terrible scourge in the black community. As a result, many black people have bought the anti-drug crusade. As the money for drug treatment and rehab centers is minuscule, while funds for cops and prisons soar, the government's racist drive is increasingly being understood for what it is. The *Black American* (11 May) headlined, "Government's War on Drugs: Let's Kill Blacks." Still, in their desperation many blacks look to misleaders—like Jesse Jackson or the racist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, whose Black Muslim "Dope Busters" are now patrolling the "Mayfair Mansions" housing project in Washington, D.C. where blacks have been terrified by the violent drug trade. But the effect of these vigilantes (and others, like the Guardian Angels) is at best to move the drug markets to another block, while imposing their own brand of paramilitary "enforcement" on the neighborhood.

The centerpiece of Bush's new "anti-crime" package is a move against semi-automatic rifles, allegedly the weapon of choice of drug dealers. And in California, the state legislature just passed a bill banning so-called "assault" weapons, including 23 makes of rifles, as well as several kinds of handguns and shotguns. The ruling class is using the "war on drugs" to push its program of "gun control" for the oppressed—trying to keep the monopoly of arms in the hands of the state. With black people caught in the crossfire of the drug wars, the authorities want to keep them defenseless—so they become the "mark" for both cops and crooks. Meanwhile, the U.S. Marshals who carried out the mass evictions in Washington last month stormed into the projects with the very semiautomatic rifles they want to prevent civilians from having for their protection.

Laws which criminalize drugs and hound those who use them are inherently reactionary: their aim is to regiment the population, victimizing the victims. Moreover, they manifestly don't reduce addiction or drug-related crimes. A spokesman for the National Center on Crime and Delinquency in San Francisco recently noted, "Now there are more arrests, longer sentences, mandatory drug terms. As the sentences have gotten tougher and tougher, we haven't seen any drop in crime rates" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 May). Police terror will not eradicate the social pathology of ghetto oppression, the cycle of crime and drug addiction, which is rooted in the bedrock of entrenched poverty, joblessness and hopelessness produced by this racist system. And it is a rotting system: you can see the decay of American capitalism just by looking at any ghetto from Southeast Washington to the South Bronx to South Central L.A.

The scourge of massive drug addiction among ghetto youth is fundamentally a reflection of the hopelessness of their situation. It's axiomatic for Marxists that this will only change when social reality fundamentally changes, opening a road to black survival. History has shown how quickly what are seen as "intractable" manifestations of social oppression are reversed in the presence of real opportunities. For instance, the question of illiteracy which had been forced upon blacks since slavery. After the defeat of post-Civil War Reconstruction, this was a keystone of Jim Crow segregation, where the poll tax and the literacy test were deliberately thrown up to deny blacks their rights. But when workers were needed during World War II, blacks were attracted from the South, classrooms were set up in conjunction with war industries and literacy skyrocketed *in months*.

Today's astronomical high school dropout rate and functional illiteracy of vast numbers of black youth reflect the abandonment of inner city education by the ruling class, which sees the ghetto population as expendable. Their "program" is to bottle up the youth in the inner city and seal it off: they're even floating plans to fence off the black and Hispanic areas of Williamsburg (Los Sures) in Brooklyn! In Newark they're literally demolishing housing projects built only a generation ago, on the grounds that they're drug-infested crime enclaves. But where are the poor people to go? Into the streets to join the millions of homeless. And once again, we're hearing calls for the military occupation of the ghetto, as the government sees the spectre of black upheavals such as rocked this country from 1964 to 1968.

no credit

Troops occupied D.C. ghetto in April 1968. Once again, America's inner cities face threat of martial law.

Twenty years ago the bourgeoisie had a two-pronged program—naked state terror and co-optation. Alongside the troops imposing martial law in the ghettos and the FBI's COINTELPRO war against black radicals, there were the poverty programs to distribute a few crumbs to minorities and install a few "black faces in high places." Programs like Head Start for preschoolers actually worked, and were soon canceled. A small window of social mobility was opened for a layer of petty-bourgeois blacks, who have since left the ghettos altogether. But today, with mammoth budget deficits due to war spending, there is no pretense of social reform. The bourgeoisie has a one-pronged program to spear black unrest: massive repression. Today more than ever, the only road to black survival and genuine emancipation is through socialist revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mass Arrests, Mass Evictions, Concentration Camps for Black Youth

Bush's "Drug War" Targets Black America

Downing/Newsweek

Pizac/AP

Tens of thousands of blacks rounded up, from Washington, D.C. (left) to Los Angeles (right), as cops use "war on drugs" to terrorize the ghettos.

Under the guise of a "war on drugs," they're trying to run America's inner cities like a police state. SWAT teams sweep through housing projects daily, paramilitary "task forces" carry out mass evictions of "drug suspects" and their families. Increasingly, calls are heard for deploying the National Guard and federal troops to patrol ghetto "war zones." President Bush wants to lock up 70,000 overwhelmingly minority youth in tent prisons on vacated military bases. His "drug czar" William Bennett calls for "boot camps," really concentration camps where thousands of "users" will be subjected to "psycho-correctional therapy." Ultimately, it's a plan to put black America under martial law.

It's happening across the country.

• **Atlanta**: Elite "Red Dog" police units in blue jumpsuits, yellow ascots and flak jackets, armed with sawed-off shotguns, conduct "jump out" operations, assaulting "suspected drug dealers" on the streets.

• **East St. Louis**: Illinois State Police patrol the devastated city at night.

• **Chicago**: Black people must now show "passes" to enter public housing.

• **Los Angeles**: Twenty thousand youth were rounded up last year in "anti-gang" dragnets, now their mothers are jailed for "parental responsibility" under a new California "street terrorism" act.

• **New York City**: TNT paramilitary cops kick in doors from Queens to the Bronx, Harlem almost explodes when residents say narc squad police pushed a "drug suspect" off a sixth-story tenement roof to his death.

In Washington, D.C. mass evictions of hundreds of black tenants began on the morning of May 15. An elite force of 50 black-uniformed U.S. Marshals stormed into living rooms across the

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Victory to Pittston Strikers– Pull Out the UMWA!

Coal Miners March for Strike Solidarity

Thousands of coal miners and other trade unionists, with their families and supporters, are converging on Charleston, West Virginia on Sunday, June 11. The United Mine Workers (UMW) and West Virginia state AFL-CIO rally at the State Capitol will come after marches through the Appalachian coal fields. "This is to muster support for the two largest strikes in the country—Eastern Airlines and the UMW," said a march organizer, referring to the current battle of coal miners against Pittston Coal Company. Miners on strike against New Beckley Coal Company will join with Pittston miners from Logan and march into Charleston. Miners are expected from as far away as Pennsylvania and North Carolina.

For over two months now, nearly 1,700 UMW workers have been locked in battle with the Pittston Coal Company. At stake is the existence of their union—Pittston is out to break the UMW. The company, which last year earned almost $50 million in profits from miners' sweat and blood, pulled out of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) in January 1988, refusing to sign the standard contract. Pittston then cut off medical benefits to 1,500 retirees, widows and disabled miners. Finally, after being kept on the job for 14 months without a contract, the 1,700 UMW miners at Pittston struck on April 5.

At New Beckley Coal in Beckley, West Virginia, 250

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Ron Skeber/Coalfield Progress

Pittston strike support rally April 30 in Wise County, Virginia.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 480 23 June 1989

Stop the Executions!

Defend Chinese Workers!

Cambio 16

AFP

Armored personnel carrier burning in Tiananmen Square, June 4. Chinese TV shows Shanghai worker condemned to death for protesting killings.

For Lenin's Communism— Forge a Trotskyist Party!

The June 4 massacre at Beijing's Tiananmen Square brought China to the brink of civil war. The mass outpouring of defiance heralded the Chinese proletarian political revolution against the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy. For the moment the Deng regime has weathered the storm and is now cracking down, striking first and hardest at the working class. But the decrepit bureaucratic caste, which has opened the doors of China to massive capitalist encroachment and shamelessly allied itself with U.S. imperialism, can be shattered. *The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard.*

On June 15 in Shanghai, the commercial center of China and an industrial powerhouse with four million workers, the first death sentences were handed down. The victims are three workers: Xu Guoming, Bian Hanwu and Yan Xuerong, accused of stopping and burning a train which on June 6 plowed through a Shanghai crowd protesting the Beijing massacre, killing six demonstrators. On June 16, in Beijing eight more workers accused of taking part in "riots" against government troops were sentenced to die. In China judicial appeals are quickly dispatched with, and it is expected that the sentences will soon be carried out, with a bullet to the back of the neck. Families of those executed are charged for the

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Report from Hong Kong

See Page Nine

Hunger Riots Explode in Argentina

Leftists Targeted by State of Siege

For the second time this year, a major South American country has been wracked by hunger riots of desperate, starving poor people. In March the slums of Caracas, Venezuela exploded: more than 300 were killed looting stores and battling police in response to brutal austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund and imposed by the government. Then in Argentina, in late May, rioting broke out in the industrial center of Córdoba in response to hyperinflation and mass layoffs. On May 28, as looting spread to Rosario, Argentina's second-largest city, President Raúl Alfonsín ordered a state of siege, suspending democratic rights. In the ensuing hours, the police and army killed 16; hundreds were wounded and more than 2,000 were arrested.

In the working-class suburbs of the capital, crowds of up to 1,000 people, many of them housewives and children, broke into supermarkets. Businessmen and government officials claimed the looters were led by subversive agitators. But the rioters were clearly "instigated" by hunger: a videotape of a grocery store being looted showed people sitting on the floor avidly eating the food they had seized. In some places, such as the Buenos Aires suburbs of San Miguel and Morón, there were pitched battles between the police and crowds armed with rocks and Molotov cocktails. In other cases, owners of butcher shops and grocery stores handed over their stocks to avoid destruction. A security

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Independent (London)

Police roundup in Rosario. Argentine rulers tell starving poor: let them eat lead.

AIDS Blacklist

In the midst of the raging AIDS epidemic, New York City's Health Commissioner Stephen Joseph has proposed a stupid and truly sinister program: mandatory reporting of the names of everyone testing positive for HIV (the "AIDS virus") to the NYC government. Joseph says "aggressive contact tracing" of their sexual or drug-use partners should become "standard public health applications for controlling HIV infection and illness." This can only be a program for blackmail—or much worse!

People with AIDS, and even those merely suspected of testing positive for antibodies to the HIV virus, have been viciously persecuted: kicked out of apartments, denied insurance, treated like lepers in medieval times. With no cure for the virus yet discovered, and in the atmosphere of fear and hysteria whipped up by anti-gay bigots and racists against those stricken by the deadly disease—who are disproportionately black, Hispanic and homosexual—there is everything to fear and nothing to gain from mandatory HIV reporting and "aggressive contact tracing."

Joseph sprang his proposal at the international Montreal conference on AIDS on June 5, drawing instant protests from AIDS activists. ACT UP members in the audience shouted "Shame! Shame!" and in New York City ACT UP led a demonstration of over 200 at City Hall on June 8, chanting, "No listing, no tracing, no way!" An ACT UP leaflet, referring to the Health Department's earlier controversial slashing of its estimate of HIV-infected New Yorkers from 400,000 to 200,000 noted, "First you don't exist, now you're on the list." So explosive is this proposal that Koch was forced to convene a "panel of experts" at Gracie Mansion on June 17, who predictably opposed Joseph's plan—though the Commissioner says he's not abandoning his proposal.

Sawshuk/Newsday

New York City, June 8—ACT UP protests Health Commissioner Joseph's plan to turn in names of all those testing positive for HIV virus.

ACT UP members have felt firsthand the sadism of Koch's cops. Women arrested at an ACT UP demonstration at City Hall on March 28 were forcibly strip-searched. "They barked out orders for us to lift up our shirts, take off our bras, drop our pants and underwear and squat. When we asked why they were doing it, there was no answer," theater director Debbie Levine told the *Daily News* (3 April). After the women went to the press about this outrage, it came out that the cops' "booking form" included an entry for "homosexual"—another blacklist already in place.

AIDS is spreading like wildfire in America's hellish inner-city ghettos, along with other scourges like tuberculosis. Most tragic is the growing number of babies born infected with the HIV virus, overwhelmingly to black and Hispanic mothers. The message has come down from the White House to the nation's decaying cities: American capitalism doesn't care if millions of Americans die of this deadly epidemic—so long as they're black or Hispanic or poor or "deviant" in some way, well outside the corridors of power.

Once on Joseph's "AIDS blacklist," drug users or "illegal aliens" uncovered through "contact tracing" would be subject to arrest or deportation. And when some psycho or the cops get their paws on the Health Department's "confidential list," which they inevitably will, it will become a hit list.

We are for *voluntary, anonymous* testing for everyone at risk from AIDS. This would provide medical and scientific experts with the necessary information they need to track the disease, while allowing those at risk to decide how to proceed. One burning need for this information is for pregnant women, who must have the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion if they think they may be carrying an infected fetus.

Decriminalize drugs and hand out free disposable needles! All social and medical services should be immediately available to all HIV-infected people, as part of a system of free quality health care for all, ripping the profit motive out of medicine. It will take a socialist revolution to put society's resources at the service of human needs, not profits. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The International Red Aid, Our Revolutionary Heritage

Working people around the world have demonstrated their solidarity with the heroic defenders of the Afghan city of Jalalabad against imperialist-backed reactionaries. In undertaking the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations in other countries acted in the revolutionary tradition pioneered by the International Organization for Aid to Revolutionary Fighters (MOPR in Russian). MOPR, popularly known as International Red Aid, was established in 1922 and endorsed by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Its aims are described in an article in the journal of the International Labor Defense, the fraternal U.S. organization founded under the direction of future Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon.

Out of the sharpened conflict which has developed since the Russian Revolution between the exploited and the exploiting classes has grown this world-wide organization for the defense of political prisoners, for relief for their families, for amelioration of the hard conditions of prison life. The more or less national and local defense and relief bodies have given place to the international. The struggles and sufferings of the workers of any country are of vital concern to the workers of every other land.

The purpose of the MOPR, in the words of Chamkin, General Secretary at Moscow, is to give defense and aid to the revolutionary opponents of capitalism in every land without regard to party or political belief. Communists, Social Democrats, Anarchists, non-partisans—all are included. The only question asked is, "Does he suffer persecution as a working class fighter in the class war?"...

Speaking with a responsible leader in the Russian organization, I asked him what had been the predominant note in the propaganda. I could understand its appeal to Communists, but what had drawn the great hosts of non-Communists (more than 80%)? Was it sympathy, humanitarianism or what?

"We simply sound the note of international solidarity," was the reply. "All our thinking workers and peasants know what it means to struggle for bitter years against oppression. They do not have to be Communists to have a fellow feeling with the workers of Germany, France, Bulgaria, Italy, India, Poland. Whatever differences there may be as to tactics and strategy we all come together on the hard rock of the class war. If the proletariat is to be successful in the struggle it must take care of those who fall into the hands of the enemy. This is enough to draw all earnest revolutionists under our banner. When our comrades in prison cry out, 'Do not forget us,' we reply, be assured you are remembered. We will fight for you as you are fighting for the final victory of the proletariat'."

—"M.O.P.R." *Labor Defender* (March 1926)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 480 **23 June 1989**

Narc Squad Terror in New York City

NEW YORK—It was like the scene out of *Fort Apache, The Bronx*, minus cop-with-a-conscience Paul Newman, but this rooftop was no movie set and the blood in the alley below was the real thing.

On the evening of May 31, Trevor Francis, a former Jamaican soccer player, plunged six floors to his death from the Harlem roof where two Manhattan North Narcotics Unit detectives on a drug raid had chased him. Edgecombe Avenue residents who witnessed the fall from different vantages said Francis was pushed by the cops, or grabbed by the T-shirt at roof's edge, then let go. From her fifth-floor window below, Gidget Howell heard the cops celebrating Francis' death. "Did we splatter him?" she heard one cop ask the other. Then the cops "gave each other a high five," Howell said (*Daily News*, 2 June).

Accounts vary on the gruesome details, but black Harlem knows all too well the face of cop terror, and until reinforcements came 500 angry residents surrounded 20 narcs who were pelted with bottles and debris from above. As *Newsday* columnist Denis Hamill put it:

> "The perception that a narc threw Francis from the roof stained the muggy air like a promise of a terrible summer to come.... Drugs, heat, poverty and the rumor of police brutality and legal murder made this a disaster waiting to happen... the people in this part of Harlem aren't asking any questions. They already have their answer: COP MURDER!"
>
> —*Newsday*, 2 June

Just one week earlier, 200 demonstrators tied up rush-hour traffic on the Queensboro Bridge hours after Richard Luke, a 25-year-old black man, died in police custody. Luke's sister summoned an ambulance to Queensbridge project late in the evening of May 21 because Luke, an asthmatic, was having trouble breathing. Emergency Medical Service paramedics could not find the patient, according to an EMS spokesman, but housing cops dispatched to the scene did. Residents saw cops beat Luke, pin him down and choke him. The cops claimed two vials of crack rolled out of his pocket while he struggled in the station house lockup and began banging his head against the cell wall. He died en route to Astoria General.

Residents summed up their outrage: "We call an ambulance and get beat up by some cops," said Elizabeth Foles. Joanne Franklin said, "They think everything is drugs, drugs, drugs. We want drugs out of the projects too, but we don't want our people killed."

Why Should Anyone Believe David North?

The Workers League and Mark Curtis

Mark Curtis, a 29-year-old member of the Socialist Workers Party and union activist at the Swift meatpacking plant in Des Moines, is doing 25 years in an Iowa state prison on charges of burglary and sexual abuse. David North's Workers League, meanwhile, has been relentlessly working to undermine defense efforts for Curtis in the workers movement, here and internationally. Claiming that the "government-controlled" SWP is covering up for a "depraved rapist," the WL is vilifying leftists and trade-union leaders who sign statements or speak out on his behalf. Currently, the WL's *Bulletin* is running a weekly series on "The Mark Curtis Hoax," already in its eleventh installment. This campaign is now the Workers League's major activity. What is going on?

Mark Curtis was convicted on 14 September 1988 in a Des Moines court of third degree sexual abuse and first degree burglary, based on the state's charge that six months earlier Curtis forced his way onto the porch of the residence of a black family and attempted to rape 15-year-old Demetria Morris. But according to no account, not even that of the police *or* the young woman, did a rape ever take place, nor was anything stolen, nor was there a weapon, and there is no physical evidence of contact between Curtis and the alleged victim. Yet a young socialist militant faces 25 years of his life behind bars—for what? And why is David North's Workers League running point for the prosecution? Isn't there something weird here?

Marcus/Militant

Mark Curtis with supporters: Edna Griffin, Des Moines civil rights activist; Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife; and Susan Mnumzana, of African National Congress mission to UN.

Let's look at their targets. The Workers League has attacked the Socialist Workers Party as "a police-infested organization which works among politically diseased and disoriented layers of the middle class typified by the rapist Curtis" (*Bulletin*, 25 May). They have labeled our organization, the Spartacist League, a "politically deranged petty-bourgeois group," claiming: "The defense of this depraved rapist has become the rallying point for a political provocation against the Workers League, the most frantic exponent of which is, as always, the Spartacist League" (*Bulletin*, 6 January). What set off this tirade was our noting that "the Northites have suddenly and cynically discovered the use of black oppression in order to get a white SWPer in Iowa sent to prison for 25 years on a dubious rape charge" (*WV* No. 467, 16 December 1988).

The Socialist Workers Party is a reformist political organization of the left. It was one of 16 groups singled out for special scrutiny by the FBI's so-called "administrative index" (ADEX), a "subversives" list set up under Nixon to consolidate the earlier "Subversives Index" and "Communist Index." In 1973, at the height of liberal reaction against the government's Watergate "dirty tricks," the SWP filed a legal suit against FBI spying and disruption, particularly under the infamous COINTELPRO program. Testimony and documents uncovered during the "Watersuit" revealed that between 1960 and 1976, the FBI committed 206 burglaries at SWP offices or homes, stole 12,600 documents and tapped telephones for at least 20,000 days. In August 1986, U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in favor of the SWP, ordering the FBI to pay them the not very munificent sum of $264,000 in damages for its 38-year-long campaign of harassment.

The Spartacist League was also listed on the ADEX file, targeted by the government for "special" attention. The ADEX code included a group designated "SPL," along with the Communist Party, SWP, Black Panthers, Progressive Labor, SDS and others (see illustration). The FBI's definition of "SPL" claimed the Spartacist League "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time," implying that we were some kind of secret terrorist conspirators. The SL, too, sued the government, in a 1983 suit over the Attorney General's "Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations." And in 1984 we won the case by forcing the government to delete its slanderous and deadly "definition" of the SL, thus conceding that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism.

What about David North's Workers League? Unlike the SWP and the SL, they don't appear on the ADEX file. And while the SWP was in court fighting, in its fashion, against government surveillance and provocation, what was the WL doing? North and his godfather Gerry Healy's International Committee were mounting their own smear campaign, "Security and the Fourth International," cop-baiting SWP leaders as simultaneously agents of the FBI and the Russian secret police! When a WL agent, Alan Gelfand, was expelled from the SWP in 1977, North & Co. dragged the SWP into court, demanding that the capitalist state carry out a fishing expedition, prying into the party's minutes, finances and membership lists. It takes effrontery to haul groups into court who are the object of vicious governmental repression.

One has to ask, who benefits—*cui bono?*

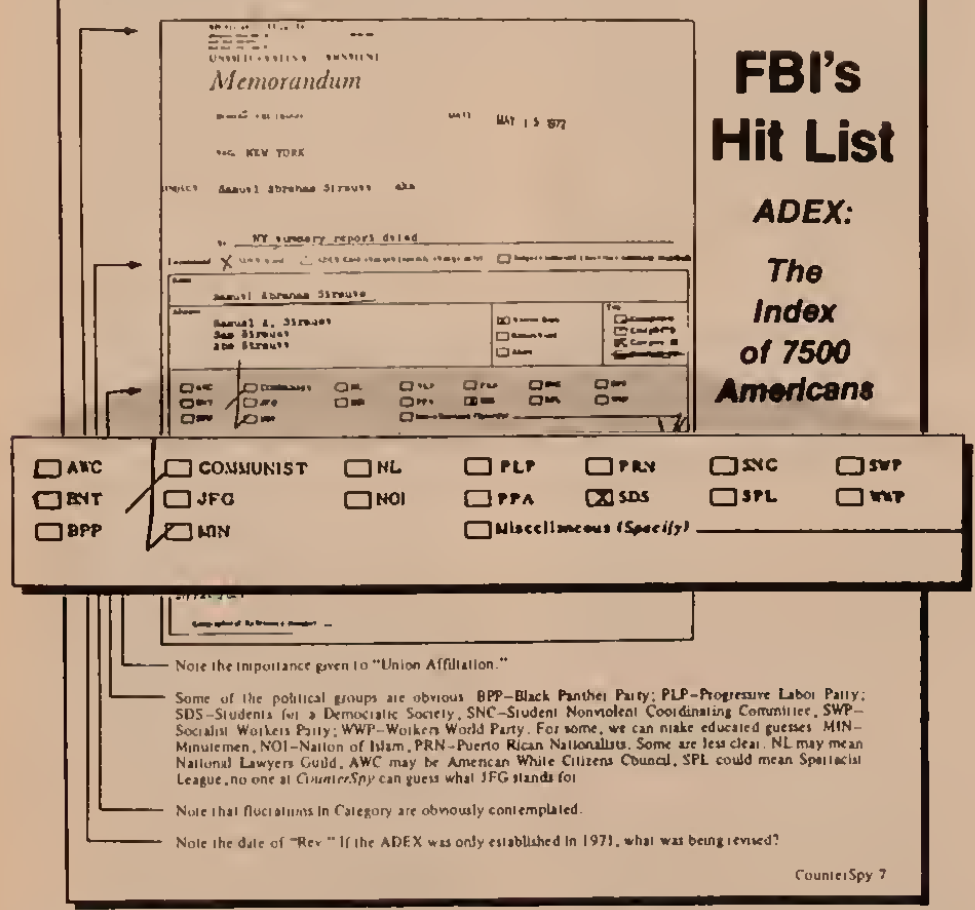
And one has to ask, who's doing the talking?

The rather shadowy David North is the latest in a long line of now infamous and sinister characters who have been prominent in the Gerry Healy tendency in Britain and their organization in the U.S., the Workers League. Let us see how North now describes his illustrious predecessors. Tim Wohlforth, who was axed in 1974 as *lider màximo* of the WL amid allegations of CIA connections, is reviled as a "petty bourgeois American philistine." Following the 1985 blowout in the Healyite organization, North dismissed Michael Banda, Healy's top hatchet man, as one of many "politically diseased petty-bourgeois renegades." Cliff Slaughter, another of the Healyites' ex-leading lights, is described as "a consummate cynic and hypocrite" who "epitomizes in his political and personal life all that is corrupt and perverse" in the British intelligentsia, "gathering into his net the most degenerate human specimens produced by this decadent social milieu" (*Bulletin*, 9 December 1988).

These were David North's mentors who showed him the ropes. Alex Mitchell, a fellow hack in the Healyite slander mills who together with North penned most of the "Security" smear job against the SWP, resurfaced with a column in an Australian bourgeois paper, the Sydney *Sun Herald*. Peter Fryer, who got out of the Healyites before the really dirty business got started, is described as "a degenerate middle-class journalist." Freddy Mazelis, who did a brief stand-in performance as WL honcho after Wohlforth was axed, has so far escaped being satanized, but only so long as he serves as North's toady. As for Gerry Healy, the evil sorcerer whose apprentices have run amok, in the 1985 implosion of the Healyites it was proven that he determined the party line in accordance with money from Arab colonels and sheiks. Now Healy is called a "political agent of the Kremlin" who is welcomed in Moscow "because he has placed his knowledge of the inner workings of the Fourth International at the disposal of the KGB" (*Bulletin*, 20

continued on page 10

In 1971, Attorney General John Mitchell, in an attempt to stave off further criticism of the FBI's practice of keeping huge lists of dissidents—alleged subversives—for who knows what nefarious reasons, announced that all of the lists had been abolished, and were replaced by one short "Administrative Index," or "ADEX," of less than 10,000 names. Since that list was also unrelated to proven, or even suspected criminal activity, in 1974 Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX had been abolished. However, in 1976, a politically active attorney from New York, requesting his FBI file under the Freedom of Information Act, discovered, buried in his dossier, a copy of his ADEX entry Memorandum and Report. ADEX, it appears, was not abolished, simply moved around. No explanation of the four categories was given. The New York office recommended that the lawyer be put in the lowest category, IV, "because of subject's apparent influence with New Left leaders." However, the home office stated: "In addition to the foregoing, a review of subject's activities clearly depicts him as a revolutionary attorney and sympathizer who, during a time of national emergency, would be likely to commit acts inimical to the national defense. In view of the above, subject is being included in Category III of ADEX." What fate is in store, we wonder, for people put in Category I? The names and addresses have been changed, otherwise the document below is an exact replica of an ADEX Memorandum.



Sample page from FBI's "ADEX" hit list, as it appeared in CounterSpy magazine, 6 December 1976. Sixteen groups were singled out, including the Spartacists ("SPL") and SWP—where was the Workers League?

Argentina...

(continued from page 1)

guard at gleaming Shopping Soleil in a posh neighborhood recounted the plight of the poor in the surrounding slums:

> "Two women came to me yesterday, just girls really, and both with babies, and they were crying and asked me for some powdered milk. They said they didn't want to steal. What was I going to do? I gave it to them."
>
> —[London] *Independent*, 1 June

Looking for seapegoats, government officials blamed the looting on "ultra-leftist groups," "Marxists" and the like. This was the line both of the federal administration of Alfonsin's Radical Party and of the provinces dominated by the Justicialista Party, followers of the late General Juan Perón. The Peronist standard-bearer, flamboyant provincial *caudillo* (strongman) Carlos Menem, thoroughly trounced the Radical candidate in the May 14 presidential election. But while he campaigned on a populist program, promising a "productive revolution," Menem supported the state of siege and joined Alfonsín in blaming the unrest on "the action of identified groups." Patricio Echegaray, head of the Communist Party, remarked ironically: "The Government discovered eight million agitators disguised as hungry people." Interior Minister Pugliese took the lead in whipping up an anti-Trotskyist hysteria, claiming that the incidents were provoked by activists intent on "a Trot-style takeover of power" (*Unomásuno* [Mexico], 31 May).

Their aim was directed at the Partido Obrero (PO—Workers Party), several of whose militants were arrested in Rosario and in Buenos Aires suburbs. The next day, PO presidential candidate Jorge Altamira and two other party leaders, Juan Carlos Capurro and Octavio Camera, went to the Government House (Casa Rosada) to protest. When they tried to hold a press conference after speaking with Interior Ministry officials, they were suddenly set upon by police who arrested them in front of journalists and brutally dragged them out. Soon after, police broke into Partido Obrero headquarters, arresting Gregorio Flores, Pablo Rienzo and Catalina Guagnini, and closed down the offices. In the next days party offices throughout Greater Buenos Aires were occupied. Some 14 PO members were arrested, as well as several members of the Communist Party, the ostensibly Trotskyist Movimiento al Socialismo and other leftist groups.

This brutal assault on a Marxist group recalled the days of the military's "dirty war" during the 1970s, when over 30,000 leftists and labor militants were assassinated or "disappeared." PO leaders were taken from their offices in white Ford Falcons, the favored vehicle of the security forces, and then held incommunicado. The arrests of the PO leaders provoked an outcry of protest abroad, in which sections of our International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) together with fraternal social and legal defense groups played an early and active part (see box). Initially charged with responsibility for "illicit acts," after six days in jail the five PO leaders were released on bail. But they are still charged under Article 213—membership in an organization which attempts to "impose its ideas... by force or fear"—which carries sentences of three to eight years. We demand: Drop the charges against the PO, MAS, CP and all leftists! Free all the hunger protesters! For workers mobilization against the state of siege!

La Capital

Reuters

President Alfonsin (above, left) and Peronist president-elect Menem seek to conciliate military. Barracks revolt (right) at Campo de Mayo military base outside Buenos Aires in 1987 against prosecution of officers responsible for mass murder.

"Argentina 1989, Germany 1923"

The hunger riots came only two weeks after presidential elections in which voters "punished" the Radical Party for its abysmal failure to deal with Argentina's by now catastrophic economic problems. Alfonsin came to office in 1983 as the candidate of "democracy" after years of bloody military rule. Introducing a new currency, the austral, he clamped a lid on inflation through brutal austerity. Through several programs (the latest called the "Springtime Plan") worked out with the International Monetary Fund bankers, he managed to keep profits up and wages *way* down. The minimum wage, which applies to many industrial workers, dropped to $43 *per month*. This provoked a record number of 13 general strikes during Alfonsín's administration. But with the economy stagnating, he could do nothing about the $58 billion international debt largely inherited from the generals. And when his managers decided to let the currency float against the U.S. dollar in February, the bottom dropped out.

The austral lost half its value on the first day, quickly falling from 17 to the dollar to over 200 now and climbing rapidly. Inflation took off, spiraling from nearly 400 percent last year to over 100 percent a month today. The *New York Times* (2 June) reported that with food prices losing 1 percent of their value *every four hours*, fancy Buenos Aires supermarkets use computers and product codes to "adjust" their prices daily. "The rub for Argentines is that their salaries do not increase by 1 percent every four hours," commented *Times* reporter James Brooke. Already by January, the economy had become "dollarized," with all major purchases such as houses or cars carried out in greenbacks. The total number of dollar bills circulating in Argentina far exceeds the total value of the national currency. The desperation of workers who rushed to exchange their miserable weekly wage for a $5 bill led to defeat at the polls for Alfonsín's Radical Civic Union (UCR).

"Alfonsinism," which translated into "starvation democracy," was repudiated. But what does the Peronist victor stand for? Today Menem declares he has made no demagogic promises... because he said nothing at all about his future policies. Touring the slums to popular acclaim in his "Menemobile," he brushed off accusations about his lifestyle proclaiming, "I am a seducer, not a womanizer." His answer to low pay was a *salariazo*, a vague suggestion of a big wage hike. But with a lame-duck president in the Casa Rosada, financial circles lost confidence completely and genuine hyperinflation appeared, now at an annual rate of *400,000 percent*. Everyone began making comparisons with Weimar Germany: "Argentina '89 and Germany '23" headlined the Buenos Aires daily *Clarin* (11 June), recalling the days when a meal in a Berlin restaurant cost 20 billion marks. Government printing presses are running 24 hours a day producing new 50,000-austral bills.

The transfer of the presidential sash wasn't to take place until December, but with the spiraling economic crisis Alfonsin tried to get rid of the hot potato by offering to resign early. Menem at first refused to take office until he could get his act together. But the Peronist-led CGT (General Labor Federation) demanded an immediate inauguration, and soon business leaders joined in the chorus. Finally Menem agreed to take office on June 30. And if anyone had doubts whether the Justicialista leader would satisfy the demands of his shirtless followers or the stuffed-shirt bankers, they were soon dispelled. Menem appointed as his economic minister Manuel Roig, a former vice president of the Bunge and Born grain monopoly. Roig's "B&B" plan is designed to deliver a shock treatment to the Argentine economy.

Wages are so far below the vital minimum that they can hardly be lowered, but they will barely be raised, and future labor minister Triaca has declared that general strikes will be banned for two years under an enforced "social pact." Meanwhile, strife has broken out in labor officialdom as Menem confidants try to oust CGT leader Ubaldini and to ace out the relatively militant auto workers union SMATA in favor of the metal workers UOM, whose conservative leader Lorenzo Miguel was closely allied to the murderous generals and the "AAA" anti-communist death squads. The threat to labor militants is very real: fully 5,000 of those jailed during the late '70s were union activists, as were at least one-fifth of those killed during the "dirty war."

Ever since General Bignone turned over the Casa Rosada in 1983, as the ruling junta decided to cut its losses after their humiliating defeat in the Falklands/Malvinas adventure, Alfonsin has been bedeviled by demands for punishment of the military criminals of the "dirty war." But as the army repeatedly threatened to revolt over attempts to prosecute these mass murderers, Alfonsín continually backed off. First came the December 1986 "*punto final*" (full stop) law setting a deadline for prosecutions. But when more than 400 officers were named as the authors of horrendous crimes against the working people, elite troops staged the 1987 "Holy Week" barracks revolt led by Colonel Aldo Rico at the key Campo de Mayo base outside the capital. In order to get the military conspirators to call off their action, Alfonsin agreed to the law of "*obediencia debida*" (due obedience) exonerating all those below command level. Like the Nazi Eichmann, they were supposedly "only following orders."

But the relatives of the thousands who were killed, and particularly the courageous Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, have refused to let the issue die. As Colonel Rico and his *carapintadas* (painted faces) continued to stage trial coups, all the bourgeois parties, from the conservative UCD to the Peronists and UCR, have tried to work out a face-saving formula to free even the few (20) top officers still facing trial. Now Menem and Alfonsin are squabbling over who authored a rumored decree which would order an amnesty for the dirty war criminals. Menem's future "defense" minister Italo Luder is emphatically for ending the trials, not surprising since in 1975 he issued the decree calling on the military to "annihilate the action of the subversives" (*Clarin*, 11 June). He also supports Alfonsin's recent creation of a National Security Council for domestic spying, since "modern war begins with the destruction of the internal front in every country."

Smash Capitalist Austerity and Military Repression! Workers Must Rule!

In announcing his short-lived post-election "crisis cabinet" in late May,

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Alfonsín declared a "war economy." Despite empty talk of price controls and investigating companies that don't pay taxes, the war is against the working class. And the bourgeois parties are waging it in a common front. Ever since the Justicialistas won 17 provincial governorships in the September 1987 elections, there has been de facto "co-government" in Argentina. Even before the May 14 elections, the Radicals and Peronists had set up a joint "transition team." Now an Alfonsín associate is to be justice minister in the new Menem government, and the UCR majority in the present Congress has agreed to pass a "Peronist economic package" in order to get a quick change of presidents. But above all, they are united in repression: the 15 dead hunger rioters were mowed down by police sent in with shoot-to-kill orders from *Peronist* provincial governors.

In the face of this capitalist coalition government of repression and starvation, the response of the Argentine reformist left was to join the clamor for an "early transition" to a Peronist administration. While CGT leader Ubaldini was calling for Menem to take office, the Movimiento al Socialismo, followers of the late Nahuel Moreno, called for the "immediate resignation" of Alfonsín. To dispel any doubts about what this meant in practice, the MAS declared: "Menem received the majority of votes of the working people.... Why doesn't he use the support of the many millions of votes and the 17 provinces governed by the PJ [Peronists] to impose the solutions he says he has" (*El Cronista Comercial*, 31 May). But already last fall, when they formed the Izquierda Unida (United Left) popular-front coalition together with the Communist Party and left Peronists, the MAS and CP signed a document indicating that IU electors in the electoral college would vote for Menem if necessary to give him a majority.

This backhanded support to the Peronists is nothing new for the Morenoites. Peronism is a bourgeois-populist movement which has historically drawn the bulk of its support from the working class. Today many Argentine workers look back to the government of General Juan Domingo Perón during the late 1940s and early '50s as a golden era when wages were raised, social works launched and unions organized. Back then Nahuel Moreno presented his group as the voice of "working-class revolutionary Peronism." But even in the "years of the fat cows," Perón outlawed the Communist Party, smashed every manifestation of working-class independence, even simple economic strikes, and subordinated labor to the state in corporatist fashion. And where Perón's "welfare state" was financed out of the massive wealth accumulated from feeding the allied imperialist armies in World War II, today the treasury coffers are virtually empty (with reserves barely enough to finance one month's imports).

Menem is riding to power on the Perón myth, but he will use the Peronist-led unions and the army to "discipline" the Argentine working masses for the Bunge and Born grain traders, the Rural Society landowners, the Industrial Union bosses, the blood-sucking IMF bankers and the blood-drenched generals who enforce the capitalist dictatorship. He vows to "manage Argentina like a business," and the bottom line is profits. Argentina is careening toward catastrophe. The proletariat doesn't lack militancy: 13 general strikes in five years against Alfonsín demonstrate that. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, for an authentic Trotskyist party to break the workers from bourgeois politics and undertake a struggle for socialist revolution. This is the only way to end the bloody cycle of starvation democracy and military coups which have beset Argentina for decades.

In the face of the impending catastrophe, such a party would advance a transitional program of concrete demands to galvanize the proletariat around its own class interests and unite behind it the poor of the cities and countryside in a struggle for workers power. First and foremost this brings up the question of Argentina's almost $60 billion foreign debt. Menem has stated categorically that "Argentina will not renounce its foreign debt, it will pay it" (interview in *Libération* [Paris], 9 June). Siphoning off billions for Wall Street translates directly into hunger for the masses. The Izquierda Unida program begins with a call to "not pay the fraudulent foreign debt," and the MAS talks of a "moratorium." But Alfonsín is already implementing this program—Argentina hasn't made a payment for well over a year! What's called for is repudiation of the debt—not one more dollar to the imperialist looters!

To protect the Argentine masses against the ravages of inflation, the IU calls for "price control on leading companies" (thus exempting small businesses). Alfonsín has already issued decrees controlling prices on basic necessities, but these are scraps of paper in the face of the powerful economic forces at work. The freeze on bread prices simply provoked Buenos Aires bakeries to stop producing. Real price controls and measures to prevent hoarding must be imposed by committees of delegates from factory committees, trade unions, cooperatives, housewives. The IU calls for a "vital, sliding minimum wage." Roig's B&B plan also calls for "immediate wage adjustment." Whatever the mechanism, carried out by the bourgeois state it can only be a fraud. A genuine sliding scale of wages and hours, to fully compensate wages for the loss of buying power and to divide available jobs among all those seeking jobs, is a measure pointing to a socialist planned economy, and requires a revolutionary mobilization of the working class.

But that is what the reformists have sought to avoid at all costs. In the May 14 elections, the IU received 4.5 percent of the vote for Congress and elected Luis Zamora as deputy. While Alfonsín was babbling about his administration being threatened by "100 Trots," his interior minister was calling on deputy-elect Zamora to "contribute to calming spirits" and to "assume responsibility" for his words. And that is exactly what the MAS leader did. When a march was planned to protest the state of siege, Zamora & Co. mobilized... to call it off. *Clarín* (9 June) reported that "The Movimiento al Socialismo, Communist Party and other groupings in the United Left decided it would be inconvenient to carry out the demonstration after Interior Minister Juan Carlos Pugliese warned that it would be banned." What's needed is not just another hunger march of empty pots and pans, but a genuine general strike, not just a 24-hour protest, by Argentina's powerful labor movement.

Repudiation of the imperialist debt, a sliding scale of wages and hours, control of prices by workers committees, opening the books of the capitalists, occupation of the factories, a real general strike, the formation of factory committees and workers militias—what's posed is a fight for state power. A workers government would put an end to the chaos and superexploitation the Argentine masses are condemned to so long as the capitalist order survives. Menem rightly says that he is taking office in "the worst crisis of Argentina's history." The comparisons between the desperate situation of Argentina today and Weimar Germany in 1923 are quite to the point: what's posed is a prerevolutionary crisis, what's needed is a resolute revolutionary leadership. As Leon Trotsky wrote of Germany '23:

> "This period was characterized by the thorough shaking up of German society. The mark plummeted downward at such a mad pace that our quiet Soviet ruble might have been the object of envy. Prices of basic necessities rose wildly. The dissatisfaction of the working masses was expressed in open clashes with the state. The German bourgeoisie was discouraged and incapable of action....
>
> "Why then in Germany has there been no victory thus far? I think there can be only one answer: because Germany did not have a Bolshevik party, nor did it have a leader such as we had in October [1917]."
>
> —"On the Road to the European Revolution" (April 1924)

The communists failed to take power in 1923...and ten years later Hitler did. Argentine workers only have to think back to the years of the dirty war to know what lies in wait for them. Not another Peronist "savior" with his left flank covered by pseudo-Marxist reformists, but a fight to forge such a Bolshevik party as part of a reborn Fourth International is the key to the salvation of the Argentine masses. ■

Drop Charges Against Argentine Leftists!

The declaration of a state of siege by Argentine president Alfonsín and the arrest of two dozen leftists, particularly targeting the Partido Obrero (PO—Workers Party) was met with sharp protests internationally. The Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. fired off the protest printed below to the Argentine government. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization, which purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The Comité de Défense Sociale in France sent a telex noting that "These massive arrests and the witchhunt against the left inevitably recall the dark days of the generals' dirty war against the population." Protests were sent as well by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain, the Comitato di Difesa Sociale e Proletaria in Italy, the Partisan Defence Committee in Australia and the Komittee für soziale Verteidigung in West Germany. In France, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste participated in a June 8 demonstration of several left groups denouncing the arrests and state of siege in Argentina. And on June 13 in London, the Spartacist League joined in a protest outside the Argentine interests section of the Brazilian embassy.

Workers Hammer

London, June 13—Spartacist League and PDC join protest against Argentina repression, demanding "Free Members of PO, MAS, CP and All Left-Wing Groups!"

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2 June 1989

President Raúl Alfonsín
Casa Rosada
Buenos Aires, Argentina

The Partisan Defense Committee emphatically protests the arrests by your government of leaders and members of the Partido Obrero and other left-wing groups. We urgently demand their immediate release, along with the over 2,000 reportedly detained by police and army in the current hunger protests. These arrests and the declaration of a state of siege (approved as well by your recently elected successor) are an attempt to find scapegoats for the social crisis set off by the starvation policies of your government.

To the poor people clamoring for bread you say "let them eat lead" as they are shot down by the "forces of order." Throughout Latin America millions are suffering from immiseration and hunger so that the IMF bankers cartel can squeeze out their blood money. The debt bomb already exploded in Caracas, and now the starving have risen up in Argentina's "towns of misery."

Down with the state of siege! Free Jorge Altamira, Juan Carlos Capurro, Octavo Camera, other members of Partido Obrero, the Movimiento al Socialismo, the Communist Party and other left-wing groups! Drop all charges against Gregorio Flores, Catalina Guagnini and Pablo Rieznik! Thousands have been arrested because they assert their right to eat, to provide milk for their children. On behalf of working people around the world, indignant at this outrage, the PDC demands: Release them all, now!

Partisan Defense Committee

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Worldwide Effort for Jalalabad Tops $40,000

For ten long years, the American government has been up to its eyeballs in the Afghan war. Under the rubric of Democrat Jimmy Carter's "human rights" fraud or the "evil empire" ravings of Republican Ronald Reagan, both wings of U.S. imperialism united to bankroll a counterrevolutionary army of cutthroats to kill Soviet and Afghan soldiers fighting for elementary social progress. In February, Kremlin leader Gorbachev withdrew all Soviet troops from Afghanistan—*betraying* the Afghan and Soviet peoples in the vain hope of appeasing world capitalism. Washington's Cold Warriors licked their chops at the prospect of installing an Islamic fundamentalist puppet regime right on the border of Soviet Central Asia. Now they lick their wounds.

As the Russians pulled out, the U.S. *stepped up* direct arms shipments, funding and masterminding the bloody *mujahedin* attacks from bases in Pakistan. The Afghan city of Jalalabad became the focal point of the reactionary onslaught. But with their backs to the wall, Afghan soldiers and civilians fought hard and have thrown back the CIA's cutthroats from a horrendous three-month siege. *We salute the heroic Afghan defenders of Jalalabad!* Soviet veterans of the Afghan war, too, must take pride in this victory for our side, and satisfaction that all they fought for was not in vain. And we are pleased that through a worldwide campaign launched by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which raised over $40,000 in humanitarian aid to the civilian victims of Jalalabad, we have been of active, if modest, assistance. Our Afghan sisters and brothers are literally fighting for their lives, for a future free of the yoke of a theocratic state, free of the veil and the life of slavery it symbolizes for women of the East.

PDC Launches International Campaign

Marching under a banner reading: "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA Cutthroats!" the Partisan Defense Committee began the campaign for the "Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund" at the huge women's abortion rights march on April 9 in Washington, D.C. Joining with the PDC in this campaign were fraternal defense organizations in seven countries, and the sections of our international tendency. The PDC is a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S.

In just over two months' time, the campaign has topped $40,000—and every lira, pound and penny collected has gone to Afghanistan. The rulers of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the U.S. drop more than that every hour into the war chests of their sadistic "holy warriors." But every contribution to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund represented a stand by workers around the world against their own rulers. This was not just a financial campaign but a political struggle: a reaffirmation of the Leninist tradition of *international class-struggle defense*.

WV Photo

PDC campaigns for Jalalabad aid at Bay Area demonstration defending women's right to abortion.

In early February, as the Soviet army completed its withdrawal, with basic social gains at stake, the PDC wrote the Afghan Embassy with "the urgent offer to organize an international brigade to fight to the death in defense of these rights in Afghanistan." This offer raised eyebrows and sneers from some, including a few who claimed to support the Soviet army fight against the *mujahedin*. But our offer came straight out of our revolutionary heritage. Scores of Trotskyists fought in the trenches of the Spanish Civil War, with the Lenin Column on the Aragon front, for example. The founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938 sent a message of "greetings to the Fighters in Spain" which said in part:

> "It [the conference] recalls with pride that the first effective practical aid in the form of volunteers, while the Popular Front parties were still babbling away about neutrality, was given by the sections of the Fourth International, particularly the French and the Belgian sections. It salutes its members who fell in the first days of the fight against Franco."

In response to our offer to organize international brigades the Afghan government said military assistance was not needed at this time. Then, a few weeks later, it approached us with an appeal for humanitarian assistance for the besieged civilians of Jalalabad who were in desperate need of food, medicine and clothing. And it turns out, as expected, that there were people thinking along the same lines who wanted to fight and were ready to give. A member of the Lebanese Communist Party told us that 30 of his comrades went to Kabul to fight. Iranian leftists, who know firsthand what it means to live under an Islamic republic, have crossed into Afghanistan to join the battle, and scores of Iranian exiles gave to the Jalalabad campaign. Val Moghadam, a Middle East sociologist who recently visited Kabul, wrote: "I am most impressed and encouraged by what the PDC has been doing: exposing the U.S.-Pakistan-*mujahedin* collaboration in the war against the Afghan people, extending financial assistance to the civilians of Jalalabad, and supporting Afghan women's rights."

The PDC campaign intersected a shift in world opinion. With the Russians gone and the *mujahedin* losing in their bloody siege of Jalalabad, even capitalist mouthpieces like the *Wall Street Journal* began to back away from unbridled support to the monsters Washington had created. The biggest recipient of CIA monies, Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, saw his ratings drop from "intrepid freedom fighter" to the more accurate "fascist." The sharp struggle and changing balance of forces in the Afghan war drew a response from class-struggle fighters everywhere. Funds were raised overwhelmingly from small donations from those without wealth. We want to stress this—*tens of thousands* of people gave to the Jalalabad aid campaign: immigrant workers throughout Western Europe, Asia and North America; trade unionists; students eager to take a stand against the CIA; and everywhere from women, including in Muslim communities.

At rallies for May Day, the international proletarian holiday, workers from Tokyo to Mexico City and Barcelona contributed to help the courageous people of Jalalabad. In Sydney, Australia, dock workers—who refused to work American ships during the height of the Vietnam War—gave for Jalalabad. On May Day in Melbourne, Turkish workers took up a group collection and the Iranian Rahe Kargar

Young Spartacus

Downing/Newsweek

Spartacus Youth Club at Harvard, June 8, protests Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto as "Linchpin for CIA's Bloody Afghan War." "Poppy" Bush and "Pinkie" Bhutto agree on continued funding to bloodthirsty mujahedin.

made an organizational donation. The German-Vietnamese Friendship Society also made an organizational contribution in Berlin on May Day.

The London *Independent* (19 June) described a Sheffield meeting of Tony Benn's Socialist Movement in the British Labour Party at which various left groups and "even the Trotskyite Spartacist League" were present:

> "The pro-Soviet League were collecting money for the Afghan victims of the siege of Jalalabad—though they regard President Gorbachev's decision to withdraw from Afghanistan as 'appeasement of Nato's capitalist rulers'.
> "They got little change from the Movement, but seemed pleased with the £25 donated on Saturday at the National Union of Mineworkers' centenary celebrations in Barnsley."

We also got some nasty opposition. In Berlin, a group of *mujahedin* supporters threatened our comrades, but were immediately faced with a defense squad of a dozen Pakistani and Turkish leftists and others. In Chicago, two Spartacus Youth Club members were brutally attacked by *mujahedin* supporters, including the son of a traitor, the former second-in-command of the Afghan secret police who was also a *mujahedin* spy.

To many Communist Party members, this campaign looked like the kind of thing *real* communists should do. Individuals from other parties gave to this campaign or were moved to action of their own as a consequence of our efforts. We note that the French Communist Party's newspaper *l'Humanité* recently asked readers to send contributions to the post office box set up by the Afghan Embassy. CP oppositionists—the British "tankies," Italian "kabulisti" and Spanish "afganos," so known for their support to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan—emptied their pockets for this campaign. A French CPer sent 100 francs with a note saying: "This does not mean that I agree with Trotskyism, far from that, but it is a consciousness of the necessary united front to defend revolutionary movements threatened by imperialism and abandoned by perestroika." The success and broad impact of our defense efforts for Jalalabad were a key impetus in the decision by the international Spartacist tendency to launch the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Le Bolchévik

Call for aid to Afghan civilian victims

The Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) has launched a campaign to raise funds for the civilian victims of the continued fighting around the Afghanistan city of Jalalabad. One of the largest cities in the country it has been the scene of heavy fighting for some weeks

Mujahedin make a desperate attempt to capture and hold a major area in order to try and shore up their sinking credibility.

In launching their appeal the PDC state:

"What would happen if the 'holy warriors' financed and organized by the Un-

by Thatcher – won the war over Afghanistan? Women enslaved to the veil. School teachers shot. 'Adulterers' stoned. 'Blasphemers' executed. Foreign political refugees murdered. Minor government officials condemned. We call urgen defenders of

social progr materially aid tins of Washi bloody crusad contribution w a message of nationalist solid those who pated to fight to the death against the CIA's cutthroats."

ASIAN TIMES
28 April 1989

PARTISAN DEFENCE COMMITTEE
FUNDRAISING SOCIAL
No to the Veil — Defend Afghan Women!
Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA's Cutthroats!
SHER-E-PUNJAB WEEKLY
10 May 1989

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) at French Lutte Ouvrière tête raises defense committee banner: "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Aid to the Victims of the CIA's Killers in Jalalabad!" London papers Asian Times (above) and Sher-E-Punjab (right) carried early fund appeals.

Franklin/Magnum

Armed Afghan women participate in Kabul rally—hundreds have volunteered for women's militia, fighting for their rights and their lives.

No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women!

On June 8, when Pakistan's prime minister Benazir Bhutto went to Boston to deliver a commencement address at Harvard, the Spartacus Youth Club organized a protest demonstration to throw a spotlight on Pakistan's annexationist appetites and sordid role in the Afghan war. Dubbed "Virgin Iron Pants" by Salman Rushdie whose *Satanic Verses* she has banned, Ms. "Pinkie" Bhutto tried to sell herself to the public as the "embodiment of democracy." But our protest told the truth, denouncing her as a "linchpin of the CIA's bloody Afghan war" and protesting the plight of women in Pakistan who are jailed and stoned to death under the hated "Hadood Ordinance." This demonstration was featured on the front page of Britain's foremost English-language Asian weekly, the *Asian Times*, and also covered in London's Indian paper, *Sher-E-Punjab*.

"Pinkie" Bhutto came fresh from a meeting in the White House with "Poppy" Bush where they renewed their commitment to continue arming the ultra-reactionary tribal chiefs, landlords and mullahs who specialize in rape, murder, torture—*and the slave trade*. An article in the London *Independent* (30 May) notes the outright sale of women by the CIA's "freedom-fighters" in Pakistan:

> "A number of women's groups in Pakistan have appealed to international organisations to investigate reports of the involvement of Islamic mercenaries in a slave trade of women deemed to be 'sympathisers' of President Najibullah. "The Women's Action Forum in Islamabad claims that some of them are auctioned off to the 2,000 mercenaries of

continued on page 8

Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to June 16 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee and joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany.

A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the accounts. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign, amounting to thousands of dollars, are being paid by the respective legal and social defense organizations in each country.

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared, and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in U.S. dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 16 June 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+	Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	=	Total Collected
Australia					
Partisan Defence Committee	A$4,727.12		A$0.00		A$4,727.12
Receipts Nos. 1-37	[$3,547.70]				[$3,547.70]
Britain					
Partisan Defence Committee	£3,884.05		£324.59		£4,208.64
Receipts Nos. 1-100 & 2/1-2/100	[$5,975.61]		[$499.38]		[$6,474.99]
Canada					
Partisan Defense Committee	C$3,833.91		C$30.00		C$3,863.91
Receipts Nos. 95401-95484	[$3,203.23]		[$25.07]		[$3,228.30]
France					
Comité de défense sociale	FF31,501.10		FF555.00		FF32,056.10
Receipts Nos. 1/1-1/50 & 2/1-2/23	[$4,630.66]		[$81.59]		[$4,712.25]
Italy					
Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria	L.2,644,565		L.30,400		L.2,674,965
Receipts Nos. 1-114	[$1,800.95]		[$20.70]		[$1,821.65]
Japan					
Partisan Defense Committee	¥44,992		¥0		¥44,992
Receipts Nos. 1-13	[$310.31]				[$310.31]
United States					
Partisan Defense Committee	US$14,779.27		US$2,935.02		US$17,714.29
Receipts Nos. 5001-5200					
West Germany					
Komitee für soziale Verteidigung	DM8,517.77		DM0.00		DM8,517.77
Receipts Nos. 1-87	[$4,291.25]				[$4,291.25]
International Totals (in US dollars)	$38,538.98		$3,561.76		$42,100.74

Afghan War Vet Denounces Traitor Sakharov

When Andrei Sakharov came out in support of U.S. sanctions against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan ten years ago, he became the darling of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. This Nobel "peace" prize winner was the favorite of liberals who found Solzhenitsyn's "back to the tsar" diatribes a bit too much to stomach. In the last couple of years, as the Kremlin has gone from one capitulation after another to U.S. imperialism abroad while encouraging capitalist "market" forces at home, Sakharov has become something of a celebrity among Gorbachevite intellectuals as well. As a member of the newly-created Congress of People's Deputies, he was lionized in corridor TV interviews. But on June 1, Sakharov finally got a long-overdue blast of outrage for his pro-imperialist slander campaign against the Soviet army's role in Afghanistan.

In an interview with a Canadian newspaper last February, Sakharov had accused Soviet troops of firing from helicopter gunships on their own comrades who were about to be taken prisoner by the murderous *mujahedin*. In the most dramatic moment of the Congress' eight days, disabled Afghan war veteran Sergei V. Chervonopisky got up to the podium to denounce Sakharov for wanting "to demean the memory and the dignity of those sons of our people who perished on the soil of Afghanistan." Reading a letter from an airborne division demanding condemnation of Sakharov, Chervonopisky declared: "We believe Deputy Sakharov wants to discredit the Soviet Army."

Reuters

Former paratroop major Sergei V. Chervonopisky (right) applauded by Soviet Congress as he attacked Sakharov (lower left) for insulting Red Army veterans of Afghanistan war.

He went on to express his disappointment with the Congress deputies for failing to stand up in defense of "country, motherland, communism." As the former paratroop major, who lost both legs in the war, hobbled away from the podium, the hall echoed to sustained applause.

Sakharov got up to extol himself for denouncing this "war of annihilation" from the outset, claiming that his internal exile over this was a badge of honor. Then one speaker after another followed Chervonopisky to the podium to denounce Sakharov. Former Soviet chief of staff Sergei Akhromeyev declared Sakharov's charge to be a "blatant lie." Tursan Kazakova, a woman deputy from the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, was greeted by a standing ovation when she blasted Sakharov: "You have insulted all those who died and perished, and I think we despise you." Even prominent critics generally sympathetic to Sakharov refused to defend him this time. Roy Medvedev commented: "In this case he is wrong. He really did insult the Soviet Army and Soviet people. He should have apologized" (*New York Times*, 3 June). Afterward, Sakharov spouted off to the Western press that he was only sorry that he "didn't speak of all the crimes committed by the Soviet army in Afghanistan."

What "human rights" champion Sakharov didn't say one word about are the very real crimes of the *mujahedin* or the rights of Afghan women and children slaughtered and horribly defiled for removing the *chador* or learning to read and write. Soviet soldiers captured by the CIA's "holy warriors" have in general met a fate far worse than death, as surviving veterans have recalled: "the rebels would sexually mutilate live prisoners, or slit the skin around their waists and pull it up as though it were a shirt" (*Newsweek*, 20 February). Sakharov doesn't talk about this because he is a witting apologist for imperialism. After supporting the Carter grain boycott to starve the Soviet people, he appealed to Ronald Reagan with a call in *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1983) to "spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles." We responded: "Try the Traitors Sakharov!" (*WV* No. 356, 8 June 1984).

Even Gorbachev, who engineered the ignominious Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, joined in the standing ovation for Chervonopisky's stinging rebuke to Sakharov. But the first issue of the new French edition of *Moscow News* not only defended Sakharov, it shamelessly echoed the vilest lies of the *Voice of America* claiming that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was an "imperialist adventure" and an "undeclared colonial war"; that to call the *afgantsy* war veterans "internationalist combatants" is a "disgusting Brezhnevite lie"; that "the entire world is convinced" that in Afghanistan Soviet troops carried out "crimes against humanity" (*Les Nouvelles de Moscou*, 9 June). These self-styled supporters of radical perestroika dismissed those who applauded the Afghan vet as bureaucrats, handraisers or hopeless ignoramuses. Their "anti-Brezhnevism" is thinly-disguised anti-communism; they look instead to NATO "socialist" Mitterrand (whose interview was featured in their maiden issue).

With denunciations of the Soviet army and even Leninism becoming all the rage these days among the Moscow "smart set," it's gratifying to hear somebody stand up in defense of communism as he understands it. As Trotskyists, who hailed the Red Army's intervention against CIA-backed reactionary terrorists, we can add that Brezhnev's real crime in Afghanistan was that he didn't fight to win. ■

Berner/Seattle Times

At unofficial memorial in Moscow, citizens honor Soviet fighters who died in Afghanistan.

Effort for Jalalabad...

(continued from page 7)

> the fundamentalist Wahhabi sect, who are funded by Saudi Arabia. It is further claimed that the ones not set up in brothels are shipped back to Saudi Arabia via Karachi, thanks to the assistance of some paid-off Pakistani officials."

Ten years ago the war in Afghanistan was ignited by the struggle for women's rights. The mullahs and tribal chiefs went into opposition when the government restricted the bride price and began educating young girls. Today, Afghan women are in the forefront of the battle to defend their social emancipation. Hundreds have signed up for a voluntary women's militia and they will fight for their lives.

Not Charity, But Struggle!

We undertook this campaign to provide desperately-needed funds for the beleaguered Afghan fighters as part of an international working-class defense against imperialism. The Partisan Defense Committee is modeled on the International Labor Defense (ILD) in the early years when James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, was its secretary. The ILD was the American affiliate of the International Red Aid, launched by the Comintern in 1922. Despite the war-ravaged conditions of the new Soviet Republic emerging from the Civil War and invasion by 14 capitalist armies, Red Aid nuclei sprang up all across Russia because Soviet workers knew that their cause was intertwined with the fate of the international class struggle. In 1921-22, Soviet workers were themselves the recipients of aid from workers around the world who responded to an appeal by the Comintern for aid to famine-stricken Russia.

Another legacy from the International Labor Defense is the PDC's financial responsibility and strict accounting of funds. The practice of publishing a full accounting of numbered receipts for all the workers movement to see was taken from the pages of the ILD's *Labor Defender*. The PDC has just published its *Financial Report No. 1*, a final accounting of the 1985 Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Campaign (see ad this page).

The tradition of international class-struggle defense has been buried under the leaden weight of the Stalinist bureaucracy. For decades, workers' struggles have been sacrificed on the altar of détente and justified with the anti-international "theory" of "socialism in one country." The treachery of Stalin's heirs is clear in Gorbachev's withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. But although the Najibullah regime has bent over backward to conciliate the reactionary *mujahedin* in the name of "national reconciliation," the defenders of Jalalabad stood and fought. And tens of thousands of people around the world proudly stood with them through our campaign. It is in the spirit of the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, in defense of the Soviet Union and in defense of our class brothers and sisters in Afghanistan that the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund was carried through to success. ■

Just Out!

Financial Report No. 1

Aid to Striking British Miners' Families

June 1989
$.50 (8 pages)

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Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

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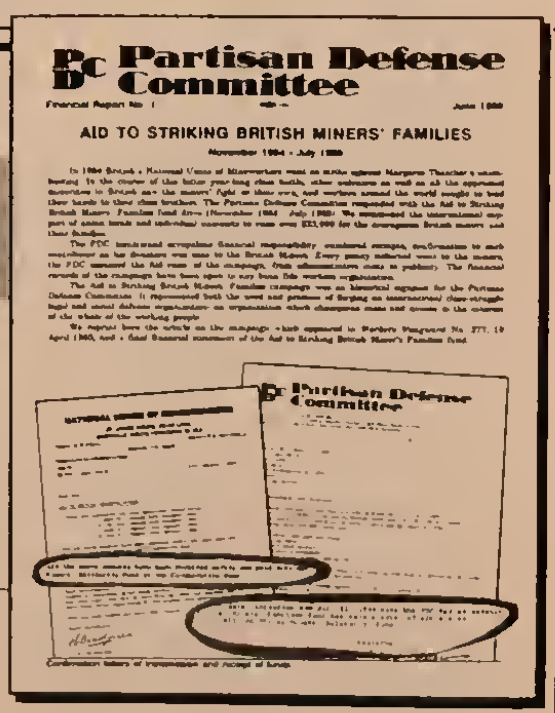


Chinese Workers vs. Deng's "Capitalist Methods"

Report from Hong Kong

HONG KONG, June 13—The news from the mainland provides a glimpse of the scope of the political revolution that began in China. The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has mounted an enormous campaign of repression. They responded to the fragility and incongruities of their parasitic rule.

It is a bitter irony that with the constant reports of a "successful" crackdown we are beginning to appreciate the immense scope of the protest. An article that appeared in yesterday's *Hong Kong Standard* reporting the return of a law professor from Wuhan University, Barbara Ranagan, reported her as saying that attacks had been mounting against the working class even before martial law had been declared in Beijing. In particular she referred to an incident where two truckloads of students were allowed through a road blockade while a third truckload of workers was beaten by police. Reports coming through point to the development of autonomous workers unions in major industrial centres of China, including Shanghai. Evidence also indicates that organised working-class resistance that was beginning to transform the situation also intersected massive opposition to the Deng brand of "free enterprise" market socialism.

Take for example reports from Northeast China in Liaoning province. It is referred to as one of China's most conservative provinces. Liaoning's major city Shenyang has been designated as a testing ground for economic "reform." The 13 June *South China Morning Post* reports that it has China's first stock market. It has even had China's first bankruptcy and includes many privately owned companies. In Shenyang, the city's largest demonstration was mounted by workers from Shenyang Aircraft Company. Last Wednesday 30,000 workers blocked city streets with a convoy of over 100 trucks and hundreds of bicycles. Apparently their actions were initially motivated by the death of one of the workers' sons—a student killed in Tiananmen Square.

Then there is the example of Chengdu in Sichuan province. This is the province where Zhao Ziyang made a name for himself as an architect for agricultural reforms in the '70s. Chengdu is supposed to be one of China's most progressive cities! A *South China Morning Post* (13 June) correspondent reports that when news reached Chengdu of the killings in Beijing:

> "...a mob including students but mostly composed of badly-paid workers and unemployed youths engaged in an orgy of destruction which was probably the most serious anywhere in China."

The same article reports that:

> "Chengdu's main monument to capitalism, the vast underground private market has been sealed off since the rioters tried to take control of it. The market, built in a disused atomic shelter runs directly underneath the Mao statue."

The Shenyang and Chengdu examples are both graphic in their own ways. The Chinese working class revealed their massive social power—they also told the world (not least their class brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union) what they think of "free enterprise" market socialism. There are indications that some nascent working class organisations, indeed organising centres were spreading across major cities.

One can't help but feel the urgent need for a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership of the Chinese proletariat. After all they have a whole hell of a lot to defend, and they can see things beginning to crumble around them under the weight of the Stalinist bureaucracy's corruption and treachery.

China...

(continued from page 1)

cost of the bullet! Racist New York cops would be green with envy.

To date there have been over 1,000 arrests, including leaders of the Beijing Autonomous Student Union and the Autonomous Workers Union and their counterparts in China's other major cities. Premier Li Peng vowed that there would be many more arrests, and called for punishment "without mercy." Students are paraded on television wearing manacles. Arrested workers are marched through the streets with signs describing their "crimes" of "instigating social unrest" and "spreading rumors." Commenting on the executions, the *New York Times* (16 June) noted: "It may be significant that they were workers, rather than students, because the Government has been particularly alarmed about the prospect of workers joining the unrest and going on strike."

Chung/Aslaweek

Beijing: printing workers rally with drums and cymbals on outskirts of Tiananmen Square. Working-class mobilizations transformed mass student protests into beginning of political revolution in China.

The Western media usually describes the oppositional forces in China as "the student movement for democracy." But it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of "building socialism with capitalist methods" which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature. Organized workers' contingents started to participate in the marches, and it was the threat of a general strike which led Li Peng to order martial law in mid-May. Moreover, the outpouring of hundreds of thousands of working people into the streets stymied the regime's attempted crackdown then. When the troops attacked unarmed people in Beijing on June 4, thousands of workers battled them with whatever came to hand.

Justifying the massacre to his colleagues and military commanders, Deng reportedly stated: "If we had not suppressed them, they would have brought about our collapse. I myself, and all of you commanding officers present, would have been shoved under the guillotine" (*New York Times*, 17 June). This bureaucracy, which grotesquely calls itself Communist, knows well that it rules *in place of* the proletariat. The Deng regime has more or less tolerated a "pro-democracy" student movement for the past decade. Indeed, many of the student leaders were sons and daughters of top bureaucrats.

So why the savage repression at the *very first signs* of working-class protest? Is it because these old Stalinists want to maintain "totalitarian" control over everything that happens in China? Hardly. After all, Deng & Co. have opened up the Chinese economy to foreign investors and local capitalist entrepreneurs, for which they have been lavishly praised by the Western bourgeois media.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, in both China and the Soviet bloc, is a parasitic caste resting upon a collectivized (i.e., proletarian) economy. Because the bureaucrats do not own the means of production, because they do not have the myriad threads of social control of a ruling capitalist *class*, their power stems from *monopolizing political control* of the governing apparatus. Since they claim to rule in the interests of the workers, they cannot tolerate any independent workers organization. Any real workers movement necessarily challenges the legitimacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Hence, the historic instability of China, the Soviet Union and other bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (22 June) quotes one observer:

> "This leadership is politically unstable and will remain unstable. Whatever arrangements are made now—once Deng dies it will come unglued. Everybody in China knows this. And everybody knows that everybody knows."

The bureaucracy is rent, with those favoring a crackdown in the ascendancy over those who sought to co-opt the student protests. The army is divided as well. Despite the provocative repression, which pales in comparison to the bloodletting of the Cultural Revolution, not to mention the 1927 Shanghai massacre under Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, attempts to organize independent student and labor groups will no doubt continue. But the indispensable condition for workers' victory is the construction of a Trotskyist party, raising the banner of Bolshevik internationalism against the Stalinist fraud of building "socialism in one country" or "with capitalist methods."

For Bolshevik Internationalism!

Parallel with the death sentences meted out to workers, Deng's regime is conducting a Big Lie campaign, the scope of which is outdone only by its cynicism. The Tiananmen Square massacre "never happened," claims Li Peng. At the same time, the Deng regime is trying to appeal to Chinese nationalism and xenophobia by blaming the "riots" on "bourgeois liberal" ideas imported from the West, while denouncing the U.S. in particular for "interfering" in China's affairs.

To be sure, many of the students displayed illusions in Western-style "democracy." At the same time, they repeatedly sang the *Internationale*, the international socialist workers anthem. But it is the Deng regime itself which has fostered illusions by its military alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet Union and its glorification of Western capitalism, while unleashing powerful internal forces toward capitalist restoration. A few years ago the president of the New York Stock Exchange visited Beijing to advise the government on setting up a stock and bond market. The head of the Bank of China greeted this personification of Wall Street with the honorific title of "elder brother." Is it any wonder, then, that many students—who for the most part are children of the ruling bureaucracy—idealize capitalist America?

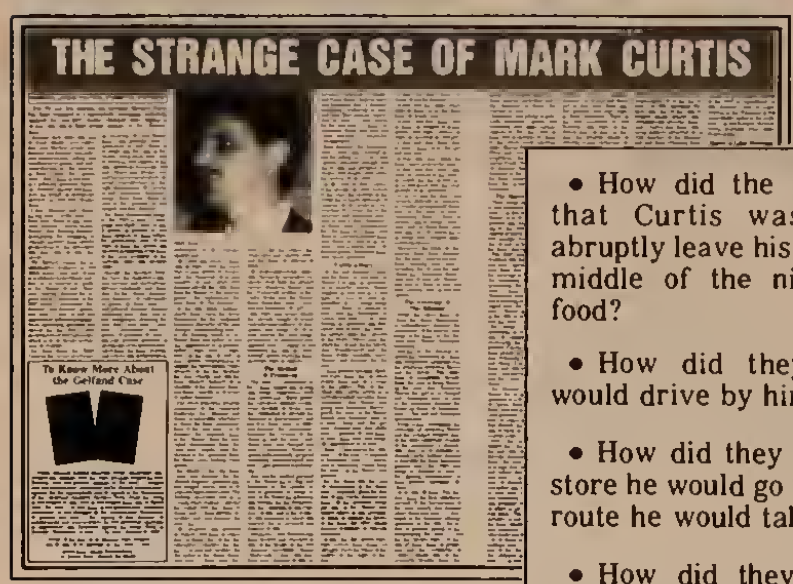
For its part, U.S. imperialism certainly did not incite the protest movement but rather was deeply embarrassed by it. The Bush White House is torn between maintaining its military alliance with the Chinese Stalinists against the USSR and exploiting the Beijing massacre for anti-Communist purposes. Thus the U.S. embassy in Beijing has harbored the pro-Western dissident Fang Lizhi while Bush merely "deplored" the June 4 massacre and temporarily restricted military cooperation with the People's Republic. And U.S. capitalists and financiers are not about to cut back their lucrative business dealings with Deng's China.

Nonetheless, the events of June 4 have to some degree changed the attitude of American imperialism toward the People's Republic of China. The U.S.

continued on page 10

One More Coincidence?

On August 5, the Workers League asks:


THE STRANGE CASE OF MARK CURTIS

To Know More About the Gelfand Case

- How did the police know that Curtis was going to abruptly leave his house in the middle of the night to buy food?
- How did they know he would drive by himself?
- How did they know which store he would go to, and what route he would take?
- How did they know that he would be stopped at a particular red light, where he could be accosted by the girl?
- How did they know that he would agree to let the girl into his car?
- How did they know he would agree to drive her home?
- How did they know that when he arrived at her home, he would get out of his car, go to the porch and then wait placidly to be arrested?

Bulletin
5 August 1988

...A month later, the prosecutor's summation:

"How did the police, or how did Demetria and Jason or their family, know that the defendant was going to abruptly leave his home, sometime between 8:30 and 9:00, to buy food? How did they know?

"How did they know that the defendant would get into a car and drive by himself?

"How did they know that the defendant would go to the HyVee store to do his grocery shopping? How did they know what route he would take?

"How did they know that he would be stopped at a particular red light, where a girl could approach him? How did they know the light would be red?

"How did they know that the defendant would agree to give this girl a ride to help her out?

"How did they know that he would agree to drive her to her home, or a home, in what the defense has brought out to be a bad or unsafe neighborhood?

"How did they know that when he arrived at the home, he would get out of the car, agree to go to the porch, and then wait calmly to be arrested?

Bulletin
16 September 1988

Bulletin

Prosecutor Catherine Thune

WL and Mark Curtis...

(continued from page 3)

November 1987). Vanessa Redgrave is thrown in as "the Kremlin's New Leading Lady."

This is quite a record in treachery. As we have noted, "Stalin never claimed that *all* the Bolshevik Central Committee at the time of the October Revolution were counterrevolutionary spies and traitors. Exempted were Lenin, a few who died early and a couple who lucked out and died a natural death at old age" ("David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son," *WV* No. 456, 1 July 1988). But David North claims that every one of his predecessors is degenerate, if not an outright agent—Wohlforth, Banda, Slaughter, Mitchell, Redgrave, Healy, and don't forget the arch-"renegades" Pierre Lambert and Michel Varga. If, as North writes, Banda "can no longer be counted among the living," when it comes to "Marxism and the struggle for socialism," this must make North himself a zombie. He is the only True Believer, descendant of a long and complete line of traitors.

With this "authority" the WL proclaims Mark Curtis a "sociopath," a "vicious rapist," a "sadistic rapist," a "white middle-class rapist," and above all a "convicted rapist" and a "proven rapist"—convicted and "proven" by the bourgeois courts. The SWP is labeled "a sociopathic organization, a watering hole for all sorts of degenerate elements, social criminals, filled with hatred of the working class," of which "Curtis himself—a drug user and rapist—is a perfect representative" (*Bulletin*, 28 April). In the pages of the *Bulletin*, they endlessly regurgitate the words of the prosecution. Stranger yet, in her summation at Curtis' trial Iowa state prosecutor Catherine Thune regurgitates virtually the exact words of the *Bulletin* (see illustration). They seem to be working from a common script.

Mark Curtis was a subject of FBI surveillance as an activist in CISPES in Birmingham, Alabama. At Swift, where Curtis worked in Des Moines, federal agents had been working with management for three months reviewing personnel files before staging a raid which seized 17 foreign-born workers at the meatpacking plant on March 1. After work on March 4, Curtis had participated in a meeting of workers at the plant protesting the roundup. A couple hours later he was arrested and charged with rape. Curtis says the cops grabbed him, pulled down his pants, beat him brutally at the jail, then lied in court. Mark Curtis maintains his innocence, declaring, "I am not a rapist, but a fighter for women's rights. And I am not guilty of the crimes I have been charged and convicted of."

So why should anybody believe David North? Who is the Workers League to say that Curtis is guilty, and why? How does the WL come to possess such influence with the prosecution? What kind of purported socialists retail the cops' story as if it were "The Truth"? We and many of our readers have some relevant experience on the nature of these paid thugs of the racist capitalist state. Under the circumstances we must believe Mark Curtis is innocent.

Political Bureau,
Spartacist League/U.S.
12 June 1989

The Partisan Defense Committee has defended Curtis from the beginning and contributed to his case. Those wishing to write to Curtis should address letters to: Mark S. Curtis, No. 805338A, Box B, Anamosa, IA 52205.■

Accomplices of the Big Lie, authors of "Security and the Fourth International" smear job against SWP and the historical Trotskyist movement: (from left) Alex Mitchell, David North and Gerry Healy.

China...

(continued from page 9)

ruling class believes, with some justification, that the massacre and ensuing repression will greatly increase anti-Communist sentiment in China. They dream of counterrevolution in the not-so-distant future. Thus the *New York Times* (19 June) quotes, with evident approval, a senior Communist Party leader who predicts that "it will be the reaction to Deng in his later years that ends the system of socialism in China." Of course, the bourgeois media *always* equates Stalinism with communism, and the overthrow of Stalinist rule with capitalist restoration. Yet Chinese workers want to *preserve and defend* the social achievements of the Chinese Revolution—guaranteed employment ("the iron rice bowl"), a stable cost of living and a relatively egalitarian society.

While the working masses of China enthusiastically supported the 1949 revolution, they have become ever more alienated from the Maoist-Stalinist bureaucracy. The bond between the people and the Communist Party created by the revolution was broken during the Cultural Revolution—the bloody factional and clique warfare launched and manipulated by Chairman Mao. While unleashing massive demonstrations of student youth, the bureaucrats feared the spectre of workers in revolt. When Shanghai workers organized a "Workers Headquarters" at a mass rally in 1966, and 2,500 of them commandeered a train to take their demands directly to Mao in Beijing, the head of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, Ch'en Po-ta, insisted:

> "As workers, their main job is to work. Joining in the Revolution is only secondary. They must therefore go back to work. They can take part in the Revolution outside working hours."
> —quoted in Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal* (1969)

Yet there remained a deep loyalty to the People's Republic, indicated by the universal belief that the People's Liberation Army would never fire on the people. Thus the Tiananmen Square massacre is a truly traumatic experience for China. The present repression may restore a certain surface stability to China for awhile. The working class has been forced back but has by no means been crushed. The unemployment, inflation and gross inequality spawned by Deng's "reforms" will continue to fuel popular discontent. As Beijing tries to pay peasants for the fall harvest with worthless IOUs, famine looms. And with an estimated 100 million excess rural laborers, many of whom wander from place to place, it could provoke a mammoth peasant revolt.

The Deng regime is doddering, brittle and now widely hated. The only road forward remains the proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, combined with socialist revolution against capitalist rule—not least in Hong Kong, Taiwan and strategic Japan. For Lenin's Communism! For a Chinese Trotskyist Party, section of a reforged Fourth International!■

Pittston Coal Strike...

(continued from page 12)

spreading even into UMW strongholds.

On the eve of the UMW's 100th anniversary, the UMW is fighting for its life. As *Workers Vanguard* has said from the beginning of the Pittston strike, and every miner knows in his gut, the way to win is to *pull out the entire UMW now!*

The June 11 rally was billed as a "March for Justice" linking the miners' fight with striking Eastern Airlines workers and other unions. Eastern strikers came from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. to join with Teamsters, phone workers, teachers and steel workers. Throughout the labor movement, all eyes are on the Pittston strike. After a decade of rollbacks and cutbacks, labor and minorities are looking to the coal miners for the victory that could ignite militant class struggle throughout the U.S.

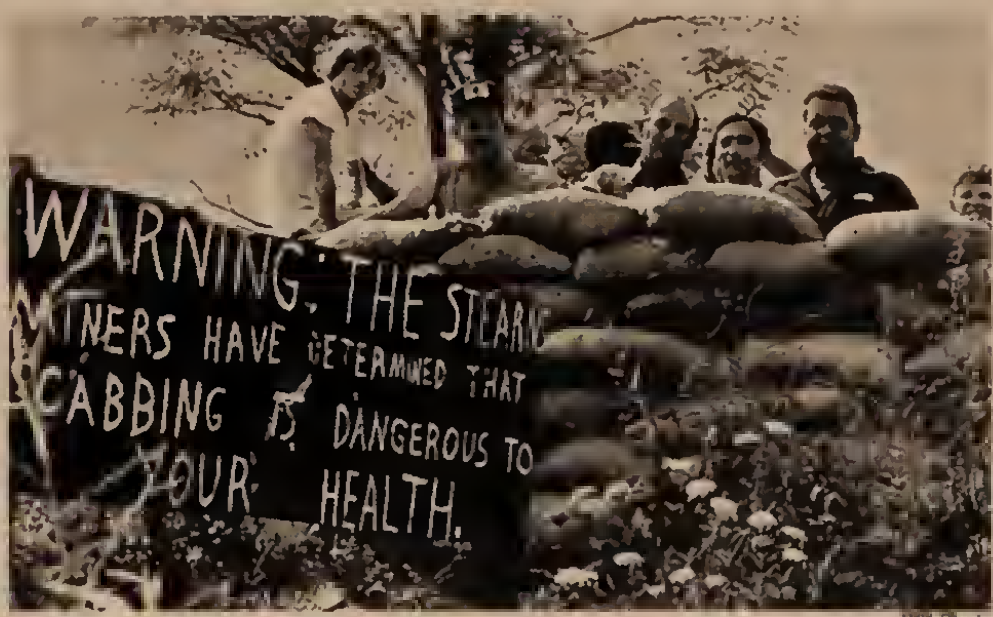
Miners: "Let's Go Get 'Em!"

At Charleston, the miners were dressed in the camouflage fatigues they have adopted as their strike uniform. Many were emblazoned with the slogan, "God, Guns and Guts Built the UMWA." After the flimflam of federal mediation with Pittston boss Michael Odom collapsed on June 8 and the UMW bargaining team walked out, hopes were running high among miners that a nationwide strike would finally be called. When UMW president Richard Trumka said, "It's time we fought back.... For 17 long months we've faced the modern-day version of the Baldwin-Felts thugs at Pittston," the crowd cheered. When Trumka spoke of the three UMW officials who were jailed for contempt of court for refusing to halt the demonstrations at Pittston's Moss No. 3 preparation plant, miners roared "Let's go get 'em!"

The great principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all" used to be the watchword of the UMW. It was tenaciously applied in all of the union's battles, from Matewan in bloody Mingo County in the 1920s to the last industry-wide coal strike in 1977-78. But not under Trumka at Pittston. In a CBS-TV *48 Hours* special report on the Pittston strike on June 15, retired Matewan miner John Whitlock put it clearly:

> "*CBS*: How about sitting down on the street.... Passive resistance?
> "*Whitlock*: That's stupid. I wouldn't want people to think that I'm stupid enough to sit in the road in front of a coal truck.
> "*CBS*: So what would you do?
> "*Whitlock*: You keep these scabs out of here. If they don't mine coal you get a contract. If we get this union back we'll fight for it. You don't do it through courts, laws and labor boards."

But for 100 days the rest of the union has been kept down in the pits, as their Pittston brothers and sisters are dragged away by state troopers and the scab coal trucks roll on Virginia's back roads.



WV Photo

Stearns, Kentucky miners during 1977 strike show what picket lines are all about.

Trumka refused even to pull out hundreds of Pittston miners in Kentucky until June 19. And the endless civil disobedience arrests haven't stopped the scab coal. *Time* magazine (15 May) was surprised how Trumka has "tamed" the miners: "John L. Lewis, the late great boss of the United Mine Workers, would rub his shaggy eyebrows in disbelief if he could see a coal miners' strike nowadays." And now, when the walkouts have finally unlocked the stalemate, the UMW International is firing off telegrams ordering the miners back to work. *Screw the injunctions! Call out every UMW miner now!*

From A.T. Massey to Pittston

Bowing to the bosses' courts and labor boards is what has decimated the UMW—over half the union has been wiped out in the 1980s. Trumka's disastrous "selective strike" strategy abandoned A.T. Massey strikers to the company gun thugs four years ago. A veteran of that strike, a miner in Matewan, West Virginia, bitterly told *48 Hours*: "I wish it was bloody Mingo now. Because what have we got? Look around; men out of work, men starving, welfare, food stamps." The *Charleston Daily Mail* (6 June) noted that it was the betrayal at A.T. Massey that paved the way for Pittston's assault on the UMW:

> "After parting with its 'no contract, no work' image, the UMW gave A.T. Massey a settlement known as 'a sweetheart deal' to the rest of the coal industry. Pittston wants the same kind of deal, which would potentially allow it to subcontract work to non-union companies....
> "But for unexplained reasons, the union still hasn't struck Pittston's union operations in Kentucky or at the Meadow River Coal Co. in Fayette County.... It may be allowing Pittston enough production leeway to continue to operate efficiently."

Not only did Trumka sign the rotten deal at A.T. Massey, he hung out to dry those miners who stood up for their union. Five Kentucky UMW brothers were railroaded in the capitalist courts for their defense of picket lines. Four of these brothers are serving 35-45 years in prison. A fifth miner, who was acquitted of the same trumped-up charges as his four union brothers, now faces capital charges of murder in Kentucky. But the UMW International has been silent on their fate, sinking so low that it cut off their families' strike benefits. Free the Kentucky miners!

Fight for a Workers Party!

Trumka is following in the footsteps of the pro-Labor Department UMW president Arnold Miller, who dragged the union into the capitalist courts and crawled before their injunctions (when Carter/Mondale used the Taft-Hartley slave labor law) during the bitter 110 day strike in 1977-78. In 1972, when the Labor Department installed Miller as UMW head with his phony "reform" rhetoric against the murderer Tony Boyle, most of the American left including the SWP, the Communist Party and the dubious Workers League supported this agent of the bosses. But *WV* and the Spartacist League told the truth about Miller from day one: the precondition for union democracy and a fighting leadership is complete independence from the capitalist state and the bosses' partner parties.

Trumka, too, has throttled the miners' historic militancy on behalf of his "friends" in the Democratic Party. While Pittston miners were walking out of the Virginia state Democratic convention to protest Governor Baliles sending the state troopers into the coal fields, Trumka had West Virginia governor Caperton on the stage in Charleston. As we wrote in the *WV* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win": "Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party."

Workers Vanguard has carried the class-struggle program necessary to win at Pittston and for all of labor. The conduct of the strike must be taken out of the hands of the cowardly Trumka and the sellout bureaucrats. Like Arnold Miller, when the battles are fought they'll be hiding out at the Heart O' Town Holiday Inn in Charleston. Strike committees must be elected to organize roving picketing to stop all production and shipment of coal, and to approach transport, steel and power station workers from the U.S. to Japan to hot cargo scab coal. Victory to the Pittston and New Beckley strikers! Spread the strike, shut down the coal fields! ■

Eastern Strike...

(continued from page 12)

the key issues that sparked the strike, was sold to real estate mogul Donald Trump with the support of the bureaucracy. Picket lines at the shuttle in New York, Boston and Washington were pulled down as strikers went back to work alongside the scabs. On June 14, some of Eastern's newest aircraft, A300s and 757s, were sold for $277 million. Strikers told *WV* that since the sale, some ALPA officials are threatening to break ranks and go back to work.

While Lorenzo rapes Eastern to pay off the creditors, Wimpy tells the striking Machinists to "hang tough." District 100, covering Eastern, is closing IAM union offices in the key strike centers of New York and Atlanta. In one case they faxed a union secretary her layoff notice at 4:58 p.m.! A striker at La Guardia Airport told *WV* that it "looks like the IAM is folding its tent and retreating."

In the latest failed scheme, the AFL-CIO tops offered to fork over *union pension funds* to Chicago commodities broker Joseph Ritchie for his bid for the airline. Ritchie was promised wage cuts and "productivity increases" exceeding even those served up in the last offer to Peter Ueberroth—over a billion dollars all told. These are truly the "labor lieutenants of capital."

The Eastern strikers began this battle in a powerful position. The airlines are awash in profits and there is a critical shortage of skilled machinists and pilots. After a decade of defeats—PATCO air controllers, Greyhound bus drivers, Hormel meatpackers, International Paper workers—workers saw the Eastern strike as their chance to strike back. When the AFL-CIO international executive board, in a bluff to get Bush to intervene with anti-strike injunctions, threatened to throw up picket lines at railroads across the U.S., rail workers were ready to walk out. As we said in March: "For years the pressure has been building for a social explosion by workers, by the black and Hispanic poor.... A national airline strike could be just the detonator the working people need" (*WV* No. 473, 17 March).

But the labor traitors fear such an explosion of class power. They begged the bosses' courts to intervene with no-strike injunctions aimed at other airline workers, in order to cut off the one thing that would have brought about a quick, decisive victory: spreading the strike to shut down the airports. The union bureaucrats are aped by such loyal "left" toadies as the Communist Party, which *still* whines for the anti-labor Democrats to intervene to stop the strike. And when Wimpy ordered the pickets withdrawn from rail at the last moment, the Socialist Workers Party applauded that "Eastern workers refused to be provoked [!] into breaking the court injunctions...a move that could have jeopardized the broad public support for the strike and the unity of the strike itself" (*Militant*, 5 May)!

Today, Machinists, pilots and flight attendants are facing the destruction of their unions at Eastern. To reverse the disastrous course of the strike, militants must confront what has brought these powerful unions to the brink of defeat. Two months ago we warned that:

> "It takes more than staying power to win against this decaying, capitalist system. Once again, the Eastern strike has posed pointblank the need for class-struggle leadership. Any serious class battle must be waged *politically*, taking on the capitalist labor boards, no-strike laws and strikebreaking injunctions. This means a fight to take workers' struggles out of the hands of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, ousting these class traitors and forging a workers party to fight for a workers government which will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Be Union or Be Gone"—UMWA Future at Stake

Pittston Coal Strike Sparks Ten-State Walkout

CHARLESTON, West Virginia, 19 June—The coal fields have exploded in anger, as over 27,000 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) have struck from West Virginia to Indiana in support of Pittston coal miners on strike since April 6. The walkouts came after 6,000 miners, along with their families and other unionists, rallied at the West Virginia state capitol in Charleston on June 11. The next day they walked out at the Hobet, Kess Coals and Rock Run mines in West Virginia. Then came Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio. Thousands of miners have joined the battle—their union is on the line.

The Charleston rally, which followed a 76-mile march through the Appalachian coal fields, was called in solidarity with the 1,700 Pittston miners, who have been on strike since April, and another 250 miners on strike for five months against the New Beckley Coal Company in Beckley, West Virginia. Pittston miners have faced the open assaults of the coal bosses, scabs, state troopers and judges. Over 2,500 unionists and their family members have been arrested in civil disobedience protests, and the courts are trying to choke the UMW with millions of dollars in fines. Sweetheart deals and scab operators are

continued on page 11

Pull Out the Entire Union!

WV Photo

Charleston, West Virginia, June 11—Thousands of miners and their supporters, including striking Eastern workers, rally for Pittston and New Beckley coal strikers.

Strikers Need Class-Struggle Leadership!

Eastern Strike: End Game

For over 100 days, they've stood solid—the Machinists, flight attendants and pilots striking Eastern Airlines. Corporate cannibal Frank Lorenzo's dreams of quickly crushing the 8,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) collapsed when the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) and Transport Workers Union (TWU) flight attendants refused to cross the Machinists' lines. Lorenzo went nuts, even hiring psychiatrists to "prove" workers were "brainwashed." Across the country workers poured out to solidarity rallies—finally it looked like labor was going to win one after a decade of defeats.

But the Eastern strikers are being knifed in the back. IAM president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger and District 100 chief Charles Bryan crawl from one junk bond dealer to another, peddling over a *billion dollars* in givebacks. But Wall Street and the capitalist courts aren't buying, and they have given Lorenzo the green light to liquidate Eastern Airlines piece by piece. The labor traitors never wanted this strike, and now they are burying it in the graveyard of federal bankruptcy court. And the strikers are burying their own: June 9 a highly skilled mechanic in Atlanta, deeply in debt and losing his family, was driven to suicide. The bureaucratic sabotage that is strangling the Eastern strike must be smashed! Take this battle out of the hands of Wimpy & Co. with elected strike committees and extend it industrywide!

Lorenzo threw the airline into bankruptcy court the first week of the strike. After months of maneuvering, he has begun to carve up Eastern, planning to sell off $1.8 billion in assets and claiming he will run a "scaled down" Eastern. Philadelphia gates and planes were sold to USAir. The Eastern Shuttle, one of

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Taylor/Compix

Militant Eastern strikers in Miami, March 3, show will to fight. Union tops are burying strike in bosses' courts.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 481 — 7 July 1989

Mobilize Labor, Minorities to Defend Women's Rights!

Supreme Court Ruling Threatens Abortion

Threatening women's fundamental right to abortion, the U.S. Supreme Court July 3 restored a reactionary Missouri law forbidding use of public funding or facilities to perform abortions. Although of several state laws being appealed the Missouri case presented the narrowest conflict with *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 ruling that legalized abortion nationwide, this decision marks a watershed. For months, "pro-choice" defenders of abortion and "pro-life" bigots have faced off at clinic doors around the country. Now the previously deadlocked court has thrown the door open for anti-woman reactionaries to restrict abortion rights in every way. The high court has agreed to hear three more abortion cases in October—practically begging for that "perfect" case to criminalize women and doctors for ending unwanted pregnancies. In an eloquent dissent, Justice Harry Blackmun, who authored *Roe v. Wade*, declared:

> "For today, at least, the law of abortion stands undisturbed. For today, the women of this Nation still retain the liberty to control their destinies. But the

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Spartacist contingent in New York abortion rights march, April 1988.

WV Photo

High Court Racism

With an onslaught of racist rulings that have undercut the ability of blacks and other minorities to challenge discrimination through the courts, the bigots of the U.S. Supreme Court are carving the "Reagan legacy" into the legal system with a vengeance. The 1980 Republican platform had declared it a top priority to pack the courts with right-wing ideologues who would "respect traditional family values" and undo liberal decisions of the '60s and '70s. And over the next eight years, the Reaganites did just that, appointing nearly half of all federal appeals court justices, three of the nine Supreme Court justices (Scalia, Kennedy and O'Connor) and promoting Nixon appointee William Rehnquist to Chief Justice. By gutting even minimal hindrances on the "free market" system of wage-slavery, these black-robed arbiters of capitalist justice yearn to return to the "original intent" of the slaveholders' Constitution.

In a triple whammy of chilling decisions last month, the Court ruled that white men claiming "reverse discrimination" can sue at any time against affirmative action programs; that black women fighting discriminatory demotions, on the other hand, were "too late" because they had to sue *before* they were demoted; and that massive statistical evidence of discrimination in hiring didn't matter, that minority workers had to show which policy produced it, and the burden of proof was shifted from businesses with their armies of lawyers onto the workers who weren't hired, to show that it wasn't just good business to discriminate. The now-familiar 5-4 majority also upheld confiscation of suspects' assets and property *before* trial (under the sinister RICO act), to prevent them from hiring "high-priced lawyers." And most recently they ruled that states can execute children and the mentally retarded (even South Africa doesn't hang kids)!

Grace/Sygma

Amid barrage of reactionary decisions, Rehnquist court rolls back "affirmative action" measures for blacks and other minorities.

The intent behind the wholesale gutting of civil rights and affirmative action legislation is, as Justice Kennedy stated, to bring the laws into conformity with the "prevailing sense of justice in this country." The blatantly racist character of the Court's "colorblind" decisions reflects a social climate in which Jesse Helms is in the "mainstream," where skinheads spread racist terror in the streets while KKKers like David Duke are elected to office. Drug czar William Bennett recently opined that *beheading* drug dealers was "morally plausible," and the Supreme Court would probably agree, given their position that executing children is neither "cruel" nor "unusual." In fact, the *Wall Street Journal* (29 June) reported that at a 1987 party celebrating the 198th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, Chief Justice Rehnquist "said he personally would have preferred to mark the anniversary of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798," which outlawed speaking out against the government (and were finally struck down as unconstitutional in 1964).

The response of liberals to the all-sided attacks on black rights is to call on the Democratic-controlled Congress, especially Ted Kennedy, to reverse them through legislation. *Newsday* (14 June) wrote, "For four decades, the Court has been the bulwark of civil rights sanity in this racially polarized society. Now Congress must be persuaded to accept the charge." The liberal myth that an "activist court" would right the wrongs of society is long gone. But the Democrats have turned their backs on any defense of black rights, in their pursuit of the racist vote. And the "5th man" of the Supreme Court majority is JFK's wonder boy Byron "Whizzer" White. Within the framework of racist capitalism, any legal gains are easily reversible if their "social cost" to the capitalists is too high.

Supreme Court: Racist Discrimination "Inevitable"

Segregated company housing, segregated dining halls, racial labels for job categories, lower pay and even inferior food for nonwhite workers, discrimination in hiring and promotion—these are the working conditions for Asian, Filipino and Aleutian workers at the Wards Cove and Castle & Cook

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Stop Expulsions of Turks from Bulgaria!

AFP

Over 50,000 of Bulgaria's Turkish minority, fleeing persecution by Sofia Stalinist regime, take refuge in Turkey.

For the past two months the Bulgarian Stalinist regime has been expelling its Turkish minority. Each day over a thousand of these refugees, who are native Bulgarians, have been forced out of their own country. Some cross the border pushing carts piled high with clothes. Many leave in cars and trucks stuffed with personal belongings. Each day the border checkpoint at Kapikule, Turkey is choked with newcomers. Some are forced to spend days waiting at tent cities set up at border crossings.

Bulgaria's mass expulsions are the culmination of a failed five-year campaign of forced assimilation. Beginning in 1984 Turkish-language schools and newspapers were shut down, mosques closed except for religious holidays, and Turkish names removed from tombstones. According to refugees, Turkish boys are examined to see if they were circumcised!

National antagonisms, fueled by "market socialism" under its various names, have deeply threatened the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states, much to the glee of world imperialism. In the Soviet Union, Armenians fight Azerbaijanis and Uzbeks unleash pogroms against Turkic Meskhetians forcibly transferred from Georgia in the 1940s; Romania deports Hungarians; contending Serbian and Albanian nationalisms threaten to tear Yugoslavia apart. The Bulgarian Stalinists may foolishly believe that by expelling the Turks now they can pre-empt similar turmoil. So they violate everything that Lenin stood for on the national question, despoiling all norms of proletarian internationalism, and expelling thousands to a Turkey which was never their home, and whose jails are filled with leftists and workers imprisoned after the 1980 NATO-supported military coup.

The Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest letter to the Bulgarian embassy, demanding an end to the expulsions and brutal oppression of Bulgaria's Turkish population, stating:

"Russia's October Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik party, was a beacon and inspiration to the world's working people. The Bolsheviks won the allegiance of the Turkic-speaking nationalities of Central Asia by demonstrating the superiority of the Soviet system in practice—at the same time respecting the cultural differences of the many nationalities brutally oppressed in the tsarist prison house of peoples. Lenin's Moscow provided refuge for those fleeing reactionary terror. And following the suppression of the 1923 insurrection the International Red Aid launched a worldwide campaign to raise assistance for Bulgarian workers and peasants in the grip of white terror.

"In mockery of this tradition you forcibly expel thousands into the hands of the reactionary Ozal government—jailers and torturers of Communist Party leaders Kutlu and Sargin, butchers of the town of Fatsa and of countless Kurds. The moral authority among the international working class won by Lenin's Bolsheviks was vital to defend the young workers state from the assaults of world imperialism. Decades of Stalinist betrayals have imperiled the defense of Bulgaria and all the deformed workers states from capitalist counterrevolution."

* * *

On May 3 the Louisiana Pardon Board accepted Gary Tyler's application for a hearing. Tyler, 29, has spent 15 years in a Southern prison hellhole, convicted in a racist frame-up so blatant that a federal appeals panel declared the trial unfair. Yet this country's racist rulers are refusing to let Gary Tyler, this victim of racist injustice, walk out a free man.

Tyler was arrested 7 October 1974 after he and 60 other black students, aboard a school bus on the way to a recently desegregated high school outside New Orleans, were attacked by 200 KKK-organized thugs. A gunshot fired

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Commemorating the French Revolution

July 14 marks the 200th anniversary of the fall of the Bastille fortress-prison, which was the opening shot of the French Revolution, the greatest of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions. Reporting on an 1845 celebration of the founding of the French Republic of 1792, the young Friedrich Engels noted that the French Revolution had inspired the international communist movement, which alone could make the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" a reality throughout the world.

Despite the fact of the French Republic having been "superseded," the Communists of all countries are fully justified in celebrating it. Firstly, all the nations which were stupid enough to let themselves be used to fight against the Revolution have owed the French a public apology ever since they realised what a *sottise* [stupidity] they committed out of loyalty; secondly, the whole European social movement today is only the second act of the revolution, only the preparation for the *dénouement* [outcome] of the drama which began in Paris in 1789, and now has the whole of Europe for its stage; thirdly, it is time, in our cowardly, selfish, beggarly, bourgeois epoch, to remember those great years when a whole people all at once threw aside all cowardice, selfishness and beggarliness, when there were men courageous enough to defy the law....

Finally, fraternisation between nations has today, more than ever, a purely social significance. The fantasies about a European Republic, perpetual peace under political organisation, have become just as ridiculous as the phrases about uniting the nations under the aegis of universal free trade, and while all such chimerical sentimentalities become completely irrelevant, the proletarians of all nations, without too much ceremony, are already *really* beginning *to fraternise* under the banner of communist democracy. And the proletarians are the only ones who are really able to do this; for the bourgeoisie in each country has its own special interests, and since these interests are the most important to it, it can never transcend nationality....

The great mass of proletarians are, by their very nature, free from national prejudices and their whole disposition and movement is essentially humanitarian, anti-nationalist. Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations.

—Friedrich Engels, "The Festival of Nations in London" (1845)

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Women Miners Say Shut Down the Coal Fields Now!

Over 43,000 coal miners—half of United Mine Workers (UMW) members across the country—have walked out in sympathy with miners engaged in a tough strike against the union-busting Pittston Coal Group. With 20 percent of total coal production shut down, and some utilities caught with low stocks, the bosses ran to U.S. District Judge Dennis Knapp in Charleston, West Virginia. On June 27 Knapp ruled the walkout an "illegal" secondary boycott and ordered the union back into the mines. Coal miners well know from experience that their own determined action and solidarity can turn such injunctions into worthless wastepaper: in 1978 the UMW ranks answered Jimmy Carter's Taft-Hartley no-strike order with militant roving pickets. But the current union tops have capitulated to Knapp's injunction. UMW president Richard Trumka announced, "These work stoppages are not sanctioned by the union, and the International has requested the affected members to return to work."

Trumka's legalistic bowing before the coal bosses' judge won't go down well in the coal fields, where embattled UMW members know their jobs, wages and working conditions depend on winning the Pittston strike. This mood was in evidence at a women miners' conference held June 23-25 in Springfield, Illinois, where the keynote speaker was UMW Secretary-Treasurer John Banovic. When he announced that he had some things to say about Pittston, one miner shot back from the floor: *"As long as you don't tell us to go back to work!"* Later, in a workshop, a woman miner from western Kentucky complained about the union leaders' hush-hush response whenever anyone suggested calling out *all* the locals. Why doesn't the union call the two-week memorial period granted by the contract, she asked: "I think it's a good idea, and I don't care who knows it."

Some at the conference observed that the outcome of the Pittston strike will affect the union's ability to organize non-union mines, which now produce two-thirds of this country's coal. Kerr-McGee owns one very large mine in southern Illinois, where former UMW members make up most of the workforce and yet, according to International Executive Board member Tony Kujawa, less than 10 percent support the union. This is because, with the International's no-fight policies, the union is seen as a loser. Now comes yet another diversion from organizing the coal fields: Banovic announced at the conference that the UMW will henceforth accept "associate members"—*anyone* who is willing to pay dues for a few benefits.

It's time for the union to play *hardball!* Burn the injunctions, like they did in '78! Send out roving pickets and spread the strike! The rest of the labor movement, especially railroad workers and longshoremen, must come to the miners' aid by refusing to handle scab coal. Victory to the Pittston strike!

Union Victory at Tavern on the Green

Waiters, busboys and dishwashers who struck NYC's swank Tavern on the Green held out for eight weeks and won big against restaurant owner and Ed Koch crony Warner LeRoy on June 21. The heavily Hispanic and black strikers had joined Hotel and Restaurant Union Local 6 last January. LeRoy, who rakes in over $25 million a year at the Tavern on the Green, refused to recognize the union. On April 30 he fired 100 workers, including stewards, in retaliation for holding a union meeting.

When the workers put up picket lines the next day, LeRoy hung a sign over the Tavern's front entrance baiting the union as "headed by someone indicted as a member of the Mafia." Taking their cue, federal prosecutors got a grand jury to subpoena Local 6 business manager Vito Pitta to answer racketeering charges. (Rudolph "Mr. RICO" Giuliani already tried it in 1984 but couldn't make it stick.) The union-haters at the *New York Times* weighed in June 19 with a lengthy article identifying Pitta as a "Sicilian-born former hotel busboy."

But with the strikers solid, even the feds' threats and the *Times'* mob-baiting couldn't help LeRoy. Business at the Tavern plummeted, as Eastern Airline strikers, postal workers and Teamsters rallied with the Local 6 strikers. In the new contract, the would-be union-buster agreed to immediately raise wages 27 percent, reinstate canceled health insurance and establish a pension plan.

WV Photo

Mine workers "march for justice" in Charleston, West Virginia, June 11. Next day strikes spread throughout Appalachian coal fields.

PL Plays Hopscotch with Nurses' Picket Line

In May, 1,300 nurses struck St. Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital in Manhattan. They were fighting for higher staffing levels, which at times have been as low as one nurse for 40 patients. After five days they won a promise by the hospitals to submit staffing disputes to non-binding arbitration. With many foreign-born nurses on strike, the NYC hospital bosses expected to use racial and national divisions to crack their solidarity. But the strikers were solid on the picket line.

During the strike, members of Hospital Workers Local 1199, representing the non-nursing staff at the two hospitals, knew that their place was on the line with the nurses. But the 1199 misleaders, instead of bringing out the union in solidarity with the nurses, hid behind their "legal obligation" to give the hospital bosses ten days notice before honoring the picket lines! James Boyd, a supporter of Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) and member of 1199 at St. Luke's-Roosevelt, distributed a leaflet blasting the 1199 tops and calling on 1199 members to honor the lines...and then he went in to work! When challenged by a striker, Boyd said, "I can't take too much of this working as a scab."

According to an InCAR leaflet, after scabbing for three days Boyd decided "crossing the picket line had become unbearable. He walked into the boss's office, threw up his hands in disgust, and said, I cross the picket line no longer." For his belated recognition of elementary working-class principle Boyd has been targeted by the hospital, and is appealing to hospital workers to defend him, as they should. We might add that if this had been a coal miners strike, it would have become "unbearable" the *first time* PL tried to waltz across the class line. As the Spartacist League has insisted: *Picket lines mean don't cross!* ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

toward the bus killed Timothy Weber, a white student member of the racist mob. Tyler was beaten by the cops and charged with murder. The only "witness" recanted four months later, swearing the cops intimidated her into lying. Having found nothing after two extensive searches, the cops planted a .45 revolver on the bus at the police garage (which was disappeared after later evidence showed Weber was killed by a .22).

Black, young and poor, Tyler was sentenced to death by an all-white jury—reduced to life in prison when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Louisiana death penalty statute. Declaring the trial "fundamentally unfair" a three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the conviction in 1980. But the full panel of the Fifth Circuit Court upheld the conviction on the technicality that Tyler's lawyer failed to object at the trial to violations of his rights! Without explanation the Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

On July 2 we wrote the Louisiana Pardon Board demanding Gary Tyler be immediately released. Send your letters and telegrams to: Pardon Board, 654 Main St., Baton Rouge, LA 70801.

* * *

Efforts by campus thought police and supporters of the Afghan *mujahedin* to drive opponents of the CIA's cutthroats off the University of Illinois-Chicago campus were beaten back. On June 23 bogus "assault" charges were dismissed against PDC supporters Kevin Quirk and Sufyaan Mateen, arrested for defending a comrade from a frenzied *mujahedin* supporter attempting to disrupt our campaign to raise humanitarian assistance for the defenders of the besieged city of Jalalabad, Afghanistan.

In a number of incidents in early May *mujahedin* supporters physically attacked activists collecting money on the UI-Chicago campus for the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund. One attack, on May 9, sent Spartacus Youth Club supporter Eric Jostad to the hospital with a half-inch gash in his head. On May 18 Mohammed Miraki assaulted PDC activist Mary Quirk, and ripped open her blouse. Mary's husband Kevin stepped in and put a decisive end to the attack. The administration and campus cops, who have been riding roughshod over leftist activists on campus, rushed in, pushing black PDC supporter Sufyaan Mateen against a plate-glass door. Mateen was handcuffed and arrested along with Quirk. It took days of persistent efforts before cops let Mary Quirk press charges against the violent woman-hating Miraki.

The PDC and Spartacus Youth Club waged a determined defense campaign. A campus speak-out on May 25 drew support from student defenders of free speech and women's rights, despite the menacing presence of more than 30 cops. Minutes before the June 23 dismissal the University of Illinois made a final attempt to sterilize the campus from Marxist ideas, proposing the charges be dropped with an agreement that the SYC stay off campus for six months. We refused. Minutes later, charges against all sides were dismissed. This was a significant blow to these reactionary thugs and their friends in high places.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Report from Hong Kong

Chinese Stalinism Courts British Imperialism

An editorial board member of Australasian Spartacist, *Andrew Giannakis, spent three weeks in Hong Kong in the wake of the June 4 massacre of workers and students in Beijing and the incipient political revolution against the Stalinist regime. We print below excerpts from his reports.*

June 13—The effect in Hong Kong is electrifying. There are banners mourning the deaths in China all over Hong Kong and the Kowloon area. On June 7 most people observed a one-day general strike. It was called to mourn the deaths. Some of its participants told me that it was tightly controlled by a conservative trade-union bureaucracy. Since then all planned rallies and marches have been cancelled. This was apparently in response to rioting that occurred early in the morning of the general strike. It was supposed to have been amongst poorly paid workers in South Kowloon. Police used tear gas to disperse the several thousand people who demonstrated that day.

That event raised a spectre in Hong Kong—a spectre that haunts the British administration and the Hong Kong capitalists. They fear losing control of the "masses." The arrogant, vindictive and brutal financiers and industrialists of Hong Kong expect "passivity." Their recurring nightmare is working-class struggle throughout the region. It has happened before in Hong Kong and it will happen again.

The events of the last month have been shattering previously held conceptions. And for the time being there is a common refrain from the upper echelons of Hong Kong society down to the media and the trade-union leadership for a return to "stability." A couple of days ago the Malaysian government was reported as warning Chinese in Malaysia to refrain from support actions.

I mention this example because in a certain way it points to the very significant internationalist effect of the last month in China. There is a deep insularity that permeates Hong Kong society and China. No doubt it is fostered by the Chinese Stalinists and their politics of "socialism in one country."

The 1949 Chinese Revolution that unified the country through destroying imperialist/capitalist rule had deep reverberations throughout the region. Right through the '50s and '60s (despite criminal betrayals by the Chinese Stalinists) the Chinese workers state was seen as a beacon for anti-imperialist struggle. The Chinese Stalinists bought their peace with U.S. imperialism via support for the genocidal Pol Pot and their 1979 invasion of Vietnam. The workers state in China can be a beacon for the exploited and oppressed throughout the world. In Hong Kong at the moment one feels the need to learn the lessons of history. It has got to be one of the central tasks of forging a revolutionary and thoroughly internationalist leadership.

* * *

June 15—My *Lonely Planet* tourist book informs me:

> "Of a workforce of some 2-1/2 million people only about 350,000 are unionised, a situation which appears to suit Hong Kong capitalists as much as it does the Chinese government which, arguably, believes that a strong independent union movement could become the focus of mass political discontent and upset the 'stability and unity' of the colony which is of such great importance to China's economic development."

The Federation of Trade Unions has a membership around 180,000. They are linked to the pro-Beijing Hong Kong Macao Working Committee (HMWC). They participated in the one-day general strike in Hong Kong on June 7. The Hong Kong press is gloating about their loss of morale. In fact, even before June 4, many pro-Beijing, HMWC-connected groups participated in the demonstrations.

Reuters

Hong Kong demonstration against hardline China premier Li Peng. June 4th Beijing massacre of workers and students threatens to upset partnership between Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and British imperialism.

Britain's immigration policies together with Vietnamese boat people are the other dominant issues around Hong Kong. In fact, the Hong Kong dailies run the items front page, almost adjacent to each other. I wonder if they realise the irony of running the "let us out" article right next to the "don't let them in" article. Vietnamese boat people are incarcerated in virtual island prisons like Chi Ma Wan and Lantao island. They have no running water and no electricity. There was even a demonstration by Hong Kong residents protesting proposals to set up Vietnamese camps near their neighborhood.

* * *

June 24—To put it bluntly, the Hong Kong left, at least those who proclaim some sort of allegiance to Trotskyism, do not impress. I have now talked to each of the three ostensible Trotskyist groupings. They are October Review (also known as the Revolutionary Communist Party), the Revolutionary Marxist League and the New Sprout grouping. I can't help but conclude that they are all (each in their own separate way) trapped within a framework that condemns them to be nothing more than the left wing of a thoroughly wretched liberal-bourgeois popular-front alliance called the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China, which includes everything from business groups to church and student groups.

OR and the RML exist within the Alliance under the name of a propaganda bloc coalition called the April 5 Action Group. The New Sprout claim to participate under their own name. This horrified me particularly as I had been reading much about the Alliance in the media and concluded that it would be the very thing a revolutionary would want to draw the sharpest class line against. All in all there is an underlying swamp character to the pseudo-Trotskyist milieu here. They count their milieu at about 100 strong and they are constantly coming together in various coalition outfits. In fact, they all express an overriding concern for building the "movement." They are all divorced from the working class. The problem is that they have generalised their isolation into a program—its essence is acute Stalinophobia.

* * *

June 26—There was a demonstration held over the weekend by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China. It was probably about 20 to 30 thousand strong. It met in Victoria Park where a huge replica of the Beijing students' Democracy statue has been erected. The demonstration went on to march to the New China News Agency offices. The demonstration gave me a sense of the Alliance's support and social base. It appeared overwhelmingly middle class with a significant student base. The whole affair was kept tame and well ordered.

As you can appreciate, the buzz word all around town is "democracy." The media and the Alliance positively reek of bourgeois hypocrisy. I wonder if they have cared to consider presently existing British-style "democracy" in Hong Kong. Seasoned, arrogant and utterly cynical commentators like Richard Hughes once reported, "there is no nonsense about democracy in Hong Kong."

What they do have in Hong Kong is the sinister, anti-working-class Public Order Ordinance. Historically, it has been used to outlaw unionists and leftist organisations. Sections of the Ordinance were tightened after 1967 in order to "control riots." Officially, public meetings of 30 or more people are prohibited unless the Commissioner of Police has been notified in writing in advance. The administration here underpins their much vaunted "stability" with it. In the '60s and '70s it was used to bludgeon union struggles with severe jail sentences for unionists and communists.

Avid readers of the Hong Kong English-language press are told that Hong Kong is an economic miracle. Apparently it ranks eleventh in the world of trading nations. Looking out over Hong Kong's impressive harbour one can believe that it has the largest container port in the world. I have never seen so many ships in one place at one time anywhere. It is described variously as a monument to free enterprise and a marvel of capitalist ingenuity.

Of course, the type of people who write these odes to their own wealth don't live in the walled city of Kowloon. Nor for that matter do they work in the sweatshops of Hong Kong where the word superexploitation may have first got its meaning. We are told to marvel at the "ingenuity of the Chinese," but they don't mean the thousands of squatters who construct shanties out of scraps and struggle desperately to scratch out a living.

What I see as the "marvel" of Hong Kong is a huge parasite made up of profit-bloated imperialist firms leeching off the Chinese deformed workers state as well as the majority of Hong Kong's own population. Under an unwritten arrangement the Stalinist bureaucracy has helped to guarantee Hong Kong's present existence. In 1997 they plan to formalise another arrangement to be called "one country, two systems."

Because of the wretched Stalinist bureaucracy, the Chinese people (including those of Hong Kong) are threatened with a denial of the benefits which the incorporation of Hong Kong's massive industry and economic wealth into a centralised, planned economy would have on their livelihood. Instead the bureaucracy promises to imperialism the continuation of capitalism in Hong Kong, more anti-working-class "free market economic reform" on the mainland and (judging by the exchange of noises high up) continuation of the criminal U.S./China alliance.

* * *

June 29—While Hong Kong's fake-left are busy swimming around in the puddles of the Alliance, there is a real potent force in Hong Kong which could radically alter the shape of things here. It is Hong Kong's very strategically placed working class. The leadership of Hong Kong's major unions is pro-Beijing. All the indications are that they are involved in an intense political crisis as a result of the events on the mainland.

The news that has been coming from China indicates that there have been very significant developments occurring amongst China's working class that have affected even the official unions. Most strikes [in the past few years] seem to have been occurring in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, located just across the border from Hong Kong. There is one example which I thought was quite revealing. A Hong Kong-owned toy factory fired a worker for organising a strike of 30 female workers. The workers were unhappy with having to work four to six extra hours a day, including Sundays.

You may have already seen the book *Smashing the Iron Rice Pot*. I thought this featured quote was most interesting. It comes from a restaurant worker in Shenzhen:

> "All bosses are the same—they're only there for making money. God damn it, I've worked for thirty years and still have to serve dishes to capitalists! I still don't understand why we have to enter into joint ventures with bosses and that the masters of our country, the workers, have to work for capitalists."■

From Our Special Correspondent in Afghanistan

Dateline Kabul

KABUL, July 4—Flying over Afghanistan in a military cargo plane and by helicopter, one can really see that this is a country in the throes of civil war. I am sending, for the readers of *Workers Vanguard*, these notes on what I saw, the people I met and what I was told, in my first three days here.

Unlike other airports, landing in Kabul involves the pilot not only in a show of expertise, but it requires from him also some flair for dodging obstacles. After landing I watched two Soviet Aeroflot planes land, and they were dropping flares while circling in a very tight spiral before the final plunge onto the tarmac. The reason is simple: the U.S.-made Stinger missiles in the hands of the counterrevolutionary bandits which have already downed and killed so many pilots and civilian passengers. Furthermore, Kabul airport is both a civilian and a military airport.

The very first impressions of Afghanistan are of the great poverty and backwardness of the country. The traffic is a chaotic mess of cars (from Soviet Ladas to Mercedes), buses and trucks, bicycles and donkeys and carts. Kids go to school in their neat school uniforms walking along the streets, other kids roam around endangering themselves. You see beggars in the streets, lots of them are kids, but their faces aren't emaciated.

I am also struck by the level of self-confidence of the military, from generals to ordinary soldiers, which is quite high and justifiably so, as the army beat the hell out of the *mujahedin* outside of Jalalabad. But the reactionaries "have destroyed my city," a PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) member bitterly told me yesterday. He was glad he had "managed to move the family out before the destruction."

Last night the television broadcast a short interview with Colonel Khatol, a much-decorated woman paratrooper in her mid-30s (she took part in over 450 missions), who has been active for eleven years. She complained that her "women colleagues" were no longer in the forces. Recently rockets fell on her Kabul home, luckily without injuring anybody. Col. Khatol and the thousands of armed militiawomen and the schoolgirls of Afghanistan have a lot at stake in the fighting around Jalalabad.

Last week there were four days of "criticism" on TV. President Najibullah had promised "glasnost," but this was a first. I'm told you couldn't find a taxi anywhere, people were following it so closely. One professor said that on military matters, fighting the *mujahedin*, he gave Najibullah good marks; on foreign affairs, fair; but on internal policies, poor.

The Sunday *Kabul Times* prominently printed a statement from the military Supreme Command that an attack is being prepared by the enemy and may very well start in the next couple of weeks. But the Afghan armed forces and population are at the ready. And they are prepared to take on the Pakistanis (who have so far lost 3,000 men around Jalalabad) as well. As General Ulumi, head of the armed forces section of the PDPA and Secretary of the Supreme Defense Council, told us on Sunday: "The aggressors will only carry their coffins away from here!"

I asked three pilots from the Afghan Air Force present at the Sunday press conference whether they could "describe their role in the heroic defense of Jalalabad against the counterrevolutionary forces directed by and at the service of the Pakistani government and the CIA." Col. Shapor, mid-30s, a Pushtun-speaker, proudly explained that contrary to the lies spread by the enemy, the pilots are not Soviets or Indians, but "Afghan pilots who volunteered to inflict heavy blows on the concentrated forces of the rebels." The brave young men (some in their teens) who fly Soviet-made planes and helicopters to the attack have a motto: "Swiftly and mightily inflict blows on the enemy!" And they certainly do.

Later I spoke briefly with the three pilots, we shook hands, and I told them how their victory in Jalalabad is a victory for the workers of the whole world.

On Monday we flew in the early morning by military cargo plane to Mazar-i-Sharif, whence by chopper to Maimana. In Maimana I was taken by a local PDPA member and a militiaman, who became my Russian-Farsi interpreter for the occasion, to the local children's home, where 50 kids (16 girls) from three to ten years old are cared for by the state, provided a home and a place to study.

I was able to briefly interview the head teacher, Mina Mushfeq, a vivacious woman in her mid-30s, and showed her the materials from the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign. In reply to my question about how things have changed for women since 1978, she said that before there were few female students, and also there are now childcare centers for the women who work, and many do.

The woman question may become explosive. The policy of "national reconciliation" is being interpreted to mean regional autonomy for areas controlled by *mujahedin* commanders who surrender. What would this mean for women in those areas? ■

Franklin/Magnum

Afghan women participate in Kabul rally. Thousands of militiawomen are prepared to fight to the death against Pakistani and CIA-backed cutthroats.

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

> signs are evident and very ominous, and a chill wind blows."

The "chill wind" is blowing right into the sails of the deadly abortion clinic bombers, the screaming "Operation Rescue" hordes of clinic invaders, who will now redouble their attacks. Hours before the Supreme Court decision, arsonists set fire to a New Hampshire clinic. White House chief of staff John Sununu issued a statement that George Bush wants to see state laws punishing doctors who perform abortions and a constitutional amendment banning abortion. A slew of proposed legislation would hammer away at abortion rights with a barrage of restrictions and limitations—lengthy waiting periods, "parental consent" for young women, bans on public funding, medical strictures for doctors performing abortions, licensing rules making it nearly impossible to set up an abortion facility.

The Missouri law virtually eliminates hospital abortions. Well aware that this will fall most heavily on the poor, the Court crassly declared that there is "no affirmative right to governmental aid, even where such aid may be necessary to secure life." "Drop dead" is their message to working-class and minority women who need public funding and facilities for *any* decent medical care in this medicine-for-profit society. But this didn't just start with the Reagan years. In 1976 Congress passed the Hyde Amendment banning all federal Medicaid funding for abortions, while born-again Democrat Jimmy Carter callously intoned: "There are many things in life which are not fair." And last fall, Democrats and Republicans in Congress reconfirmed the ban on Medicaid-aided abortions.

Capitalist "democracy" means women have only the "rights" they can afford to buy, including the "right" to an abortion—for now. But what does that mean to an unemployed black or Hispanic woman, to a young teenager in the Deep South or even in Scarsdale, to any woman or girl who's gotten "in trouble," needs an abortion, and can't afford to pay private doctors' high prices or hop a jet to a more liberal state? It means more unwanted babies, more misery, more desperate attempts at self-induced abortions and deadly back-alley butchery. *For free abortion on demand! For free, quality health care!*

The government has no business meddling in this deeply private sphere of life. In fact this reactionary ruling dangerously threatens the right of privacy for us all, opening the door to demagogues who even want to outlaw *birth control* methods such as the IUD. The bigots have already effectively stopped the distribution of the French abortion-inducing drug RU 486, which would make abortion a genuinely private act, requiring only a prescription from a doctor. These bible-thumping bigots echo Hitler in declaring that women must be tied to "*Kinder-Küche-Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church). And Chief Justice Rehnquist has proclaimed an ominously open-ended and totalitarian standard—whether a law "permissibly furthers the State's interest in protecting potential human life"—which would supersede the right of privacy.

Now the "Right to Lifers" are gloating that a "new era is dawning" for them. Skipping down the Supreme Court steps, Operation Rescue leader Randall Terry called for thousands of bigots to surround abortion clinics across the country. More than ever, the battle to defend abortion clinics is urgently posed—there must be mass mobilizations of women, minorities and the social power of organized labor to keep the clinic doors open. In recent months, abortion rights defenders in cities from Los Angeles to Boston have for the first time outnumbered the abortion bigots in the streets. But the bourgeois feminists of NOW and NARAL have stood *opposed* to clinic defense, pathetically calling on the racist cops to "enforce the law" and "defend women's rights"!

The Supreme Court ruled first on the narrow Missouri challenge because it knows how explosive the abortion issue is. Less than three months ago, hundreds of thousands marched in Washington in support of abortion rights. Repeatedly, opinion polls have reported that, whatever they think of abortion, three out of four Americans think it is a decision each woman should make for herself. Faced with the Supreme Court's ruling there will be a barrage of pathetic lobbying of state legislatures, while NOW and NARAL try to elect more Democrats in the 1990 elections. But women's fundamental rights can never be guaranteed in the high and low courts and legislatures of this capitalist society. As history demonstrates, laws are only a reflection of the relation of class forces.

The defense of the most basic rights, from the right to abortion to decent education or a roof over your head, requires the fight for socialism. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

WV Photo

Trotskyists at giant pro-abortion rally in Washington, April 9.

Alan Dershowitz: Lawyer for Zionist Lies and Spies

The 13 June *Boston Herald*, 11 June *Los Angeles Times*, 18 June *San Francisco Examiner Chronicle* and numerous other papers across the country ran a syndicated column by Alan Dershowitz, claiming that in response to the killings in Beijing's Tiananmen Square "a resounding chorus of silence came from much of the extreme left." Dershowitz is a hotshot lawyer, Harvard law professor and TV talk show regular. He had his "associate" call up "a number of those who are most vocal in condemning the United States, Israel and other Western democracies," he says. And what does he claim to have discovered? Dershowitz writes:

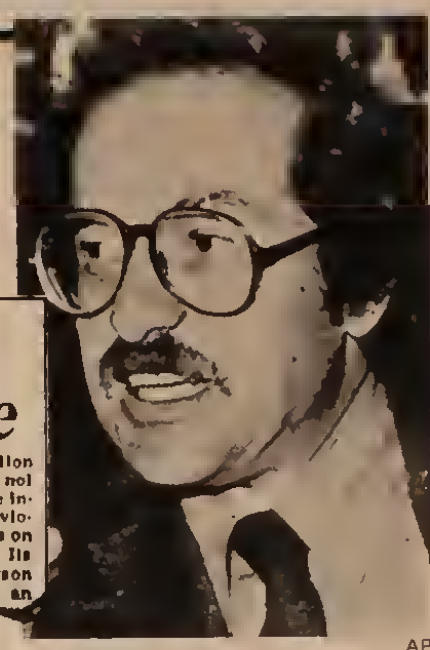
> "The extreme left press—the Guardian, the Workers Vanguard, the Revolutionary Worker and other Marxist weeklies—were busy trying to fit the events of China into their political orthodoxies. The Workers World Party condemned the students as counterrevolutionaries and commended the army for its decisive action...."

This is a carefully crafted lie by a slick, libel-conscious lawyer. Anyone unfamiliar with the left press mentioned would conclude, as the writer intended, that the groups cited all "condemned the students as counterrevolutionaries." But the rad-lib *Guardian* (14 June) denounced the "brutal actions" of the Chinese leadership, while the quirky pro-Mao *Revolutionary Worker* (5 June) condemned the regime's use of "brute military force." And anyone who has read any of the recent issues of *Workers Vanguard* knows Dershowitz' account to be a lie. While highly critical of illusions in Western-style "democracy," we emphatically supported the protests, denounced the Stalinist bureaucracy's provocative massacre and saw the outpouring of working-class support in Beijing, Shanghai and other centers as heralding the beginning of proletarian political revolution in China.

Dershowitz knows this as well. In fact, one of his "research assistants" phoned *WV* for our position, and we read him headlines and key passages from the 26 May and 9 June issues. The latter headline reads, in 96-point type across the front page: "Beijing Massacre—Civil War Looms." The article opens:

> "Chinese Stalinism has provoked a political revolution that may well spell the doom of this bureaucratic, anti-worker regime. The massacre of students and other protesters by the despised Deng regime has brought China to the brink of civil war."

Some silence!



AP

Big Lie column by Alan Dershowitz syndicated in Boston Herald (below), L.A. Times, S.F. Examiner Chronicle and other major bourgeois newspapers.

Left falls silent on China massacre

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

As most of the civilized world reacted with horror, and condemnation, to the Chinese massacre on Tiananmen Square, a re-

The Palestine Liberation Organization, which does not hesitate to intrude into the internal affairs of Israel by violence, refused to take sides on the Chinese massacre. Its U.N. delegation spokesperson told my associate: "It is an internal problem. We

In Dershowitz' entire survey of the "left" on China, the only statement he makes which has any bearing to reality is about the Marcyite Workers World, which did in fact echo the Beijing bureaucracy's lies. The *Los Angeles Times* received a barrage of letters about this frame-up and on 17 June printed a "clarification" on the real position of the National Lawyers Guild. For the manifold ways in which Dershowitz lies about the NLG, William Kunstler, Noam Chomsky, the PLO, the *Nation*, etc., etc., we refer readers to a piece in the *Nation* (10 July) by Alexander Cockburn on "The Lies of Alan Dershowitz." As Cockburn observes, quoting excerpts from Dershowitz: "This is probably as concentrated a number of lies in sixteen lines as in any piece of journalism in recent memory."

Why the Lies?

So Alan Morton Dershowitz is a lawyer who lies, a not untypical combination. But why lie about the left's line on China? Mr. Dershowitz has, to cop a phrase from the circles in which he travels, a hidden agenda. A curious sentence from his column is a tip-off: "The Palestine Liberation Organization, which does not hesitate to intrude into the internal affairs of Israel by violence, refused to take sides on the Chinese massacre," he writes. The PLO "intrudes" in a country where Palestinian Arabs have lived for centuries, where they are today oppressed as second-class citizens or as stateless victims of an occupation army? This is the language of the Israeli government—whose own silence on China, by the way, is conspicuously neglected by Dershowitz.

You want to compare positions about the Beijing massacre, counselor? Could Jerusalem's very real silence have something to do with the fact that Israel is one of the major arms suppliers to the Chinese Stalinists, as part of underwriting China's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism? The *New York Times* (6 June) reports that "Some of the tanks used in the crackdown, for example, are of the T-69 type, a brand new model with an Israeli-made 105-millimeter gun and a laser site [sic]." We note Dershowitz' "selective silence" about Israeli guns killing Beijing protesters. It's not coincidental: he is acting as lawyer for those who are daily carrying out atrocities in the Occupied Territories.

WORKERS VANGUARD

For the Unity of China Under the Leadership of the Workers!

Beijing Massacre—Civil War Looms

Workers and Soldiers' Soviets Must Rule!

Solidarność/ Stalinist Pact Against the Workers

International Communist League Launched

Silent on China massacre?

Virtually all of Dershowitz' targets are opponents or critics of the Israelis' terroristic oppression of the Palestinian people. Dershowitz' punch line reads:

> "The next time you read or hear condemnation of the United States, Israel or other Western democracies from the likes of Kunstler, Chomsky, the PLO and the National Lawyers Guild, remember their selective silence in the face of one of the most inexcusable human rights violations in recent years."

So, the next time someone complains about the beatings, the mass arrests, the "collective punishment" of an entire village for a stone thrown by a teenage kid, the torture chambers and concentration camps like Ansar III in the Gaza Strip, you're supposed to "remember" how they were "silent" on the Beijing massacre. Dr. Gochbels called this the Big Lie.

Dershowitz wants to claim the Spartacist League and others condoned the Beijing massacre. Now, we are prepared to take unpopular stands in defense of historic gains of the working class. We solidarize with the Bolshevik suppression of the anti-Communist Kronstadt garrison mutiny in 1921, whose victory would have led to the bloody overthrow of soviet power. In Poland in 1981, when CIA-financed Solidarność consolidated around a program of capitalist restoration and prepared a bid for power, we raised the call "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" But the recent events in China were very different.

The million protesters who thronged into Tiananmen Square were politically all over the map. There was plenty of confusion, ambiguities and illusions. The imperialist press tried to paint the protests as unambiguously pro-Western by, for example, falsely identifying the "goddess of democracy" statue as simply a replica of the Statue of Liberty. But the thrust of their protest, and particularly on the part of the working class, went in the *opposite* direction from that desired by the ideologues of imperialism. The Chinese masses have already had a good dose of street-level capitalism together with an authoritarian state, and they don't like it. They were expressing deep frustration with a ruling bureaucratic caste which was undermining the social gains of the Chinese Revolution, which from its inception denied the working people political power. People who repeatedly sang the socialist anthem, the *Internationale*, even as they marched out of the square under the guns of Deng's tanks, are not seeking to restore capitalism.

Some "Civil Libertarian"!

Dershowitz is a Zionist, all right, but with his own "special relationship" to the Israeli state. He sits on the New England Regional Executive Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, whose name would more accurately reflect its current activity if the word "anti" were excised. In 1983 the ADL honored Dershowitz with its William O. Douglas First Amendment Award for his "compassionate eloquent leadership and persistent advocacy in the struggle for civil and human rights." This "persistent advocacy" has manifested itself in a peculiarly discriminating manner, as we shall see. Let's take a look at the people he defends, a pretty curious assortment for a "civil libertarian."

Exhibit A. Dershowitz was the U.S. attorney for Anatoly (now Natan) Shcharansky since 1977 and played a key role in engineering the swap which got Shcharansky and three other Western spies released from the Soviet Union in exchange for five Soviet bloc agents held by the West. His client was "not a spy" but "a human-rights activist," claimed Dershowitz. But this "human-rights activist" happened to be a Soviet computer programmer, about whom one American official admitted to *Newsweek* (24 July 1978), "What Shcharansky did, in effect, was give [*Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert] Toth a list of secret defense plants." The U.S. military attaché wrote Toth thanking him for his "cooperation" and passing on praise from the head of the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency. As we said then, "Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" (*WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978):

Exhibit B. In his article on the swap, Dershowitz let the cat out of the bag when he wrote: "But spying is wrong only when it is committed against one's own country." This brings us to the curious case of Jonathan Jay Pollard. This American Jew who worked for Navy intelligence was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1987 as a self-confessed spy for Israel. He delivered 800,000 highly classified documents to his Israeli controllers. The Pollard affair polarized the

Jane's Defence Weekly

Chinese T-69 tanks with Israeli-made laser-guided 105 mm. guns (above) were used in Beijing massacre.

UPI

Der Spiegel

UPI

Dershowitz "proudly" defended Israeli spy in U.S. government Jonathan Pollard (left), as well as Israeli-American fascist terrorist Meir Kahane (center) and Natan Shcharansky, who passed Soviet defense secrets to U.S.

American Zionists. Even such hard-core apologists for the Israeli state as Reaganite William Safire were outraged: "Israel's friends—especially Jewish Americans, who have been doubly betrayed by an Israeli operation paying a Jew to be a traitor—are not merely dismayed, but justifiably furious" (*New York Times*, 6 June 1986).

But not Alan Dershowitz. Dershowitz not only agreed to appeal Pollard's sentence but boasted on the Morton Downey TV show "Lawyers vs. Lawyers" that he did so "Very proudly. One of my favorite cases." Dershowitz continued:

> "I am defending a man who tried very hard in a misguided way to help a country that he strongly believed in.... He gave them the targets for the PLO headquarters and allowed Israel to pinpoint bomb some of those killers who were trying to kill Americans.... And my brother and I are very proudly representing them, not trying to get them off, trying to get their sentence reduced to what they would have gotten if they had *spied for the Russians*."

"Misguided"? But Dershowitz falsely and stupidly says spying's bad only if it's "against one's own country." And Pollard certainly knew what he was doing and which was his "own country": "It's not that I'm a martyr, just that I understand that there are some moments when an individual has to place the interests of his state ahead of himself" (quoted in Wolf Blitzer, *Territory of Lies* [1989]).

Exhibit C. What Dershowitz was defending—"very proudly"—is Israel's privileged position. And not for the first time. In 1985 Dershowitz sued the U.S. government for revoking fascist Meir Kahane's American citizenship when he was elected to the Israeli Knesset (*Boston Globe*, 13 October 1985). Israel is the only country whose citizens are allowed to retain American citizenship. Moshe Arens retained his dual citizenship even as Israeli ambassador to Washington, forfeiting it only when he took over the post of Israel's "defense" minister. At least since a 1967 U.S. Supreme Court decision, even serving in the Israeli army (as Kahane did) isn't enough to lose American citizenship.

Exhibit D. And ex-JDL *Führer* Kahane isn't the first Zionist terrorist Dershowitz defended. His first criminal case was that of JDL bomb expert Sheldon Siegel, whom Dershowitz calls "a *landsman*" from Brooklyn's Borough Park, where the JDL originated. Siegel made the bombs which were used against the Soviet UN Mission, and the one directed against the visiting Soviet Osipov Balalaika Orchestra which killed a young Jewish woman who worked for impresario Sol Hurok. Civil liberties anyone?

Exhibit E. Dershowitz established his civil libertarian credentials over the years by taking on a number of First Amendment cases and being an outspoken opponent of, particularly, censorship of pornography. Though he was a member of the national board of directors of the ACLU in the late 1960s, he became increasingly critical of the ACLU—from the right. When a family of Soviet émigrés, the Polovchaks, sought to return to the Soviet Union with their 12-year-old son Walter, the U.S. government essentially kidnapped the kid. On the Morton Downey show, Dershowitz ranted that "his parents wanted to send him to prison in the Soviet Union for the rest of his life" and "the ACLU sided with the Russians and the parents."

Exhibit F. Clearly, for Alan Dershowitz, there are civil liberties and civil liberties, and the dividing line coincides with the anti-Communist and anti-Arab interests of the Zionist rulers. Dershowitz screams bloody murder over the life sentence for self-confessed Israeli spy Pollard (who can be out in ten years). But what about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, persecuted as "Soviet spies" in a vicious anti-Communist and anti-Semitic witchhunt during the McCarthy red scare? They got *electrocuted*. When the new crop of "god that failed" anti-communists, led off by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton's *The Rosenberg File* (1983), tried to kill these heroic Communists all over again, Dershowitz jumped right in to rave loudly that it is a "historical fact that Julius Rosenberg *was* guilty of espionage" (*New York Times*, 14 August 1983).

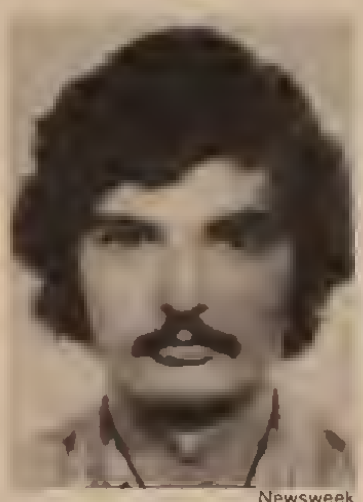
And what about courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, who exposed to the world the scope of Israel's nuclear doomsday machine—including 200 A-bombs? For this service to humanity, Vanunu is languishing in an Israeli dungeon for 18 years. His appeal began in May—behind closed doors.

Jewish Communists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were electrocuted as Soviet spies during Cold War witchhunt of the 1950s. Dershowitz says Julius Rosenberg was guilty.

Hatchet Jobs for Israeli Secret Police

Now let's look at a list of some of the people that Alan Dershowitz *doesn't* defend.

Exhibit G. Take the case of Fouzi el-Asmar, a Palestinian poet and civil libertarian of Israeli citizenship who was thrown into prison by the Zionist regime in 1969 without trial. In a December 1970 article in *Commentary* (reprinted in Irving Howe and Carl Gershman, eds., *Israel, the Arabs and the Middle East* [1972]), Dershowitz wrote: "Having long opposed preventive detention in America, I was greatly troubled when I learned of its use by the Israeli authorities." So the indefatigable "civil libertarian" personally "investigated" the case. His conclusion? "I am personally convinced, for whatever that is worth, that Fawzi al-Asmar was the leader of a terrorist group."



Newsweek

Domenica del Corriere

Palestinian Sami Esmail (above) and Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu (being gagged at right), both kidnapped by Zionist secret police.

Excerpts from Dershowitz' article were subsequently distributed as a leaflet when el-Asmar made a speaking tour in the U.S. following his release. What "convinced" the "troubled" professor? Why, he spoke with the director of the Israeli secret police Shin Bet (which is so secretive that even the director's identity is hidden from the Israeli public). He graciously showed Dershowitz the file on el-Asmar, which included a letter "written in invisible ink" which "sealed al-Asmar's fate." In his autobiographical *To Be an Arab in Israel* (1975), el-Asmar exposed Dershowitz' hatchet job on behalf of Shin Bet:

> "I had not even been questioned about the activities which were, according to Dershowitz mentioned in the 'letter.' If one still had any doubt whatsoever as to the non-existence of this letter, it can be proved it didn't exist simply by the fact that when the Prosecutor-General under oath had to give all the evidence he had against me... Professor Dershowitz's 'letter' was never mentioned....
>
> "The fact that various people such as the Director of the Security Service, the Minister of Justice and the Legal Adviser for the Government were prepared to be interviewed by him, the fact that he had access to secret material which was even translated for him but was not given to any journalist or Israeli professor, let alone my lawyer, interested in looking into the question of administrative detention, the attitude of the article—all proved that this 'research' was commissioned to serve Israeli propaganda abroad...."

Exhibit H. In 1977, Sami Esmail, an American citizen of Palestinian descent, was arrested when he went to visit his dying father in the West Bank, and sentenced to 15 months in prison for alleged membership in the nationalist PFLP. His victimization provoked massive outrage in American civil libertarian circles. Enter the peripatetic Alan Dershowitz (this time writing with Hofstra law professor Monroe Freedman). Once again he writes: "Like other Americans concerned with human rights, we have been deeply disturbed by reports of systematic violations of such rights in Israel" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 June 1978). What he's "disturbed by" is that the reports are getting out. And once again he concludes after "investigating": "In view of the deliberate and demonstrable lies in the Esmail case, therefore, allegations of systematic violations of human rights by Israel must be viewed with more than a little skepticism." Clearly, anything Dershowitz writes about the Israeli butchers and their opponents must be viewed with more than a little skepticism. We nailed Dershowitz at the time for his "McCarthy-style slanders and outright falsifications" (*WV* No. 221, 14 July 1978).

When Israel's brutal repression of the Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) provoked widespread criticism, including from prominent pro-Israel American Jews like Woody Allen, Dershowitz put the blame on the notoriously *pro-Zionist* American press for not giving "the full picture": some of the stones thrown by Palestinian protesters are really "large lethal boulders," he revealed (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 February 1988). His conclusion: "Israel is a vibrant democracy fully capable of keeping its house in order" and any Palestinian who doesn't like being disenfranchised, dispossessed, arrested or gunned down in his own homeland "is, of course, entirely free to leave and move to one of the many Arab states in the region." Love it or leave it—some argument for a "civil libertarian"!

We have taken the trouble of examining Dershowitz' case file so extensively to establish one simple but critical fact: Alan Dershowitz is a mouthpiece for the Israeli government. Gore Vidal said of *Commentary*'s Norman Podhoretz, a right-wing analogue of Dershowitz: "Although there is nothing wrong with being a lobbyist for a foreign power, one is supposed to register with the Justice Department" (*Nation*, 22 March 1986). Dershowitz does not necessarily agree in the particulars with Podhoretz or the policies of the reigning Likud leadership—neither does Shimon Peres—but the interests closest to his heart are those of the *Israeli* ruling class. This puts Dershowitz' lies about

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Dershowitz...

(continued from page 7)

the Trotskyist Spartacist League in a different, and sinister, light.

ADL Lawyers For Klan/Nazi "Right" To Genocide

Dershowitz' China diatribe was not our first run-in with the self-styled "civil libertarian." Last fall, on the eve of the November 5 labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which spiked a threatened Klan/Nazi skinhead provocation in Philadelphia, Dershowitz went on Harvard's WHRB radio with the deliberate smear that the Spartacists "are as fascist and as racist and as non-civil libertarian as the Ku Klux Klan." Dershowitz tried to frighten off labor support for the mobilization with crude McCarthyite redbaiting:

> "Any labor union that identifies itself with the Spartacus League [sic] is stepping on its foot and is engaging in stupid self-destructive conduct because the Spartacus League is not good for America, not good for working people.... I wish there were a third group there, who could stand up for the right of free speech and against both the Spartacus League and the Ku Klux Klan and stand up for real American freedom."

Like who—the Mossad? "Professor Dershowitz claims," the announcer added, "that the Spartacist League might not even exist today if not for the support of anti-Klan activists."

Dershowitz' vicious attack on those seeking to stop the genocidal Klan/Nazi killers was part of an orchestrated campaign by the Zionist ADL. In Philadelphia, regional ADL director Barry Morrison urged Philadelphians to let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do" and smeared the PDC, in language identical to Dershowitz', as being "as much a threat to our democratic fabric as the Klan." Clearly, this campaign was orchestrated at the ADL's highest levels. But they weren't able to undercut the solid support from labor unions, civil rights activists, gays and student groups in Philly and from around the country. Nationally more than 100 union locals and officials didn't follow Dershowitz' insidious "advice" and instead proudly added their names to those who endorsed the fight that stopped the fascist provocation. It must have really burned the ADL that demonstrators on November 5 carried signs saying "No More Nazi Kristallnacht!"

Following a similar anti-fascist mobilization in Atlanta initiated by the PDC two months later, the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (29 January) trotted out professional redbaiter Harvey Klehr to insinuate that rather than stopping the Klan the Spartacist League and PDC were pursuing "another agenda." This "agenda" turned out to be a listing of the revolutionary slogans on our signs at the demonstration—what a secret! One of the signs he didn't report was "Remember Leo Frank!"—the Atlanta Jewish businessman who was lynched in 1915 by the renascent KKK. On contract for the ADL, Klehr had written a 1988 "report" on *The American Radical Left Today* declaring that "the far left poses a different kind of danger" than the ultraright, but one that must not be "overlooked or minimized." Klehr's "agenda" is to boost the Zionist state, complaining that "The radical left has become stridently anti-Israel, which it sees as the strongest opponent of communism in the Middle East...."

Dershowitz redbaited PDC-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan from demonstrating in Philadelphia, November 1988.

WV Photos

KKK fascists are deadly threat to blacks, Jews and other minorities. ADL says let Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do."

Walter Smith

An internal memorandum (dated 30 January) from the ADL's Southeast regional office to Irwin Suall, a chief operator in the ADL, noted: "The Spartacists are known to ADL for their participation in the recent demonstrations against the Klan in Philadelphia and Washington." "Known"? Clearly, the ADL was talking here about more than public press coverage, as the memo describes "close contact with our friends in law enforcement" and "shared information, some of which our office had exclusively received." Nor is this the first known instance of "shared information" with the agencies of state repression. In a letter to the San Francisco police, dated 12 February 1985, the ADL expressed the "hope we will be able to continue working on the Spartacus [sic] Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus. Your experiences would certainly enhance the information we have already collected."

So Dershowitz' ADL has gone considerably beyond lying "polemics" against the SL. Why this shrill, malicious campaign to *prevent* integrated, labor-centered mobilizations to stop fascist terror? Isn't this rather strange coming from the group that purports to defend Jewish people? We gave a partial answer to that question at the time:

> "Having strongly come down against blacks, partly through class instinct and partly through confusing ghetto anger with the Palestinian 'Intifada,' the Zionist organizations see integrated, militant labor action as a big threat to their aspirations to simultaneously propagandize for and fund the Israeli state while acting as privileged bloodhounds for the American ruling class....
> "*In trying to knife militant anti-fascist struggle now—when the fascist presence in the urban centers is small and can be crushed in the egg—the Zionist ADL is serving the purposes of those who would unleash another Holocaust.*"
>
> —"ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest," *WV* No. 465 (18 November 1988)

Dershowitz says that but for the support of anti-Klan activists, the SL might not exist today. It is certainly true that despite our relatively small forces, the Spartacist League and PDC have uniquely been able to bring together reds and blacks and labor in *effective* anti-Klan action. And this has been noticed in many places. But for the existence of the SL, there would have been no mass, integrated, labor-centered anti-Klan mobilizations.

So let's take the ADL at its word: they want to let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do." Cross-burnings, lynchings, race terror: that's what the Klan does. Could it be that the Israeli rulers—acting through their operatives here—*want* a tendency toward race war in *this* country? Could it be that the Spartacist League stands as an obstacle to a major Israeli foreign policy objective?

In their expansionist drive for a Greater Israel stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile, the Zionists have made enemies out of the entire Arab world. They rule with an iron heel over a hostile *internal* population of more than two million Arab Palestinians. The 18-month-long *intifada* has sharply polarized Israeli Jewish society, driving significant sections to openly contemplate forcible population transfer and even outright genocide. And Israeli rulers are livid about the pressure they are getting from the American government *and American Jews*.

Perhaps the masters of the Zionist state would like to see something resembling an *intifada* in the U.S. in the hope that that would drive the American bourgeoisie closer to them. Of course, they are fully aware that if the predominantly Christian white population in this country consolidates around right-wing racism, anti-Semitism will rise. But in the minds of these demented and frenzied nationalists, as long as it doesn't reach the point of the Nazis' Nuremberg laws, that's the price American Jews *should* pay for remaining in the diaspora instead of going "home" to the Zionist garrison state.

For years, the Zionist establishment in this country has increasingly sought to egg on and provoke black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. NYC mayor Ed Koch talked of "justifiable rage" in an attempt to incite a riot when Farrakhan spoke at Madison Square Garden in 1985. Koch acts as though all black people are West Bank Arabs, and subway turnstile jumpers are PLO terrorists to be gunned down. Koch's remark at the time of the presidential primaries that any Jew would have to be crazy to vote for Jesse Jackson was an invitation to race war. Indeed, Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, who administers a divided—half-occupied—city, is a far more benign character when it comes to interracial dealings.

And look at the "liberal" Harvard professor Dershowitz. Dershowitz rails against "leftist thought police" on campus who protest CIA recruiters, imperialist war criminals, apologists for apartheid terror and outright racist provocateurs, while complaining: "If the recent past is any guide to the future, minority racists like Louis Farrakhan, Al Sharpton and Stokely Carmichael would continue to be welcome in many quarters" (*Boston Herald*, 2 May). He snidely and provocatively denounces the invitation of PLO speakers by black students at Harvard as "Stick it to the Jews week": "They bring a PLO speaker or they bring some other opponent of Jewish values and they conduct an event in which they have very little inherent interest except that it really riles up the Jewish community" (*Boston Globe*, 6 March 1985). Doesn't Dershowitz just wish that he could shut down the black student meetings the way the Israelis shut down Bir Zeit University in the West Bank?

But this is not the West Bank, and the American bourgeoisie doesn't want an *intifada* at home. There are important

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Zionist Iron Heel...

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computer-encoded ID cards to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip who want work in Israel. Some 700,000 Palestinians are crammed into this tiny strip of land where there is no work, and now the army will be checking for these IDs at the two main exit points from Gaza to Israel. Those who have a "criminal record" or are "political troublemakers" will not get the cards and thus will be confined to the Gaza Strip. In preparation for this new plan, in mid-May Israeli police and army units rounded up all Palestinian workers from the Gaza Strip and forced them back home.

A high-ranking army officer pointed to what's in store: "If we seal off the Gaza Strip, the people there will starve" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 May). That's not the present plan, he said, but added: "the riots must end." In fact, key figures in the Israeli ruling class and rightward-moving sectors of the increasingly polarized Hebrew-speaking population are gearing up for a holocaust against the Arabs—if that's what it takes to "end the riots."

Reuters

Zionist "population control": Palestinians of Gaza Strip are issued computer-coded ID cards.

Zionists Scream "Death to Arabs!"

The Palestinian *intifada* has frustrated every attempt by the government to crush it—from "Defense" Minister Rabin's policy of "force, might, beatings" to daily shootings, deportations, mass arrests, blowing up houses and sealing off whole towns. As the Israeli economy is dragged down by the endless military mobilizations, confrontations and loss of Arab labor, a sense of crisis is spreading. As Zionist mobs rampage, even attacking Arabs who are Israeli citizens, fascistic movements are flourishing, taking advantage of the crisis to push for the "final solution."

Alongside the new repressive government measures, settlers have unleashed a wave of pogroms against Arab towns in recent weeks. In May and June, Jewish settlements launched attacks, allegedly in "retaliation" for Arab attacks. But the Palestinians have only stones while the settlers have automatic weapons plus the regular army to back them up:

> "Nearly every night they pour out of one or another of their 120 settlements, stoning or burning Palestinian cars, houses or fields.... Last week, 100 of the normally placid residents of suburban Maale Adumim, just outside Jerusalem, stoned and shot at the windows of Palestinian homes and cars, set several vehicles on fire and shouted 'Death to the Arabs'."
>
> —*Newsday*, 30 May

Often they are led by Uzi-toting rabbis like Gush Emunim leader Moshe Levinger, who last year gunned down an Arab shopkeeper and again opened fire on Palestinians last month. Around the same time 30 "yeshiva students" from a nearby settler town attacked the Arab village of Kifl Harith, where they shattered windows, smashed cars, blasted holes in water tanks and burned the wheat harvest while raking homes with automatic rifle fire. The most rabid "settlers" seem to be transplanted New York Jews, including quite a few ideological fascists like former JDL *Führer* Kahane and crazed killers like "Eli the Wolf."

The settlers' bloodlust is encouraged from the highest levels of the Israeli government. In mid-June, Israeli president Chaim Herzog once again reduced the sentences of three members of the "Jewish underground" who had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering and maiming Arabs, including an Arab mayor who lost his legs; now they face only ten years.

But the nationalist program of the *intifada* leaders provides no way forward for the Palestinian masses. Looking to Washington to pressure Israel, as Arafat's PLO does, or the Muslim fundamentalists' dreaming of a *jihad* (holy war) cannot emancipate the oppressed Palestinian people—who are among the most socially advanced in the Near East and have been forcibly dispersed to all corners of the Arab East. Won to an internationalist perspective, Palestinians can play a key role in socialist revolution throughout the region.

Meanwhile, in their wild dreams of a Greater Israel "free of Arabs," the Zionist madmen are doing everything possible to enrage the 100 million Arabs who surround the three and a half million Israeli Jews. They may think their arsenal of over 200 A-bombs will save them. But the Zionists' quest for *Lebensraum* must ultimately fail, and in their desperate frenzy they really will turn Israel into a deathtrap for Jews—and possibly a trip wire for world nuclear holocaust. As we wrote last year:

> "This barbaric Zionist regime must be exploded from within, through revolutionary class struggle linking the Hebrew-speaking workers to the oppressed Palestinian masses, championing the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Forge Trotskyist parties fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East!"
>
> —"Pogrom Unleashed Against Palestinian Villagers," *WV* No. 451, 22 April 1988 ■

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differences between the two countries. The Israeli army has no Arabs in it, but the American military is heavily dependent on blacks. The American ruling class is not interested in seeing the development of a more extreme racial polarization leading to massive violence and destruction of property. And there is a large body of opinion in the United States which believes that both black and white Americans should be seen as citizens, which is certainly not the Zionist attitude toward Palestinian Arabs. So Israeli and American ruling circles hardly see eye to eye on this question.

The Zionists have long been accustomed to a privileged position in the U.S.—like their unique access to dual citizenship—as reward for their services as a regional gendarme for U.S. imperialism. This was most recently revealed in the Iran/Contra scandal where Israel gained notoriety as the unnamed "Country 1." The history of the CIA-Mossad relationship was graphically detailed in a recent PBS *Frontline* TV documentary entitled "Israel—The Covert Connection" (PBS-TV, 16 May 1989). For several decades, going back to James Jesus Angleton's tenure with The Company, the Mossad has done the CIA's dirty work, particularly in Latin America, Africa and the Near East—from dealing with Khomeini's Iran to training Nicaraguan contras to funneling Western arms to South Africa. Presumably to show its gratitude, the CIA recently issued a new map of Israel renaming the West Bank Judea and Samaria, the biblical names by which the Zionists legitimize their claim to the territory.

Over the last 15 years, Israel has received *$27 billion* in U.S. military aid, not to mention the billions to prop up its nonviable economy. But Israel's special relationship with the U.S. is hardly irreversible. The sentence handed down to Pollard served to remind the Israelis that they are indeed a different state power. And the Israeli attack on the USS *Liberty* spy ship during the 1967 Arab-Israel war, killing 34 American sailors, remains a very sore point within the American military establishment, while "Remember the Liberty!" remains a rallying cry for anti-Semitic nativist reactionaries like the America First committee.

WV Photo

When Nazis tried to march in heavily Jewish Chicago suburb of Evanston in 1980, thousands of people drove them out.

To realize their wild expansionist ambitions, the Zionist rulers are not only prepared to slaughter Palestinians wholesale but to consign American Jews to a reactionary nightmare. But hard as they may try, they're going to have a rough time persuading the bulk of Jews in this country—however anti-communist the current climate might be—that Nazis are preferable to communists. Dershowitz and his crowd opposed the anti-Nazi mobilization in Skokie, Illinois some years ago, but that didn't cut much ice with the 2,000 people—many of them Holocaust survivors—who took to the streets to *drive the Nazis out*. And at the time of our Atlanta mobilization, the ADL complained of "calls from concerned individuals, expressing their opinion that the 'Jewish organizations ought to be officially counterdemonstrating'" against the Klan.

On the eve of World War II, while the Trotskyists fought to mobilize united workers action to crush the fascist menace, the Zionists devoted their efforts to trying to cut a deal with the Hitlerites. Even after the gas chambers went into operation, Shamir and his gang—who adulated Mussolini—offered Hitler their support in driving the British out of the Near East if he was prepared to sponsor a "Jewish state." Zionism is bad for the Jews: it was bad for Jews in Central Europe, it is bad for Jews in the U.S., and it is even bad for Jews *in Israel*, because it opposes, at all cost, united struggle against anti-Semitic and racist reaction. And it must do so, because in the final analysis, those who steadfastly pursue their nationalism *are* fascists—whether it be the Zionist fascists inspired by Begin's mentor Jabotinski or the ex-leftist Sinhala chauvinists of the JVP in Sri Lanka.

The Zionists have always hated us because, as we wrote in "ADL Red-baiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest": "...unlike practically all the left, with their impressionistic tailing after nationalism, we are the living refutation of their self-serving lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. We defend the Palestinian people against the terror of the Israeli state, which is in the process of working up to trying genocide, *and* we oppose the Arab nationalist calls to 'drive the Jews into the sea'." Dershowitz vents his spleen against the Trotskyists because, uniquely, we have not been silent on Arab nationalist atrocities—from the devastation of Ha'ama by Syria's Assad to the indiscriminate terror practiced by Palestinian nationalists particularly in the 1970s. Thus Dershowitz & Co. have to work overtime to lyingly paint us as "anti-Semitic" as we expose and protest against the far more deadly and vicious *state* terror of the nuclear-armed madmen in Jerusalem and Washington.

Against all variants of deadly nationalism, the Trotskyists counterpose the program of proletarian *internationalism*. We fight for workers power, which requires a struggle against all manifestations of racial and national oppression. The Bolsheviks organized workers defense guards to defend Jews against the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds in Russia; the October Revolution rooted out this pogromist menace and opened the portals of liberation for the many oppressed nationalities and peoples of the tsarist empire. Today the only equitable and democratic resolution of conflicting national rights in the turbulent Near East, and the only road forward for blacks and Jews, as well as Hispanics, Asians and all the oppressed in America, is through the struggle for world socialist revolution. ■

Flag-Wavers Target Bill of Rights

Flag burning was prohibited by a 1967 federal law aimed at curtailing the practice at demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Today the commander in chief of American imperialism, George Bush, is still fighting U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Southeast Asia by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. Bush wants to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" by wrapping himself in the American flag. It worked against Democrat Michael Dukakis when Bush visited a flag factory and led off his campaign rallies with the pledge of allegiance. Now he wants to pass a 27th Amendment to the Constitution to prohibit "desecration" of the American flag.

The Supreme Court overturned federal and state laws outlawing flag "desecration," holding that burning the flag is a form of political protest protected under First Amendment free speech rights. This ruling came in the case of Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party supporter Gregory Johnson who was convicted under Texas law for torching an American flag during a Dallas protest at the 1984 Republican National Convention. This decision should also extend to the case of "Dread" Scott Tyler whose political art exhibit displays the American flag on the floor of the Chicago Art Institute and is under attack from right-wing vets and the city council.

Straight from posing at the Iwo Jima Memorial on June 30 to announce his flag amendment, Bush held a 25th anniversary memorial for the Civil Rights Act at the White House with Rosa Parks and Jesse Jackson. Bush, who had a nest of Nazis on his election campaign staff, of course said that he did not see any problem with the Supreme Court's recent slew of attacks against civil rights. He wants to escalate the assault by amending the Constitution to limit protest against the government. The flag hysteria represents not only an attack on free speech, it is part of a broad reactionary trend of attacks on Constitutional rights including banning abortion and enforcing school prayer and pledges of allegiance.

Along with the howling from the bipartisan wolfpack of patriotic politicians comes the whining of failed Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork vowing that he would have sided with the Supreme Court minority against flag burning. And they won't stop with the stars-and-stripes: black Alabama legislators were arrested for attempting to tear down the Confederate flag, a banner of racist/KKK terror which flies from many Southern statehouses and courthouses. When SF Mayor Dianne Feinstein raised the flag of slavery in front of City Hall, the Spartacist League and Bay Area Labor Black League ripped it down and burned it.

A century ago, the Union flag did represent the progressive cause of Northern capital in crushing the Southern slavocracy to win the American Civil War, but there will not be any holiday by the deeply racist American bourgeoisie today for the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Chief Justice and arch right-winger William Rehnquist, for once in the minority, fumed that "the government may conscript men into the Armed Forces where they must fight and perhaps die for the flag, but the government may not prohibit public burning of the banner under which they fight." The U.S. ruling class wants to use the flag to rally young workers and minorities to be cannon fodder for American capitalism while its gutless wonders like Vice President J. Danforth Quayle III stay in the rear and drink beer during imperialism's bloody wars.

We honor the red flag of the international working class. ■

High Court Racism...

(continued from page 1)

salmon canneries in Alaska. But the overwhelming statistical proof of racial discrimination presented by minority workers in *Wards Cove v. Atonia* was of no import to the Supreme Court. While acknowledging that there was a "racial imbalance in the workforce," on June 5 the Court dismissed this as "irrelevant." All that mattered was "the pool of *qualified* job applicants." In other words, it isn't the company's fault that minority workers have little access to education and are prevented from acquiring job skills—that's just the way it is in these United States.

"Reverse discrimination," that code word for white racist backlash, was used by Chief Justice Rehnquist in his June 12 decision allowing white firemen in Birmingham, Alabama, to sue against an affirmative action consent decree. The ruling in *Martin v. Wilks* allows whites not even involved in the original suit to challenge preferential hiring of blacks at any time. This decision could result in overturning most affirmative action programs. But in *Lorance v. AT&T* black women phone workers were told they had waited too long to sue against a discriminatory seniority policy which led to their demotions: if you don't go to court within 300 days of the policy's enactment, you're too late. These days, if you expect to prove racial discrimination, you better have a video of your employer burning a cross on your workbench!

Last year the Supreme Court announced it would review the 1976 *Runyon* decision which said that an 1866 Reconstruction era ordinance prohibited discrimination by private employers as well as the government. On June 16, the Court ruled that Brenda Patterson, a black woman credit union teller, could not sue her bosses for racial harassment because the law applies only to "the initial formation of the contract." So if her employers had informed Patterson *before* she was hired that they would harass her, subject her to racist slurs and force her to sweep the floors, *then* she might have a case; but since they only did so *after* she was hired, her only redress is under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This is very good news for racist employers, because under that law no punitive damages can be awarded.

Herblock/Washington Post

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., 1978—Spartacists join protest against racist Bakke decision which said whites could sue against minority advancement programs, claiming discrimination.

The past several weeks of devastating attacks on formal legal equality for minorities demonstrate the intent of the court to hammer the current reactionary status quo into stone. If it's the *de facto* discrimination of racist American capitalism rather than the *de jure* segregation of Jim Crow laws—tough luck, says the Supreme Court. This is the same logic which led them to uphold the racist death penalty in the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling: even though the data showed that defendants on trial for the murder of whites were *eleven times* more likely to be sentenced to death than if the victim were black, the Court ruled that the "apparent discrepancies...are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." Whether it's racial oppression on the job or legal lynching of black prisoners, it's "inevitable," says the Reagan-Rehnquist court.

This was also the conclusion of Leo Edwards Jr., a black man from Mississippi, who on June 21 became the 113th person executed since the Supreme Court resurrected the death penalty in 1976. Edwards had filed 16 appeals maintaining his innocence, the last of which was rejected by the Supreme Court last week. But already at the time of his initial trial, when he first saw the all-white jury that would rule on his case, he concluded: "I'm dead."

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

After the passage of the 1963-64 civil rights and voting rights laws, the liberal-led civil rights movement sought to go North. But there it ran up against the pervasive racial oppression rooted in the economic realities of American capitalism, where blacks are "last hired, first fired," where housing segregation is accomplished by real estate agents' "redlining" rather than county laws, where separate and unequal education goes by the euphemism of "neighborhood schools." For the bourgeoisie, "affirmative action" schemes were designed to channel militant black struggle into the courtroom, with the added benefit of pitting blacks against the unions. Richard Nixon, who advanced the Philadelphia Plan in 1969 for preferential hiring of black workers, saw it as a way to overturn union seniority and rewrite union contracts while dividing the workforce along racial lines.

Seniority is an important gain which has prevented discriminatory firings of union organizers and other "troublemakers." But corrupt and racist labor bureaucrats often used union job protections for job-trusting, locking blacks out of the higher-paying craft jobs. As a result many civil rights activists and the reformist left, unwilling to look beyond the confines of capitalism, simply hailed affirmative action as a solution to black unemployment. Yet after the implementation of numerous affirmative action schemes, joblessness *grew*, particularly following the 1974-77 layoffs which turned the industrial Midwest into a rust belt. The Spartacist League proceeded from a different standpoint: rather than black and white workers squabbling over crumbs from a shrinking economic pie (which under conditions of decaying capitalism has increasingly become "pie in the sky"), we called for integrated revolutionary class struggle.

"For Union-Run Minority Recruitment, Not Union-Busting Government 'Affirmative Action'," demanded the SL, fighting to oust the sellout labor bureaucracy which stands in the way of a struggle for black rights just as it sabotages strikes. But the present onslaught against "affirmative action" has nothing to do with class-struggle opposition to state intervention in the unions. The workers movement must take a hard stand against the racist backlash spearheaded by the Supreme Court—we demand full equality in hiring and advancement; union hiring halls with union-run minority job recruitment and training; free 24-hour childcare crucial to the full participation of working women; and full employment at no loss in pay! And we have taken the lead in organizing integrated mass labor/black mobilizations against racist terror.

The liberal and reformist misleaders have brought nothing but defeats by preaching reliance on the same racist politicians and courts which are waging all-out war on the workers and minorities. The Spartacist League's Marxist program of revolutionary integrationism calls for a struggle to break the stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican partner parties of capitalism—who both represent the party of property—and to build a fighting workers party. To really root out racism requires smashing the racist class rule of the capitalists and creating a regime of multiracial workers power, which can provide full employment, quality education, free medical care, decent housing *for all*. While capitalism destroys the country's productive forces, blowing up factories, tearing down housing projects, throwing an entire generation of black ghetto youth onto the streets to die, we need a third American revolution, a proletarian revolution, which can undertake a second, socialist reconstruction of the United States. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

Osorio, head of the federation of independent unions, and another ASTTEL official, José Basilio Cheves. And on June 21, an American nun was shot in the face by a heavily armed band as she and two other nuns returned to a home for war orphans named for murdered Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

No sooner had Cristiani donned the presidential sash than his thugs were torturing labor leaders and shooting nuns. The American embassy tried to cover, claiming there was no physical evidence of torture and denying that the shooting was "politically motivated." Yet Mazariego was being beaten with rubber hoses while U.S. vice president J. Danforth Quayle III was shaking hands with ARENA's president-for-life "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, the mastermind of the assassination of Archbishop Romero. Quayle told D'Aubuisson not to "embarrass Mr. Cristiani," supposedly an admonition to curb his gunmen. On his previous visit to the country, Quayle said with his foot in his mouth the U.S. "condones violence in El Salvador," vowing to "work toward the elimination of human rights." Now he's hobnobbing with the kingpin of Salvador's killer elite, suddenly transformed from "pathological killer" into a "serious player."

ASTTEL representative José Mazariego had just picked up a visa for a speaking tour in the U.S. when he was seized blocks from the embassy. Held by the Treasury Police on "suspicion" of ties to the FMLN, he was stripped naked, beaten and nearly suffocated with a hood, then hydrochloric acid was poured on his knees. Mazariego (who had already been abducted by a death squad in April) was released after an avalanche of protests from American unionists and Democrats in Congress, which was about to consider the Bush administration foreign aid proposal for El Salvador. The Partisan Defense Committee sent protest messages to the Salvadoran embassy and their masters in the State Department.

Mazariego finally arrived in the U.S. and on June 23 addressed a labor meeting in New York where he spoke with *Workers Vanguard*:

> "On June 12, I was coming out of the office of our union. About ten or twelve men pointed at me with heavy guns, and I was pulled into a van, handcuffed and blindfolded. I was taken to a place, which I later knew was the Treasury Police. They started to interrogate me about what terrorist organization I belonged to. I explained that for several years I had been doing union work, about the living and working conditions of the telecommunications workers in El Salvador.
>
> "But they said I was a terrorist and they put the *capucha* on me. The *capucha* is a bag with lime in it that they put on your head, so you start to breathe it, and after a moment you pass out. When I came to, they were putting acid on my knees. It was horrible pain, but they didn't stop. They put the *capucha* on me again and over again. I was released after three days and three nights of being tortured."

Impact Visuals

WV Photo

Humberto Centeno (above, right) standing outside office of Salvador phone union ASTTEL bombed by right-wingers in February. ASTTEL leader José Mazariego (inset), kidnapped and tortured by Treasury Police in June. Both men have received death threats from security forces.

Counterrevolutionary Terror

The kidnapping of Mazariego was only the latest case of the sharply escalating terror against what the Salvadoran oligarchs and their professional assassins see as "the enemy within." During the election campaign, on February 15 fascist stormtroopers of the "Maximiliano Hernández Brigade" stormed the headquarters of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). In early April a teacher was kidnapped from her classroom and shot. On April 15, the army and riot police stormed the offices of a dozen union, peasant and community groups, rounding up nearly 100 people. During the first six weeks after ARENA's election victory, 36 civilians were assassinated and over 200 kidnapped by government forces. But in defiance of this brutal intimidation, on May Day some 15,000 demonstrators courageously marched through the streets of San Salvador while 10,000 troops surrounded the area.

Meanwhile, the FMLN has been pounding the government armed forces, which have suffered hundreds of casualties a week during the last month. On May 25 they staged simultaneous rush-hour attacks on the San Salvador HQs of the National Police and the First Infantry Brigade, as fighting broke out in a half dozen of the capital's heavily populated barrios. The army "responded" by again assaulting the offices of the unions and human rights groups. The government also accused the guerrillas of assassinating top Cristiani adviser José Rodríguez Porth on June 9. The FMLN flatly denied that any of their units were involved, pointing out that Rodríguez Porth had plenty of enemies from the infighting over which blood-drenched general should be war minister. (The one assassination the rebels did claim was that of Colonel Roberto Rivera, longtime head of the "Public Security Academy," a notorious school for torture.) Continuing the provocations, on June 23 a bomb exploded at the Central Market, killing three and wounding scores. The government blamed the FMLN although eyewitnesses saw the bomb tossed from an Air Force chopper.

Expressing the frustration of military hardliners and their oligarchical godfathers, ARENA in power has drafted a draconian "anti-terrorist law" to outlaw all opposition organizing, particularly by unions. This hair-raising police-state legislation (certain to be approved, since ARENA now controls the legislature, as well as the executive and judiciary) reads like something out of Hitler's Third Reich. Thundering against the "persistence of armed groups and front groups"—the usual code word for the militant unions—it vows to guarantee "at all cost" the "tranquility of order."

The draft law prohibits the very "existence or distribution, action and propaganda of the word, in writing or by any other means" of such "front groups" which "commit a crime by the very fact of organizing themselves." To be included in this ban are not only those accused of "inciting, provoking or fomenting rebellion or sedition," but anyone who induces any member of the armed forces to disobey his superiors. (Like Archbishop Romero, who in 1980, a week before he was gunned down, called on soldiers to "Stop this repression!") Also proscribed are those who "hold, call or facilitate meetings" against the government, or who spread by any means "doctrines tending to destroy the social order or political, juridical and economic order of the nation."

Jail awaits "those who plan and incite or carry out...work stoppages, slowdowns or any other act of commission or omission" to "alter the normal pattern of productive activity," such as "a transport work stoppage." Also "those who organize, maintain or stimulate politicized stoppages or strikes... which produce or could produce disturbances to public order or in public services." Demonstrators will be guilty under this "anti-terrorism" law if they "tie up transit or traffic" or put up posters, or if they cover their faces to avoid identification. The media will be muzzled by arresting anyone who "propagates...tendentious or false news or information." As for "proof," in addition to the simple say-so of police officials, statements extracted from prisoners under torture will be admitted, as well as any obtained by "physical, chemical, biological or pathological means." There will be no jury trials under this law—a magistrate or military tribunal will rule.

This is a program for legalizing state terrorism. In a telephone interview from San Salvador, UNTS leader Humberto Centeno told *Workers Vanguard*, "This is a law of a notably fascist character, which aims at drowning and gagging the demands and aspirations of the Salvadoran people." When Mazariego was released by the Treasury Police in June, they told him, "we aren't going to seize Humberto Centeno, we're going to kill him." This threat is all the more believable because in March 1988 Centeno was brutally seized and beaten into unconsciousness by the Treasury Police; and in November 1985 his two sons were kidnapped, tortured by the Treasury Police and jailed for two years.

With the most reactionary sector of El Salvador's capitalist rulers now in office, the tiny Central American country is rapidly polarizing. In response, the guerrillas are calling for "a broad 'bloc' of political and social forces against ARENA." Appealing to U.S. leaders in an article in the Spring 1989 *Foreign Policy*, FMLN leader Joaquin Villalobos called for "A Democratic Revolution for El Salvador." But joining with "moderate" Christian Democrats, who for eight years provided the façade for U.S. intervention in Salvador, and limiting demands to a bourgeois-democratic program in the name of "anti-oligarchy unity" will only prolong the agony of the Salvadoran masses who are suffering from the ravages of capitalism. Not a "government of national consensus," but a *workers and peasants government* is needed to provide food for the hungry, work for the jobless, housing for the homeless, land to the landless, and to extend the fight for socialist revolution throughout Central America.

As a result of the bipartisan consensus in Congress on El Salvador, the U.S. has funneled more than a million dollars a day to bankroll the "death squad democracy" now turning into a death squad police state. In his remarks to *WV*, Centeno appealed to "the real leaders of the labor movement in the United States" to demonstrate their solidarity: "We believe that the workers of the United States are the only ones who can stop this bloodbath, who can stop these gag laws, these laws which aim at legitimizing the hood, torture, seizures, disappearances." Militant support from their class brothers and sisters in this country is urgently needed as the Salvadoran workers continue to fight "in the eye of death." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

White House Embraces Death Squad Kingpins

El Salvador: Workers Brave ARENA Terror

With the March 19 election of the presidential candidate of ARENA (Nationalist Republican Alliance), who took office on June 1, the party of the death squads has now officially become the government of El Salvador. Leaders of the fascistic ARENA have vowed "total war" to wipe out the leftist insurgency which has waged a tenacious civil war for the last eight years. But although the army and security forces and their murder squads have claimed 70,000 victims, they have been unable to drive the guerrillas out of the one-third of the country effectively under their control. Now the rebels are operating boldly in the heart of the capital. So instead the ultraright in power has turned its guns on the unarmed labor movement, peasant and community organizations which have courageously mobilized mass opposition in the face of kidnappings, bombings and assassination. The jackboot has come down on San Salvador.

When the ARENA president "Freddy" Cristiani (Georgetown '68) took over from U.S. puppet "Joe Napoleon" Duarte (Notre Dame '48), the *Baltimore Sun* (2 June) noted, "few of his countrymen were able to hear his inaugural address because rebels knocked out electrical power to 90 percent of the country." San Salvador was blacked out and the streets were emptied by a total transport stoppage of all car, truck and bus traffic called by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). Cristiani's "answer" was brutal repression. On June 12 José Mazariego, executive board member of the Salvadoran phone workers union ASTTEL, was seized by the Treasury Police and tortured. The next day the National Police captured Gregorio

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Impact Visuals

May Day 1989 in San Salvador—15,000 defiant demonstrators marched in the face of thousands of troops.

Gestapo Pass Controls, Settler Terror

Palestinians Under Zionist Iron Heel

In mid-June, Israeli army chief of staff Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron declared "there are only three ways" to "end the *intifada*": "transfer, starvation or physical extermination—that is, genocide" (*New York Times*, 17 June). He was responding to growing right-wing frustration, spearheaded by mobs of Jewish "settlers" in the Occupied Territories, over the army's failure to halt the Palestinian uprising over the last year and a half. This ominous mood boiled over a couple days later when Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir showed up in the West Bank town of Ariel at a funeral for a slain American Zionist.

Shamir, an old Stern Gang Zionist terrorist whose government has been dealing out shootings, beatings, jailings and deportations to the Palestinian *intifada* for well over a year, gave his usual speech, vowing to "crush" the Palestinians with an "iron fist." But this time it didn't placate the settlers, who pounded on his car as he left, calling him a "traitor" for not doing enough for "Jewish blood" (London *Independent*, 21 June). Many of the

Keating/Newsday

Israel army has turned Gaza Strip into giant concentration camp for Palestinian Arabs.

heavily armed settlers are organized by the fascistic Gush Emunim and the openly fascist Kach party of Rabbi Meir Kahane. What they want is to turn the already repressive regime into something out of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

The town of Ariel earlier gained notoriety when the town council decided to require visiting Arab workers to wear white badges branded with the words "Foreign Worker" in Hebrew. Another town quickly adopted a similar scheme, but it became an international embarrassment when critics "compared the badges to the yellow Star of David that Jews were forced to wear by the Nazis" (*New York Times*, 1 June). One member of the town council was dumbfounded by the furor. Cars owned by Arab residents of the Occupied Territories already have color-coded license plates, she pointed out, and these Palestinians must also carry ID cards in color-coded plastic wallets indicating different regions (and green wallets for those with a police record). What's next: tattooing numbers on the forearm?

In response to the international outcry, including from many Jews inside and outside of Israel who survived the Nazi horror, the Ariel plan was "dropped." But this month the Israeli army began issuing new

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 482 21 July 1989

Report from Heroic Jalalabad

Front Line Afghanistan

AP/Wide World

Franklin/Magnum

Soviet-supplied Afghan army tank on the way to aid defenders of Jalalabad. Armed Afghan women volunteers ready to fight against CIA's "holy warriors."

Crush CIA's Mujahedin!

JALALABAD, July 7—Thousands of people thronged through the streets of this revitalized city today to celebrate an important military victory over the CIA's *mujahedin* (holy warriors). Two days ago, the armed forces of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government, spearheaded by

From Our Correspondent in Afghanistan

an armored Special Guard unit and heavily backed by the Air Force, forced the counterrevolutionaries to pull back to positions they occupied before the March offensive against Jalalabad.

Not only has the months-long bitter siege been broken, but Jalalabad and the surrounding parts of Nangarhar Province of which it is the capital are once again secure from the threat of rocket attacks. The rout of the *mujahedin* was so sweeping that the initial impulse of advance elements of the armored unit was to roll all the way up to Torkham, on the border with Pakistan. But the order came from the High Command to consolidate their positions before advancing further.

This reporter was with the first group of journalists to visit Jalalabad since May, and only the second visit since the *mujahedin* siege began in March. It was particularly moving to be here on behalf of the international campaign of humanitarian assistance conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defense organizations in other countries which raised over $42,000 to aid the civilian victims of the siege. The English-language *Kabul Times* (3 July) and the Dari-language *Payam* (2 July) had both carried articles reporting on a message of acknowledgment from the Nangarhar Province Defence Council to the PDC. Part of the message quoted by the *Kabul Times* read:

> "The Defence Council of Nangarhar Province representing all the PDPA members, social organizations and the peaceloving people of Nangarhar, cordially thank you and express gratitude for the assistance extended by you, assuring you honourable friends that it is a must that we would triumph, for we are struggling for a just right."

The front has now been pushed back to Samarkhel, some 12-15 kilometers further east, a key fortified outpost that was the scene of heavy fighting in March and again now. We were taken by bus to Samarkhel. A few kilometers away, we

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Soviet Workers Flex Their Muscle

Miners Strike Spreads

JULY 18—Over the last eight days mass strikes involving some 110,000 miners have brought the Soviet Union's second-largest coal-mining region, the giant Kuznetsk Basin (Kuzbass) in southwestern Siberia, to a complete standstill. Now the strikes have spread to pits in the heart of the USSR's coal country, the Donetsk Basin (Donbass) in the Ukraine. Already it is the largest labor struggle since the 1920s. At least half a dozen cities and towns are reportedly in the hands of strike committees.

This explosive movement by the Soviet workers has shaken the bureaucratic apparatus, which is frantically (and so far unsuccessfully) trying to cool it down. Provoked by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika ("restructuring") reforms, the Kuzbass strikes are raising anti-bureaucratic political demands. And they have quickly generated organizational forms of proletarian power, including strike committees and workers militias. This powerful action of the working class has exposed the fragility of the privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the need for a workers political revolution.

The strikes began in the town of Mezhdurechensk on Monday, July 10 when 77 night-shift miners staged a sit-in at one mine. Soon the entire city of 107,000 was in the hands of the

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TASS via AFP

Strike leader Vladimir Butkevich addresses mass meeting of coal miners in Mezhdurechensk.

WV Photo

Berry/Boston Globe

Spartacist contingent in New York City march, July 5. Cops in Boston choke pro-choice demonstrator at State House rally, July 4.

Thousands Protest Anti-Abortion Ruling

Widespread outrage over the Supreme Court's July 3 ruling threatening abortion sparked protests around the country. On July 4, 3,000 marched in San Francisco, and in Boston overflow crowds blocked Beacon Street traffic, in defiance of burly cops who manhandled women demonstrators (above, right). In New York City the next day, a Spartacist contingent marched in the thousands-strong demonstration from the federal courthouse at Foley Square to Union Square, chanting, "Defend the clinics, take a stand—free abortion on demand!"

Abortion rights are on the line. While women are mobilizing to defend the clinics and to keep abortion legal, the liberal feminist organizers are trying to channel the outrage into electing Democratic Party politicians. In New York, a host of Democrats were invited to speak at the July 5 rally, including Bella Abzug and Brooklyn district attorney Liz Holtzman. Capitalist pols like Holtzman, the enforcer of racist repression in Koch's New York, are class enemies in the fight for minority rights.

At the march, the Spartacist placards demanded "Stop Deadly 'Right to Life' Terrorists!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" With the battle over abortion now focusing on "parental consent" for teenagers, an SL sign read: "Birds Do It, Bees Do It, Teens Do It—Abortion Rights for Teens!" In an interview with *El Diario/La Prensa* (4 July), Spartacist League spokesman Alison Spencer commented on the reactionary Supreme Court decision: "This decision's going to make it impossible for Hispanics and blacks especially to exercise their right to abortion. We think that the unions and the working class should be involved in this struggle." ■

TROTSKY

Jacobinism and the Russian Revolution

LENIN

Today, amid official celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, even "socialist" French president Mitterrand seeks to disown its most decisive phase, that of the Jacobins, which rooted out the aristocracy. Anti-Jacobinism has always been a rallying cry of capitalist rulers fearful of revolution. In Russia in June 1917, as hundreds of thousands of workers flocked to the Bolsheviks' banners, the bourgeois "Constitutional Democrats" warned that if the soviets obtained "all power," they would "stoop to Jacobinism and terrorism." Lenin replied:

Bourgeois historians see Jacobinism as a fall ("to stoop"). Proletarian historians see Jacobinism as one of the highest *peaks* in the emancipation struggle of an oppressed class. The Jacobins gave France the best models of a democratic revolution and of resistance to a coalition of monarchs against a republic. The Jacobins were not destined to win complete victory, chiefly because eighteenth-century France was surrounded on the continent by much too backward countries, and because France herself lacked the material basis for socialism, there being no banks, no capitalist syndicates, no machine industry and no railways.

"Jacobinism" in Europe or on the boundary line between Europe and Asia in the twentieth century would be the rule of the revolutionary class, of the proletariat, which, supported by the peasant poor and taking advantage of the existing material basis for advancing to socialism, could not only provide all the great, ineradicable, unforgettable things provided by the Jacobins in the eighteenth century, but bring about a lasting world-wide victory for the working people.

It is natural for the bourgeoisie to hate Jacobinism. It is natural for the petty bourgeoisie to dread it. The class-conscious workers and working people generally put their trust in the transfer of power to the revolutionary, oppressed class, for *that* is the essence of Jacobinism, the only way out of the present crisis, and the only remedy for economic dislocation and the war.

—V. I. Lenin, "Can 'Jacobinism' Frighten the Working Class?" (June 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 482 **21 July 1989**

Letters

AIDS and Tragedy

9 July 1989

Dear Comrades:

In the article "AIDS Blacklist" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June), we write:

> "AIDS is spreading like wildfire in America's hellish inner-city ghettos, along with other scourges like tuberculosis. Most tragic is the growing number of babies born infected with the HIV virus, overwhelmingly to black and Hispanic mothers."

I understand that the motivation involved in this passage is to stress the fact that AIDS has become a disease that is ravaging the ghetto, and the tragedy of AIDS babies movingly depicts this horror. We should obviously make these points as strongly as possible. But adding the words "most tragic" to give rhetorical emphasis to the point is not the way to do it.

This is, after all, the prevailing moralist view of the cruder expressions of bourgeois ideology, which hold that unlike supposedly "deviant" sodomites and druggies who have "done something" to get the disease, "innocent" babies who are totally victims are deserving of greater compassion. Writer David Leavitt noted in "The Way I Live Now," in the 9 July *New York Times Magazine*, that it's but a "short ride" from the fundamentalist Christians shrieking that AIDS is divine retribution against sin "to the banal, but equally enraging voice of George Bush declaring his compassion for people with AIDS, 'especially the children'."

Jon Lawrence

Video Arcade Racism

14 June 1989

To the Editor:

I came across the following bit of news in the *Guardian*'s "In Brief" section (June 7):

> "'Intifada' the video game is all the rage among Israeli computer buffs who can't yet try their hand at attempting to crush the real Palestinian uprising. The game allows the player/'soldier' to use tear-gas, clubs and bullets to stop stone-and gasoline bomb-throwing 'Palestinians.' As the player's game improves, more extreme rightwingers come to power. The best players get to be under the command of hardliner Ariel Sharon, while beginners get Moshe Arens. The game was invented by a member of the racist Kach Party of Rabbi Meir Kahane."

The rad-libs at the *Guardian* are probably tickled pink (or maybe even red) at the thought that they have the chutzpah to denounce growing signs of fascism in faraway Israel. (Though they are awfully tepid about it. Sharon is a "hardliner"? How about "blood-drenched fascist"? Does "stop" mean kill?)

But they forgot to notice that we have popular video games in the U.S. that are just as bad. Case in point: "Narc—say no to drugs" (Williams Electronic Games, Inc., copyright 1988), which I recently saw getting heavy action in the local shopping mall. "Narc" starts out with the emblem of the FBI over the quote "Winners don't use drugs" from FBI director William Sessions. The player is then placed in this really hip red sports car with "Say 'no' or die" written on it. (In context, "or die" doesn't refer to the danger of overdose but to the danger of being shot by the player.) This sports car zips one to a seedy city slum where there are all sorts of lowlifes for one to shoot. When you kill a slum dweller they all drop packets of heroin and bundles of money—pick 'em up for points. Running over garbagemen (yes, all men) with the sports car gets a bonus. Interestingly, all the lowlife "targets" are white. I suppose that having a (white) narc protagonist shooting blacks in a slum would be just a bit too much realism for Williams, Inc. At least for now.

Now if the *Guardian* published this evidence for popular fascism right here in the U.S. they might have to stop being a cheering squad for Baptist Rev. Jesse ("Just say no") Jackson.

Revolutionary Greetings,
Jeffrey S. Vogel

Bush Ducks, North Walks

So Oliver North took the Nazis' Nuremberg defense (I was just following orders) and got off with a slap on the wrist. To no one's surprise, for the fix was in from the start. Judge Gesell just saved President Bush the trouble of pardoning the gung ho Contragater and fellow conspirator. Bush ducks. North walks and the Democrats don't squawk—not a peep of protest from Capitol Hill, they're so caught up in their own cover-up of the Iran/Contragate debacle.

On July 5, Judge Howard Gesell told the National Security Council contra officer that he would not go to prison because it "would only harden your misconceptions." Instead, North got a $150,000 fine (which he can easily pay with a half dozen appearances before fascistic audiences at his going rate of $25,000 a pop), plus 1,200 hours of "community service" at drug rehabilitation centers. The chief probation officer of the District of Columbia said that North "will have no contact with the youths themselves. None."

North was convicted in May on only three of the twelve charges brought by a Special Prosecutor for his Contragate role. The trial was a farce, naturally. They eliminated the conspiracy charges in order to protect "national security." They insisted that the jury be composed of people who had no knowledge of the Contragate hearings. North blatantly declared on the stand that he lied to Congress. The defense produced documents initialed by Reagan authorizing operations to circumvent Congressional prohibitions on contra aid. And ...nothing happens.

When North thought that he faced taking a heavier rap, the "ramrod" ex-Marine rejected his designated fall guy role. He tried unsuccessfully to have Reagan cross-examined at his trial. Then North's lawyers began producing copies of some of those supposedly shredded-and-forever-lost documents proving that the "looped-out" Bush was at the center of the Iran/contra murder and mayhem. Despite Gesell's efforts to discount North's implication of Reagan and Bush, the jury wanted to hold Bush and Reagan accountable. "North was the subordinate. He wasn't the boss. He wasn't running the show," stated the jury foreman.

AP

McNamee/Newsweek

Bush with Panama strongman Noriega, then CIA "asset," in 1983. Oliver North: "I lied."

Next up on the Contragate court circuit will be Joe Fernandez, the CIA's Costa Rican station chief, who worked with North on the contra drugs-for-guns airlift. Fernandez' lawyers will use the same tactics which worked so well for North. They have already introduced "a top-secret directive, signed by Reagan, describing the role of a high-level Planning and Coordination Group in approving and supervising covert operations." In order to avoid more "disclosures" of Reagan and Bush's roles, the prosecutor will drop the conspiracy charge against Fernandez. A similar deal has been worked out for NSC chief Admiral John ("the buck stops here") Poindexter.

George Bush is certainly breathing a sigh of relief. A 9-11 May *New York Times*/CBS News poll shows almost two-thirds of Americans think Bush is hiding something that they ought to know. They're right. The North trial papers show that Bush went to Panama in 1983 to arrange Noriega's help for contra terror; in 1985 Bush was in Honduras personally arranging a money deal with Honduran president Suazo for the contra bases in violation of the Boland Amendment. When a CIA plane was shot down over Nicaragua in 1986 and Eugene Hasenfus was captured by Sandinista soldiers, the call went from contra supplymaster Felix Rodriguez to Colonel Sam Watson in Vice President Bush's office. Bush was the first to know their cover was blown, because it was Bush's baby.

The Democrats had Reagan and Bush dead to rights three years ago on Contragate—if they had wanted to get them. But Reagan's "spin control" boys went to work with a very cooperative Democrat-controlled Congress and bourgeois press to save the imperial presidency. The Congressional "investigators" let the White House pick and choose which doctored documents they would get. They were never inclined to ask too many questions anyway, preferring to let North et al. launch their flag-waving tirades against Congress. And now that the North trial revealed a whole slew of documents not provided to the Iran/contra committees, the Democrats concluded that this was because of "an honest mistake in judgment as to what documents were relevant"!

Reagan's cabal from the NSC and CIA along with numerous other Iran/contra rats are now Bush appointees to important administration posts. J.D. Negroponte, the former U.S. "proconsul" to Honduras who coordinated U.S. contra supply efforts and unleashed death squad leader General Alvarez, was confirmed last month by the Democratic-controlled Senate as ambassador to Mexico. Donald Gregg, a CIA agent for 32 years, up to his neck in the blood of the 60,000 Vietnamese murdered in Operation Phoenix and Bush's right-hand man in the contra operations, was recommended for confirmation as ambassador to South Korea in a bipartisan vote by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

And anti-communist psychopath Oliver North, whom Bush invited to Christmas dinner and calls a national hero, is

continued on page 10

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Supreme Court Assault on Prisoners' Rights

It is darker in America's prisons today, thanks to a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision which upholds broad censorship of publications. The Court majority, in a backwards, rightwing lurch which overturned a prison rights 1st Amendment case from 1974, makes it easier for the prison to censor publications it deems objectionable, and harder for the imprisoned to receive news of the world at large.

In a 6-3 decision, the Rehnquist wing of the Court raised the old rubric of "security" to justify this assault on the 1st Amendment, saying regulations of the Federal Bureau of Prisons (FBP) could exclude a number of publications, if the censorship rules are "reasonably related" to the need to maintain prison order and "security."

By clear implication, the Court ruling in *Thornburgh v. Abbott* (No. 87-1344) suggests the truth about the vile, racist and utterly repressive treatment of prisoners will threaten "security." None of the major media, not even the "newspaper of record," the *N.Y. Times*, detailed how the censorship regulations were actually applied in the *Abbott* case. The facts are startling.

Among the censored publications deemed a "security threat" by the FBP:

(1) *WIN Magazine* [Workshop In Nonviolence] (pacifist political journal)

(2) *The 1979 Peace Calendar: While There Is A Soul In Prison*

(3) *The Guardian* (leftwing political newspaper)

(4) *The Labyrinth* (leftwing prisoner-oriented periodical)

(5) *Workers World* (leftwing weekly)

(6) *The Militant* (leftist, socialist newspaper)

(7) *The Call* (leftwing, political paper); and some 40 other publications.

Notably, the trial court, and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, made no finding as to the "security threat" posed by any of the above 7 publications, and, in fact, except for the *1979 Peace Calendar*, either the FBP Regional Director, the wardens of various prisons, or in some cases, censorship employees, later, in depositions, admitted the banned publications were "*not* detrimental to security."

ACLU lawyers Edward I. Koren, Alvin J. Bronstein, Steven R. Shapiro, and Counsel for the *Abbott* plaintiffs, Steven Ney, presented these facts, by brief, to the Supreme Court, but to no avail.

The majority, bent to a rightist tilt, rejected the plaintiff's position, and by so doing, erected yet another wall around America's prisons, one more ominous than the thick brick, steel fences and concertina razor wire which adorn American gulags.

The Court built a wall around the minds of men, composed of the mortar of conservatism, and the brick of regression.

Is it mere coincidence that the bulk of the banned publications are of the leftist variety? Not hardly.

Is it curious that *TIME*, *Newsweek*, *Reader's Digest*, or even *The New Republic* never made the Federal Bureau of Prison's hit list of censorables?

In a fallback to the repressive '50s, the Court narrows the already restrictive range of "rights" which remain among the encaged. Papers which try to present a reflection of world resistance against the U.S. Empire, or regional, local resistance against the repressive U.S. prison systems of legalized slavery, are now subject to censorship by the repressors themselves, with the Court's blessing.

The Court does its vital part to insure that the teeming throng stuffed into America's overcrowded cages remain as they came into them, unlearned, uninformed, docile and unpoliticized. It reminds one of America's laws which outlawed, under pain of death, reading by its African slaves, and reveals the growing similarity between prisoner and slave, in the Court's eye. For prisoners, the 1st Amendment has all the relevance of junk mail. The *Abbott* court stamped the damn thing, "null and void."

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, M8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

British Strikers Defy Thatcher

LONDON—Britain faces its deepest industrial ferment since the defeat of the heroic yearlong miners strike four years ago. The financial and political center of the country has been crippled one day a week for each of the past few weeks by 24-hour commuter rail, tube (subway) and bus strikes. The flow of critical North Sea oil revenue has been disrupted by work actions on the offshore platforms over union recognition, wages, and health and safety conditions. The construction industry, the postal service, BBC television and radio, and local councils (municipal government) have been hit by sporadic strike action. And on July 11, dockers set up picket lines at 60 ports around the country, digging in for a bitter strike against the government's abolition of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

In response to the widespread industrial action, Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher has set up a special Cabinet committee under her direct supervision (dubbed a "War Cabinet") and is pushing for a total ban on strikes in public-sector "essential services." Thatcher came to office committed to straitjacketing the combative trade-union movement. Faced with a spineless Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) leadership, she has managed to impose one draconian piece of anti-union legislation after another—effectively eliminating the closed shop, limiting picketing and secondary strike action, making strikes dependent on ballotting by post (mail). Having privatised the nationalised phone service and sold the assets off for a song to City of London fat cats, she now threatens to privatise British Rail (BR) in order to sap the power of the rail unions.

The deep-going class bitterness intersects broader social unrest provoked by the "Marie Antoinette of Number Ten." Mass demonstrations against the widely hated poll tax have spread from Scotland to England. Large sections of the population—from poor and working-class to middle-class—are outraged over cuts in the National Health Service which threaten to liquidate it altogether. The generalised anger over cuts in public transport runs so deep that in the face of BR's attempts to whip up middle-class anti-union hysteria, the *Financial Times* (15-16 July) admits that "Commuters blame 'mean-spirited' BR for rail chaos."

Mounting trade deficits and inflation rates have generated sharp disputes within the Tory Cabinet. Meanwhile, acting like the last tsarina, Thatcher lectures the far more powerful West German bourgeoisie on NATO, and the rest of the European rulers on the EEC. For eight years, Thatcher basked in her "special relationship" with Reagan. But with Reagan gone, renewed domestic discontent and an economy in shambles. Thatcher's high-handed posturing as the "senior statesman" in Europe is not cutting much ice. Even the "American cousins" in Washington don't fully buy it, and there's a widespread feeling that the Iron Lady is losing her grip. Now she may be facing a "summer of discontent."

Cambio 16

Independent [London]

Thatcher's vindictive assault on workers and poor could spark "summer of discontent." Angry dockers (right) strike for job security and union rights.

"Left" Union Leaders Seek to Derail Strikes

The rail dispute was triggered by BR's provocative unilateral imposition of a 7 per cent wage rise—with inflation running over 8 per cent and twice that in London. Rail workers earn as little as £90 ($140) weekly; in the southern region drivers are forced to work *30 hours overtime* a week to make ends meet. Besides seeking to depress labour costs, BR aims at throttling the power of the rail unions by doing away with national bargaining. The massive cuts in maintenance and investment have also targetted passengers, making train or tube travel a deadly game of Russian roulette. In November 1987 a fire at Kings Cross killed 31; it turned out the largest rail and tube junction in London had no automatic sprinklers, smoke detectors or elementary fire prevention devices. Last year, 35 people died in the Clapham Junction train crash, caused by a faulty signalling mechanism.

One-day and rolling strikes, however disruptive and unsettling they may be, are not a tactic for victory. In contrast, a serious rail strike would not easily be broken by a government now in palpable disarray and lacking popular support, and a complete shutdown of London Transport would rapidly bring the City financial empire screeching to a halt. Yet the "left" rail union leaders have consciously sought to avoid all-out national strike action. Two of the three unions have just announced a separate 8.8 per cent wage settlement with BR, feeding into the bosses' divide-and-rule ploy. But this situation can be reversed. The Spartacist League/Britain has called for galvanising the current isolated and episodic strikes into a common offensive:

> "What is needed is all-out strike action not more one-day skirmishes. London underground and bus workers, BR workers, dockers—all out and stay out to win!"
>
> —*Workers Hammer* No. 108, July/August 1989

The "left" leaders of the Transport & General Workers Union are working overtime to sabotage the first national dock strike in five years. With the dockers' base decimated by automation and the virtual demise of British industry, and many of the most lucrative ports (accounting for half of all trade by value) already exempted from registration under the Docks Labour Scheme and its guarantee of job security, this strike is a decisive battle in defence of the dockers union. Striking dockers rightly fear a return to the days of casual labour and an end to the closed shop and any protection against layoffs. For this mainly older workforce, defeat now will doom them to the dole queues for the rest of their lives.

Don McPhee

Over 20,000 protest in Manchester against extortionate poll tax.

Thus far, most of the old "scheme" ports have been shut down solid, but TGWU head Ron Todd refuses to picket out the non-registered ports, whose workers are also in the TGWU. Among the exempted ports is the huge container terminal at Felixstowe, owned by the notorious P&O conglomerate, whose *Herald of Free Enterprise* capsized in Zeebrugge harbour in March 1987, killing nearly 200 crew members and passengers. Todd hides behind Thatcher's laws against secondary picketing, but these laws would not even be on the books if in the summer of 1984 Todd & Co. had not forced striking dockers back to work. Two national dock strikes that summer in defence of solidarity action with the miners had Thatcher squirming and the country on the verge of a general strike.

The TGWU is Britain's largest union. Thatcher's anti-union laws can be torn into shreds through a militant strike that shuts down all the ports, calls for solidarity action from TGWU lorry drivers, and fights to extend the rights of registered dockers throughout the industry.

Not a Labour Cabinet But Forward to Workers Rule!

For years the Thatcher government has been on a reactionary rampage—busting unions, unleashing racist cop terror in the black and Asian communities, meting out bloody repression to the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. Her attacks on civil liberties and attempts at police-state censorship have outraged even pillars of the establishment like the BBC. Her piecemeal privatisation of the National Health Service—which at one time provided free medical care for all—is designed to create a two-tier system, with private hospitals for the better-off and squalid public facilities for the rest. Successive cuts in health funding by Labour and Tory governments have already reduced service to the point where up to 30 per cent of the seriously injured die needlessly because hospital casualty units (emergency rooms) are understaffed and underequipped.

And now you have to pay a tax just for staying alive—ranging up to *£45 ($80) per person per month* in depressed inner-city areas. The poorer you are, the

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Jalalabad Defenders Message to Partisan Defense Committee

On April 8, the Partisan Defense Committee launched an international campaign to support the victims of the CIA's mujahedin *cutthroats in the Afghan front line city of Jalalabad. Joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany, over the next three months the campaign raised more than $42,000 for the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund. All monies collected are securely forwarded to an account established by the embassy of Afghanistan in Paris.*

In addition to the tens of thousands of people who contributed to the Jalalabad fund drive, this campaign enabled us to bring to the working people of the world the crucial importance of the battle to defend elementary social progress in Afghanistan, not least the freedom of women from the veil. The campaign also brought to the fighters in beleaguered Jalalabad the knowledge that they did not stand alone. The siege has now been broken and the counterrevolutionary attackers are in disarray.

We print below a dispatch from the official Afghan Bakhtar News Agency reporting on a message to the PDC from the Defence Council of Nangarhar Province, of which Jalalabad is the capital.

KABUL, July 1 (Bakhtar)—The armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan stationed in Nangarhar, following the Geneva accords, resulted in the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, completely foiled the aggressive designs and plots of opposition, Pakistani militarists and Saudi Wahabis, says the message of gratitude of the Defence Council of the Nangarhar Province addressed on June 30, to the Solidarity Committee of the French Partisans.

With the direct cooperation of the residents of Nangarhar, the message goes on, the Afghan armed forces independently defend independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the country.

It was on March 6, 1989 the message adds, that the armed extremists, commandoes of the 11th Pakistani Corps and Saudi Wahabis attacked the city to capture it in 72 hours and declare the Rawalpindi made extremist government there.

As a result of the criminal and barbaric actions of the enemies, residential houses and civil establishments were shelled, hundreds of innocent civilians here killed, schools, factories, mosques and Hindu worshipping places (Daran-saals) razed to the ground, the message stated.

We Afghans say that a best friend is that who helps his friend in difficult time. You as real friends of the Afghan people, supporters of peace and love with human-being, set an outstanding example of humanity by sending such assistance in a difficult moment faced the Nangarhar inhabitants with. Your help with the people of Nangarhar will be written in golden letters in the Afghan history, the message says.

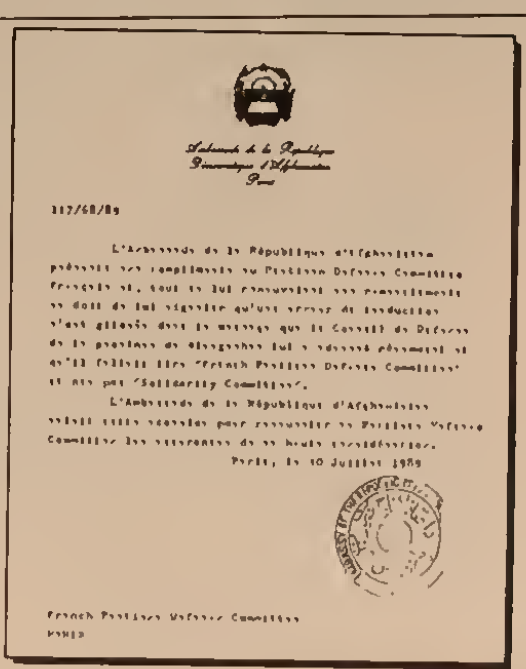
The Defence Council of Nangarhar Province on behalf of all members of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan, social organisations and peaceful residents of Nangarhar, cordially expresses its gratitude for your humanistic assistance rendered to them.

We assure you that we will triumph, because our cause is a righteous one, we struggle for peace, justice and security, the message concludes. ■

The Embassy of the Republic of Afghanistan greets the French Partisan Defense Committee and, while reiterating its thanks to the PDC, is obliged to note that a translation error crept into the message that the Defence Council of Nangarhar Province recently sent it, and that instead of "Solidarity Committee" it should have read "French Partisan Defense Committee."

The Embassy of the Republic of Afghanistan takes this occasion to reiterate to the Partisan Defense Committee the assurances of its high esteem.

Paris, 10 July 1989



Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

could see a tank firing shell after shell over a ridge, along which some Afghan soldiers were advancing. This ridge is the *mujahedin*'s only natural defense line for many miles, but there was no sign that they were holding their own or fighting back.

The officers and soldiers of the Special Guard unit proudly showed us around, describing the weapons captured, while warning us to stick to the areas that have already been cleared of mines—i.e., where a tank tread has left its "signature." We could see the damaged buildings of the housing complex, the school and the shop, and visit the big diesel power station.

A City of Determination

At the head of the line of march of today's victory celebration was an armored car atop which rode our team of journalists. Following the military and civilian leaders of the city came dozens of multicolored banners and Afghan national flags and some five to ten thousand residents of Jalalabad. People were everywhere in the streets. There was not a sign of fear, but rather an evident determination which exploded in loud chants of "Afghanistan Zindabad!" (Long Live Afghanistan) and "Marg ya Watan!" (Death or Country) that punctuated the march throughout. Young and old, women and men—many carrying their weapons—Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus joined together in this march from Jamhuriat Garden to Pashtoonistan Square.

After listening to a speech by Lt. Gen. Manookay Mangal, governor and chairman of the Defence Council of Nangarhar Province, the participants adopted a resolution "expressing all-out solidarity with the victorious and heroic armed forces in the defence of homeland, independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country." The roofs of the mainly two-story houses along the route of the march were guarded by young militiamen (some appeared to be no older than 13), their Kalashnikovs slung over their shoulders looking almost too big for them.

From the helicopter and from the road, it was clear that Jalalabad, once renowned as a tourist resort for its beauty and greenery, is a wounded city, whose scars will take a long time to heal. The ravages of the brutal war against the population can be seen in torn walls, damaged houses, smashed windowpanes and roads full of ditches and debris. Between March and July, 973 houses were damaged along with 150 government buildings, shops and markets, mosques and temples. Many of the houses are made of mud bricks—making them relatively easy to rebuild—and the people have been working hard at repairing them.

The airport, some five kilometers to the east of the city, shows all the signs of the fierce battle that went on around and for it in March and April: hangars blown apart, the airstrip damaged, remains of jeeps and helicopters lying around, the control tower heavily damaged. It's clear that there has been no time to care for the niceties of appearance: the airport is functional again and that's enough.

The civilian population has suffered terribly: 1,993 injured and 1,002 killed, half of them children. On the single day of March 8, the *mujahedin* cutthroats, bankrolled by the Pakistani ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] and the CIA, bombarded Jalalabad with 5,000 rockets. But they did not succeed in overwhelming its heroic defenders.

At the Central Hotel we met some of the civilian victims of these rocket attacks. Among them was Hayatullah, aged 14, a bright kid who lost his right leg in February. He had been afraid of rockets, he said. When one hit his home in the eastern district of Jalalabad, a brother was killed and another lost his leg. Hayatullah was a student at the time and wanted to become a teacher. With the stern look of a young man who had to grow up a lot faster than kids his age in luckier parts of the world, he asserted his resolve to complete his studies, because he very much wants "to teach small children." When asked how he felt about those who did this to him, he replied, "They should all be eliminated," adding that "America" is ultimately responsible as the country that supplies the rockets.

An Internationalist Struggle

Toward the end of our eight-hour stay in Jalalabad we met the governor. After the deputy governor, who was accompanying the team of journalists, learned that this reporter was a representative of the PDC campaign, he made it known to the governor. When we entered the room for the press conference, Lt. Gen.

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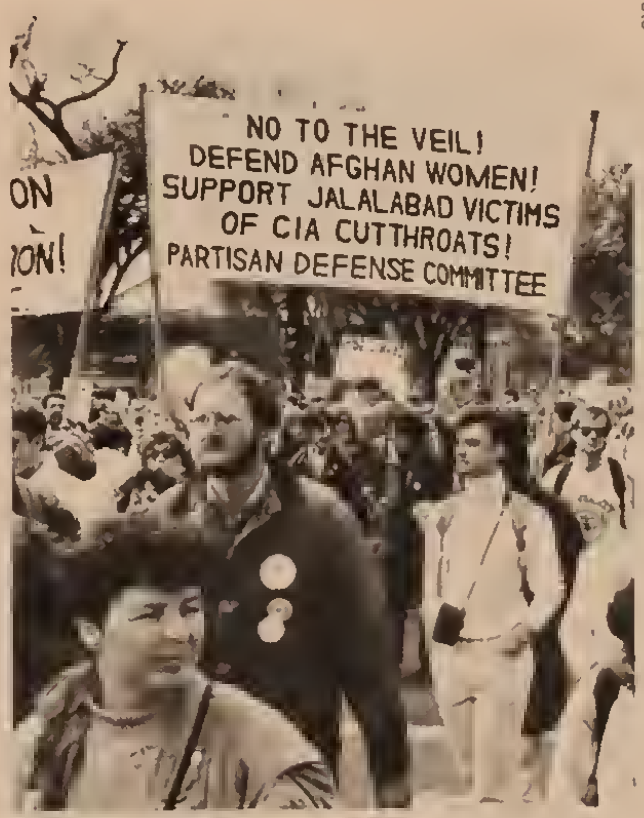

WV Photo

Le Bolchévik

PDC launched emergency appeal for Jalalabad victims at April abortion rights rally in Washington, D.C. (left). International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) at French Lutte Ouvrière fête raises Jalalabad aid campaign banner.

On the "Jalalabad Express"

Crown Publishers

The trip that took a team of foreign journalists and an Afghan TV crew to Jalalabad on July 7 lasted for about one hour and 20 minutes. We took off from the Kabul airport at 10 a.m. in a green transport helicopter armed with some 40 rockets. Two green-yellow gunships, looking like ugly insects and bristling with guns and rockets, took off at the same time to escort us across enemy-infested territory.

Afghan helicopter pilots are easily among the best in the world. The flight of the "Jalalabad Express" involves crossing the mountain range that surrounds Kabul on all sides. This gives the city a fair amount of protection from frontal attack, but can also offer the counterrevolutionaries a hide-out from which rockets can be fired onto the capital and missiles aimed at planes and helicopters. Those 15-20 minutes required to navigate the mountains are definitely the most dangerous and dramatic part of the ride.

Our Soviet-trained pilots, Amanullah, 35, and Abdullah, 27, were wonderful. The helicopter flies very low, literally hugging the mountains, at times as close as three to four meters from the mountain face. It swerves quickly right and left, following the ragged contour of the hills, climbs abruptly and then plunges *very fast* whenever a ravine opens up. At every turn *mujahedin* could be hiding. The pilot must think ahead of time and act even faster.

Both our helicopter and the gunships fired rockets—a rather scary experience the first time. For a moment I thought we had been hit. From the next rocket onwards, it's just very noisy, but you keep wondering whether we are indeed being shot at. One reporter said he saw a missile fired at us. When we asked the pilots after landing in Jalalabad, Amanullah said that he had seen a bandit getting ready to fire at us, but "I hit him first."

We returned to Kabul just before dusk. A government minister was also on board our helicopter. Crossing the mountains was much more tense than on the way in, partly because Jalalabad had turned out to be rather quiet. But there was one incident. Our helicopter—at that point in time some 60 to 70 meters above the ground—suddenly banked left and circled, first once, then twice. Down below, on an islet in the middle of the Kabul River, our escort gunship could be seen grounded. What had happened?

I recalled what a journalist who had been with the previous trip to Jalalabad told me. Their lone chopper had been surrounded by eight gunships. After returning to Kabul she was told that the casualty rate was one in four. True, the situation now was better—we only needed one escort for that part of the ride. But that gunship was now grounded.

Another circle around, and a few more tense moments, then the gunship took off—apparently a technical failure of no import. Now came the hard part. Just before entering the mountain range, two gunships were hovering low, waiting for us. They really looked like beasts of prey—it was good to know they were on our side. They seemed almost poised as if to draw the *mujahedin* out and then smash them to pieces.

Set off against the darkening sky, the Bengala flares that our helicopter was busily throwing right and left (they are an added protection, meant to divert heat-seeking missiles) glowed like little suns before dying against the dark mountain.

After a few very long minutes the advance outpost of the Kabul defensive rings appeared and we waved at the soldiers down below. They waved back. Another 15 minutes and we were safely on the tarmac at Kabul airport. Outside we shook hands and embraced each other—pilots, journalists, minister, government officials come to greet us. A good trip! ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

Mangal shook hands with every reporter, but embraced me enthusiastically, saying "Ah, Partisan."

A doctor by profession, the 41-year-old former chief of political affairs of the interior ministry in Kabul has been governor of this crucial border province for six months. He said that "Pakistani militarists and the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad decided to declare war on Jalalabad on the 6th of March." The reactionaries—with a total of 40,000 troops, including two Pakistani tank battalions and 120 units of "reactive artillery"—were supposed to occupy Jalalabad in 72 hours; planes were ready in Peshawar to bring the *mujahedin* "provisional government" onto Afghan territory. "But they could not occupy the city," Lt. Gen. Mangal declared proudly. "Nangarhar men and women fought valiantly," including PDPA members as well as the military, he added. The Air Force played a major role in the defeat of the attackers.

I asked the governor if the defenders and people of Jalalabad are aware that in many countries of the world, working people are following their struggle with extreme concern. "Certainly," he replied, adding that the struggle of the Afghan people is an "internationalist struggle." Mangal mentioned specifically Pakistan's plan to dismember Afghanistan and to impose a government that would join with Pakistan and Turkey in a "new CENTO" anti-Soviet and anti-Indian U.S.-dominated alliance. He again thanked the PDC for our efforts in support of the people of Jalalabad. The international aid campaign clearly boosted morale in Jalalabad. The message from the Defence Council said, "Your great and humane move is so noteworthy that no devilish eyes can dare see it."

In the course of these three months of fighting, the defenders of Jalalabad had lost some 800 killed. But using a combination of high-level bombing by converted propeller-driven Antonov AN-12 cargo planes—which can fly above the range of the U.S.-supplied Stinger missiles—and long-range SCUD missiles fired from the Kabul area, the Afghan armed forces have inflicted far heavier losses on the enemy. At a July 3 press conference in Kabul, Gen. Alumi, head of the military section of the PDPA and secretary of the Supreme Defence Council, explained that the counterrevolutionaries have taken more casualties between March and June than "in any previous two years of fighting taken together." He gave a figure of 35,000 *mujahedin* casualties (including 3,000 Pakistanis) since the signing of the Geneva agreement in 1988.

Reuters/Bettmann

Kabul home after attack by U.S.-supplied rocket.

Bakhtar News Agency (5 July), reporting a meeting between bereaved Afghan mothers and a delegation of Pakistani journalists, quoted one mother saying: "We were pleased with the signing of the Geneva accords, we thought that in the light of these agreements war in the Republic of Afghanistan could be stopped.... But unfortunately after the signing of the accords, war in the Republic of Afghanistan has further intensified." In fact, Gorbachev's pullout has served only to embolden the imperialists and their cutthroats.

The Soviet intervention in 1979 was mandated by defense of the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and opened up the prospect of extending those gains to Afghanistan; that is why the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" After the Soviet withdrawal, Washington and Islamabad thought the instant the Soviet troops pulled out, the Afghan government would crumble. They have been proved wrong by the fighting valor of the Afghan people.

Meanwhile, the PDPA's policy of "national reconciliation" aims at luring the reactionaries into a coalition. Kabul papers regularly report agreements with regional *mujahedin* commanders, effectively leaving them in control of their fiefdoms. The day after *Payam* reported on the internationalist aid campaign by the PDC, it carried a speech by the foreign minister headlined, "Except a Political Settlement—No Other Way Exists for Putting an End to War in Afghanistan."

But to put an end to the imperialist-backed war against social progress requires rooting out—not conciliating—entrenched feudal and capitalist reaction through workers revolution. In the extremely backward conditions of Afghanistan, the tiny industrial proletariat does not have the weight to effect a fundamental transformation of society. But next door in Bhutto's Pakistan, the home base for the CIA's *mujahedin*, conditions for social revolution are brewing, with national minorities in turmoil and the regime divided. In Iran, the Islamic theocracy is now headless and the population sick of a decade of bloody war and domestic terror.

Jalalabad besieged was the focal point of imperialism's *jihad* (holy war) against social progress and the Soviet Union. Jalalabad victorious can inspire revolutionary struggle throughout the region, from India to Turkey. That requires above all the program of Leninist internationalism, the banner of the International Communist League. ■

On the Streets of Kabul

KABUL, July 13—The poverty and backwardness of the country is an undeniable fact which finds its statistical expression in an average life expectancy of 42 and in the world's highest rate of mortality for children under the age of five. The civil war that has ravaged Afghanistan for eleven years has obviously contributed to rendering the situation worse, notwithstanding the government's measures to bring the country into the 20th century.

Schools and hospitals have been built and the city is covered with pharmacies. Housing complexes called "microrayons," built by the Soviets since the mid-'60s, are all over the place. Looking at the chaotic traffic in the streets of Kabul, you would find it hard to believe that petrol is rationed. Cars of all kinds and shapes, buses with obscure beer ads in German, carts pulled by animals and men, compete with trucks and pedestrians for the road. Public transport is not bad and really cheap. The Millie Bus Company (Millie means People's), with some 1,000 buses and 100 trolley buses, regularly runs 52 lines in the city of Kabul.

One striking feature of transportation, however, is sex segregation. Women walk in at the front, and the men at the back. Within the buses, which rapidly fill up to overflow, people don't cross over an invisible line that runs somewhere in the middle of the bus. Exceptions to this unwritten rule are the buses that pick up workers for specific government institutions—Afghan TV/radio, hospitals, university, etc.—where people can occupy the places as they see fit.

Hygienic conditions in Kabul are very bad. Along the roads run ditches, which stink from the accumulation of refuse (including human excrement). The autumn rains will wash the ditches away. What's more, very young children can be seen walking barefoot in that filth, looking for something to use or rummaging through the garbage in search of something to eat. The luckier ones carry around large cans of water, to sell to passers-by. Others beg for money.

Reuters/Bettmann

Children making wooden crutches in Kabul's bazaar for the thousands of victims of mujahedin terror.

A significant proportion of beggars are women covered from head to foot in the horrible *chador*. Their age can only be guessed from a look at the hand that asks for a coin—they are the hands of old women, which means they are perhaps 40 or 45.

In Kabul a majority of women wear Western clothes, a few daring ones put on trousers and T-shirts, but most content themselves with midi-length skirts. At a couple of marriage parties that were held in the Kabul Hotel it was noticeable how women and men tend to stick together in groups of the same sex. On the campus of Kabul University, students and teachers are all dressed in Western clothes, but again you don't see mixed groups of students.

For women the situation since 1978 has improved dramatically in terms of their rights. The civil war was started by reactionaries who opposed the very idea that women had equal rights and that little girls should be taught to read and write. But in recent years the reforms have been slowed or curtailed—for example, education for girls is no longer compulsory. In the name of "national reconciliation" with sectors of the *mujahedin*, the country's name was changed from Democratic Republic to Republic of Afghanistan. Today is a big religious holiday and the TV showed President Najibullah in a mosque kneeling and praying.

It seems that these days there are complaints even against Soviet TV for going "against traditional Afghan values." But in seeing life in Kabul, one cannot help but recall the leap Afghanistan has made in the past ten years, and the even more enormous leap—spanning not decades, but centuries—it could make if it underwent the sort of deep-going social transformation Soviet Central Asia did under the impact of the Russian workers revolution. ■

A Country at War—A City Under Fire

KABUL, July 15—A huge car bomb exploded in one of the busiest shopping streets of the capital today, killing at least nine people and injuring 49. Luckily it occurred during a holiday or the carnage would have been far greater. This terrorist attack comes after a week in which rocket attacks on Kabul by the U.S.-backed *mujahedin* have escalated sharply.

Two days ago our team of journalists visited Kandahar, some 600 kilometers southwest of Kabul and the second largest city in Afghanistan. A year ago, Kandahar was the scene of hand-to-hand fighting, and the city is still under regular attack. The airport shows evidence of the destruction—rows of bombed buildings and charred ruins of a fighter plane and helicopter. The shutters of shops in the bazaar had holes big enough for a car to pass through, electricity poles were torn and twisted. Lt. Gen. Alumi talked about a fresh offensive being prepared in Pakistan, with reports indicating that 200 tanks and 40 bombers were being deployed.

On July 11, President Najibullah proclaimed a unilateral cease-fire, to coincide with the Islamic holiday of Haj, from 8 a.m. on the 12th until Saturday, and to be prolonged indefinitely if observed by the *mujahedin*. But the cease-fire was broken within an hour by rocket attacks in the Jalalabad area. In the afternoon today at least seven rockets were fired against Kabul. Sitting in an office last week, I saw a rocket go by outside the window and asked if we were under attack. It turned out to be a SCUD missile being fired *out* of Kabul.

People are angry over the constant rocket attacks. Between midnight and noon of July 11, some 65 rockets were fired at Kabul—the worst attack in three months—killing 20 and injuring 131. One of the rockets hit the "microrayon" neighborhood inhabited mainly by government employees, where it struck a bus stop, killing eight. Another hit the Central Kabul Hotel: nobody injured. But only a week ago, huge marriage parties of 300-350 people had been held there. Had a rocket hit the hall at that moment, it would have been carnage.

AP

Wreckage of July 15 terrorist car bomb which killed nine people and wounded 49 in one of Kabul's busiest shopping streets.

The 11th was a day of mobilization in the capital. A protest petition was submitted to the Pakistan embassy and to the UN military mission. Over 20 protest meetings were held in ministries and workplaces. I attended two, one in the afternoon at the city bus main Millie Bus depot and one in the morning at the Ministry of Light and Foodstuff Industries. At this meeting, attended by some 150 employees, I had the honor to speak (with the help of a translator from the press center), bringing to these men and women not only an expression of support and solidarity from the outside, but also providing them with a brief eyewitness account of Jalalabad.

Jalalabad is very much in the minds and hearts of every Afghan. I said: "In Jalalabad I have seen the destruction caused by the counterrevolutionary bandits in the pay of Pakistan and U.S. imperialism, but I have also seen children playing in the fountain. I can tell you that life has come back to Jalalabad." The audience burst into enthusiastic applause. After stating that their victory is a victory for the workers of the world, and saying we should all thank the heroic defenders of the city, I concluded saying, "We will do all we can to support you till the victory against your enemies."

The government holds Pakistan responsible for the continued rocket attacks on Kabul and has threatened retaliation against *mujahedin* bases inside Pakistan. In a letter to the United Nations secretary general, Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil warned that Afghanistan has "the capability to foil any such aggressions." The failure of the cease-fire seems to increase the possibility of a more direct confrontation between Afghanistan and Pakistan in the next few days. Dr. Gosem of the Kabul City Party Committee told today's meeting of ministry workers, "We have the ability to hit Pakistan" and "we will give Pakistan the same lesson we gave Britain."

On Monday, I had a brief conversation with a PDPA member in charge of the militia in a Kabul district. Hamid, 37, a philosophy teacher by profession, is a fluent Russian-speaker. A pistol at his side, he checked the positions of his young militiamen at each street corner, talking briefly with each of them. Men armed with Kalashnikovs are stationed at each intersection and in front of workplaces, hotels, offices, banks, etc.

The *mujahedin* are on the retreat, but this is still very much a country at war and a city under fire. ■

Soviet Miners...

(continued from page 1)

strike committee. *Le Monde* (14 July) reported, "The strikers—12,000 miners including 'hundreds of Communists'—have demanded the resignation of the city council and refuse further contact with the first secretary of the local party organization. They have also formed 'workers militias' which are maintaining order alongside the ordinary *militsia* [police].... The press describes assemblies of miners in work clothes, the spread of the movement to other enterprises in the city and the progress of the negotiations which are broadcast into all the streets by loudspeakers." In a matter of days the strike spread to nine other mining towns. Workers from at least 17 factories joined the walkout in solidarity.

The strikers drew up a list of more than 40 demands, including calls for increased food supplies, winter clothing, improved maternity leave, anti-pollution measures and housing improvements. According to *Le Monde*, they asked to "keep the enterprise canteens open on weekends because stores in the city are 'empty': meat in the meals served underground; a cotton tunic for winter and also...800 grams [a pound and a half] of soap and a clean towel each month." These demands are so indisputably, even pathetically, just that they have won wide sympathy from the working population, who see the Kuzbass miners speaking for them.

Feeling the heat from below, the official Council of Trade Unions gave its support to the strikes. Coal industry minister Shchadov rushed in from Moscow to negotiate. But the strikers rejected his proposals, declaring "we've had it" and breaking off negotiations. The strike spread to the neighboring town of Osinniki where construction workers downed tools, turning it into a citywide general strike. Delegations began to pour in from throughout the Kuzbass, an area the size of Belgium.

Desperate, on Thursday the government granted major concessions to the Mezhdurechensk miners, including wage increases and shift differentials reportedly totaling $80 million. They also agreed to deliver thousands of much-needed disposable syringes for hospitals, demanded by the population after the recent uproar over an outbreak of AIDS spread by dirty needles. Strike leaders ordered a return to work, but instead miners held rallies outside the gates Friday morning. Thereupon the strike committee called for a regional general strike and issued an open letter to the Soviet government which also raised political demands, including the abolition of special privileges for the bureaucracy, and a new Soviet constitution to be drafted, publicly discussed and adopted by 7 November 1990, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The imperialist press would like to see in every expression of working-class discontent the seeds of a new Solidarność, the CIA-funded "union" led by clerical reactionaries in Poland. But Soviet workers have an abiding identification with their revolution. According to the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (17 July), the strike at Mezhdurechensk was called by a member of the Communist Party, lead worker Kokorin, and supported by the party secretary in the pit, Becker. *Spiegel* noted that "no anti-Soviet slogans were uttered." And when a spokesman for the pro-Western Democratic Union tried to speak at a miners meeting on the main square of Kemerovo, he was booed down. (Leaders of this anti-Communist outfit have received money from the notorious CIA conduit, the National Endowment for Democracy.)

On Saturday there were demonstrations throughout the area. On Sunday a regional strike committee met to hammer out a platform. UPI (16 July) reported a phone call from a *Trud* correspondent in the region:

> "'As we speak, strike committees from the coal towns have gathered in Prokopievsk to formulate regional demands,' he said. 'At this very moment, the speeches are being heard live on the radio.'
>
> "The speeches were heard blaring over the long-distance line, illustrating the fervor gripping the coal belt."

Initially the Soviet press gave the miners strike unusual positive coverage, treating it as a warning to recalcitrant bureaucrats. As the movement continued and spread, the signals coming from Moscow changed. Coal minister Shchadov warned a mass meeting in Novokuznetsk on Saturday that Magnitka, the huge steel complex at Magnitogorsk, is "on the verge of stopping working" for lack of coal. And on Monday a Politburo member flew to the Siberian coal belt bearing an appeal signed by President Gorbachev and Premier Ryzhkov. Speaking to the Supreme Soviet, Ryzhkov asked the miners to end their stoppage, but opposed using force against the strike.

While previous strikes have been localized affairs, mainly protesting pay cuts resulting from perestroika, the openly political demands of the miners strikes point to an initial struggle by the working class to reclaim the political power stolen from it by the Stalinist bureaucracy decades ago. But so far the main demand has been for "independence" from the bloated coal industry bureaucracy in Moscow. The settlement reached in the Mezhdurechensk negotiations authorized each mine to run its own financial affairs as an independent state company beginning August 1. Within the framework of Gorbachev's market-oriented reforms, the Kuzbass miners want to get theirs. But this will only benefit the strongest, most profitable enterprises, producing harmful disparities—*including unemployment*—even among the Kuzbass miners. What is urgently needed in the interests of *all* the Soviet working class is *central planning based on soviet democracy*.

Workers Against Perestroika

Last year, as Gorbachev's glasnost opened the door to protests across the Soviet Union while perestroika threatened workers' living standards, we wrote: "Yet amid all this ferment the decisive social force in the Soviet Union—the working class—has *not yet* entered the political fray" ("Perils of *Perestroika*," *WV* No. 458, 29 July 1988). Recently, even Gorbachev's team of economists have been predicting a social explosion as their anti-worker, pro-market reforms produce shortages, speedup, pay cuts, price rises and layoffs. Populist demagogue Boris Yeltsin said the economic situation could produce "a revolutionary situation."

Now the voice of the Soviet workers is being heard. The Soviet press would like to present the Kuzbass strikes as support for perestroika. But as shortages spread, manipulated by speculators and profiteers, the hated Nepmen of today, Soviet workers are getting shafted—and they know it. As the main document of the Spartacist League's Eighth National Conference stated:

> "Gorbachev's *perestroika* not only goes against the immediate material interests of most workers but also affronts their deep reservoir of collective feeling. At the same time, the regime's call for *glasnost* permits a degree of organized dissent against official policies.... The present situation in the Soviet Union is probably more favorable for the emergence of an *independent* workers movement than at any time since the 1920s."
>
> —"Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?" *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88

Ever since Stalin and his cohorts usurped political power from the working class in 1923-24, the bureaucracy has pretended to speak in the name of the proletariat on whose backs and on whose state their parasitic misrule rests. Meanwhile, Stalinist regimes have mercilessly crushed any independent movement of the workers, such as the Hungarian uprising of 1956 or the 1962 strike by Soviet workers in the industrial city of Novocherkassk in the Donetsk Basin. Barely a month ago, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* finally reported, 27 years later, on the protest by locomotive factory workers and women from the textile mills against food price rises ordered by Khrushchev, and the bloody repression as troops fired on a crowd of thousands waving red banners.

From the Donbass to the Kuzbass, Soviet miners have taken the lead. This time the Stalinist reformers are treating the Siberian protests gingerly. Already last fall when Gorbachev traveled to Krasnoyarsk, he was berated in the street by housewives complaining about shortages. In March, coal miners in Vorkuta, site of the former forced labor camp, won demands for a big pay raise. Now the entire press is praising the miners. Even *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, which has acted as the mouthpiece for old-line Stalinist bureaucrats, noted that most people in authority had joined the strike committees: "That includes many Communists, trade union representatives and party secretaries." The miners have seen an opening and taken it. Strike committee member Yuri I. Shikharev said coyly, "Gorbachev himself called on us to start from the bottom if the top does not want to do it."

Gorbachev may succeed in settling the Kuzbass strikes. But they are a harbinger of events to come. Workers militias patrolling the streets, strike committees and mass strike meetings—this points to the formation of soviets, the workers councils which under Bolshevik leadership took power in the October Revolution. Even after the settlement in Mezhdurechensk, the strike committee became a "works committee" to oversee its implementation. Genuine soviets—not the pseudo-parliament which met recently in Moscow—will be the vehicle for restoring the revolutionary workers democracy that reigned under Lenin and Trotsky. With the impact of the nascent Chinese political revolution and its bloody suppression reverberating around the world, it is all the more urgent that the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," common to all wings of the Stalinist bureaucracies, be countered with the Leninist perspective of world socialist revolution.

In the absence of working-class struggle, national conflicts are ripping apart the social fabric of the Soviet Union. On July 13 there was a pitched battle involving thousands over land and water rights on the border between Kirghizia and Tadzhikistan in Soviet Central Asia. (This was not far from the Fergana Valley in Uzbekistan where last month 100 people were killed and 40,000 Meshketian Turks were evacuated as a result of ethnic persecution.) And two days later fighting broke out between Georgians and Abkhazians in the Black Sea city of Sukhumi, leaving 14 dead. The imperialists have always dreamed of breaking up the USSR in an orgy of national hatred. But the Soviet workers, for whom November 7 remains a symbol of revolutionary inspiration, can transcend this nationalism in the name of internationalism. As we wrote recently:

> "But working-class resistance to perestroika has to date remained passive, unorganized, without a political expression. That is why the political scene has been dominated by Gorbachevite reformers, pro-Western liberals, nationalists of all stripes, Pamyat fascists and populist demagogues like Yeltsin. An authentic Bolshevik party must be built anew in the Soviet Union, to combat not only the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution but *all* forms of nationalism and chauvinism, liberal and pacifistic illusions, and outright capitalist restorationism. Such a party would raise on its banner, in Trotsky's words, 'the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and regeneration of Soviet democracy on a far higher economic and cultural basis than in 1918'."
>
> —"Soviet Elections: A Vote for What?" *WV* No. 475, 14 April

This is the program of proletarian political revolution, to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to defend and extend the gains of October. ■

Films Art et Science

Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! Leon Trotsky, co-leader of 1917 Russian Revolution, addresses May Day rally in Red Square, Moscow. Banner salutes workers struggling against the "old world" of capitalist exploitation.

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Workers Hammer

Miners' wives march through London in 1984 during yearlong coal strike. Labour Party, trade-union leaders knifed miners strike, blocked spread of class struggle that could have swept away Thatcher.

Britain...

(continued from page 4)

more adults live in your dwelling, the more dependents over 18 in a dwelling unit, the more the poll tax financially disables. And in England and Wales, if you can't or won't pay, you go to jail. In Victorian days, they had debtors' prison—now you don't even have to be in debt! Underscoring and exacerbating the class divide between the yuppie-dominated southeast of England and economically devastated regions to the north and west, the poll tax was first imposed on Scotland, an aspect as well of Scottish national oppression. More than 26,000 have already "officially disappeared from Scottish cities" to escape payment; in terms of all social services as well as the right to vote, they have become non-people.

There is plenty of social tinder for an explosion of class struggle in Thatcher's Britain. But the Labour/TUC misleaders work overtime to keep the rotting edifice of British capitalism intact. Organically linked to the Labour Party leadership, the trade-union bureaucrats seek to enhance Neil Kinnock's credentials as a reliable instrument to discipline the working class and administer the capitalist state. After ten years of Thatcherism, many working people may well believe that a Labour government would ease up the relentless pounding on their rights and living standards. Over the last few months, the Labourites have recouped considerable support, reflected in recent by-election victories in London and Glasgow and in the EEC Euro-elections.

But even in opposition, Labour has already made it clear it would also demand government-imposed ballots before any strike, is not committed to the closed shop, would limit secondary picketing and is "totally opposed" to mass pickets of the kind that conjure up "images of Orgreave"—where thousands of militant miners confronted Thatcher's cossacks in a pitched battle in 1984. In fact, the Labour Party—from Kinnock to the oh-so-left Tony Benn—is "totally opposed" to any challenge to capitalist rule. With a million people in Scotland refusing to pay the extortionate poll tax, Labour's line is pay now and vote Labour later.

And where Labour treads, the Labour-loyal left follows. In March, the left-centrist Workers Power group was calling for a general strike to smash the poll tax. As Labour's electoral prospects—and the concrete possibilities of class struggle—have picked up, Workers Power's references to the general strike call have noticeably gone down. Indeed, Workers Power pointedly *refused* to call for a general strike when it was eminently appropriate, during the 1978-79 "winter of discontent," because a Labour government was in power. And that Labour government had no hesitation in calling out the army to break a militant firemen's strike.

In contrast to the rest of the left, the Spartacist League/Britain seeks to *split* the Labour Party, breaking its working-class base away from parliamentary reformism. The long, steady decline of British imperialism has periodically provoked social crises. But no matter how sharp the conflict, capitalism has survived because of the absence of a revolutionary leadership at the head of the working masses. Beyond a doubt, Britain today is overripe for revolution. The fundamental and indispensable condition for workers' victory remains the forging of a revolutionary party. ■

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BT Cringes on Afghanistan Defense

Over the past decade Western imperialism waged a hysterical campaign against Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. For the anti-Soviet left, which quickly fell into line with the Carter/Reagan Cold War hysteria, our slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" was anathema. After assiduously trying to duck the issue, last year the renegades of the so-called Bolshevik Tendency (BT) finally fessed up that they hated our angular Soviet-defensist stand. But they tried to cover their tracks by claiming to give "military support to the Soviets and their allies" against the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats (see "BT Protests Too Much," *WV* No. 453, 20 May 1988).

After Gorbachev treacherously withdrew Soviet troops last winter in order to appease U.S. imperialism, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) offered "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" on the side of social freedom in Afghanistan. The BT response (*1917*, Summer 1989) was to ridicule the PDC offer as "bizarre," a cynical "publicity stunt," deriding the "utter unreality of the proposal." Alleging the "extremely unfavorable military and political situation" after the Soviet pullout, these gutless wonders went further, rejecting fighting under the military discipline of Stalinists. So much for the BT's "military support"!

Although the Kabul government declined the offer of an international brigade as militarily unnecessary at this time, shortly thereafter it proposed that the PDC participate in an international campaign to raise money for victims of the siege of Jalalabad. In two months over $40,000 was raised. This rather surprising amount is testament to the increasing international solidarity, in particular among immigrant communities, for the embattled people of Afghanistan fighting imperialist-backed terrorists. But this is meaningless to the BT, who cannot comprehend a world view other than seen through the prism of imperialist anti-Sovietism. Indeed, the BT did not cough up one red cent for the PDC's Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund.

Behind the BT's cringing over Afghanistan is Stalinophobia. They make it utterly clear that if the Afghan government itself had appealed for an international military brigade, they would have said no:

> "...it could have proved physically extremely hazardous for young militants (or guilt-ridden ex-members) identified with a 'Trotskyist' organization to place themselves under the 'control and direction' of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan]—a Stalinist organization with a history of bloody purges within its own ranks."
>
> —*1917*, Summer 1989

By extension, the BT is here saying it will *never* engage in military actions under Stalinist-led forces against counterrevolution and imperialism.

The BT's entire line on Afghanistan is an adaptation to rad-lib anti-Sovietism. This becomes quite clear if you compare it to their line on Nicaragua. Politically, there is *no essential difference* between the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the Afghan PDPA. Both are radical petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes allied to the Soviet Union. A few years ago we undertook a successful campaign to raise money to aid the Nicaraguan government against the CIA-organized contras. A number of our comrades and sympathizers have gone to Nicaragua on work brigades under the control and direction of the Sandinista authorities.

But the BT has not (yet) denounced these activities. Why not? Because there is general sympathy for the Sandinistas against the contras in the North American rad-lib milieu and pseudo-Trotskyist circles. But these same left liberals and fake-Trotskyists were violently hostile to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and have been generally supportive of the *mujahedin*. Hence the BT's anti-Soviet double standard on Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

The BT line on Afghanistan reeks of "Third Campism." In opposing the SL slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" they asked rhetorically if we thought that "Trotskyists should have been 'hailing' the Stalinist apparatus" in the struggle against the Nazis. In fact, during World War II the Trotskyists certainly did hail the victories of the Red Army against Nazi Germany. In a 1942 speech commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, James P. Cannon declared:

> "I say the whole world has been taken by surprise, including Stalin, who had no more confidence in the Red Army than he had in the power of the Soviet economy, than he has in the revolutionary powers of the workers generally. The Trotskyists were not taken by surprise. Trotsky predicted that imperialist attack on the Soviet Union would unleash marvels of proletarian enthusiasm and fighting capacity in the Red Army. He could do that because he, better than others, understood that the great motive power of the victorious revolution had not all been expended. *The Red Army that the world hails is an army created by a proletarian revolution.* [our emphasis]
>
> —*Speeches for Socialism* (1971)

In the same issue of *1917* which ridicules the proposal for an international brigade for Afghanistan, there is a polemic against the slogan "The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow." We raised this slogan in mass labor/black mobilizations, initiated by the Spartacist League, which have in several cities stopped the Klan/Nazis over the past decade. The BT points to the ominous public emergence of the nativist fascists of Pamyat in Gorbachev's Russia. "Strictly speaking," says *1917*, "the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow; but then, Pamyat doesn't ride in Washington."

What does the BT care? When we mobilized to stop the Klan from riding in Washington in November 1982 they were nowhere to be found. In fact, they demanded that instead we should have concentrated our efforts on the Canadian Chrysler strike. Now they condemn a slogan which was an expression of Soviet defensism, albeit a shallow and one-sided view of the *contradictions* in Soviet society reflecting the isolation and degeneration of the world's first workers state.

In typical Third Campist fashion, the BT *equates* the role of fascist groups in racist, capitalist America and in the Soviet Union. This negates the conquests of the Russian Revolution, which crushed the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds. The Klan rides in the American South because there was a political counterrevolution which overturned Radical Reconstruction after the Civil War. The victory of this counterrevolution isn't just in the white sheets of the KKK but in the blue uniforms of the state's police who are the main source of racist terror and murder in the U.S.

Although Pamyat might be protected by some elements of the Kremlin bureaucracy, it would take a social counterrevolution to overthrow the gains of the October Revolution and resurrect capitalist exploitation for Pamyat to ride in Moscow. In its own pathetic little way, the BT undermines the defense of the Soviet Union. ■

For a Solid NYC Hospital Strike!

More than 20,000 members of hospital workers union Local 1199 from 53 New York City hospitals rallied outside the headquarters of the League of Voluntary Hospitals July 11 during a one-day strike demanding better pay and an end to understaffing. The 47,000 union members have been working without a contract since the beginning of the month. The tactic of the new 1199 leadership under Dennis Rivera is to have one-day strikes while demanding that the League match the earlier settlement with the Catholic hospitals (which included suspending payments to the pension fund).

Rather than mobilizing the union's power and seeking the backing of the rest of NYC labor to shut down the hospitals, they're looking to the capitalist politicians. Rivera's main efforts are going into the mayoral campaign of liberal black Democrat David Dinkins, who was a featured speaker at the July 11 rally.

July 11: Hospital unionists rally in Central Park during one-day strike.

The 1199 leaders are able to foist this piecemeal "strategy" on the combative, heavily black and Hispanic membership in large part due to the debacle of the 1984 strike. Then hospital workers held out for 44 days, took scores of arrests and stood up to massive fines imposed by the courts. Bowing to pressure from the state and city government, then-president Doris Turner capitulated, proclaiming "victory." *Workers Vanguard* (No. 362, 14 September 1984) broke the story that the 1199 contract looted wages and benefits to pay off the hospitals' "deficits"!

The lesson of the 1984 strike isn't the futility of struggle, but rather the need for a union leadership that's willing to defy the courts and that fights for a class-struggle workers party instead of looking to phony "friend of labor" politicians like Cuomo and Dinkins. After years of cutbacks and closings, New York City hospitals are in crisis with dangerously high occupancy rates and criminal understaffing in the midst of the AIDS epidemic and tens of thousands of homeless living in the streets. Among working people in NYC there is near-universal support for the union's demand for better health care. A solid citywide hospital strike, uniting AFSCME workers in the municipal hospitals with 1199 members, as well as nurses and doctors, could bring the hospital bosses to their knees and advance the cause of decent health care for all.

NYC Raw...

(continued from page 12)

to keep the parks safe from the people. "No individual person shall lie upon or spread possessions upon a bench... reside in a park or sleep overnight or make preparation to sleep overnight... building a shelter or other structure for the purpose of comfort or protection during sleep." Also, "No person shall leave personal belongings unattended within or adjacent to any park for more than two consecutive hours." Begging or panhandling are prohibited "in all parks and streets adjacent to or abutting a park (including sidewalks of such abutting streets)." They even tried to ban "activity by a person that reasonably appears to be intended to sexually arouse that person or another person," including exposure of "the area of the female breast below the top of the areola" (*New York Times*, 15 March).

Such bizarre bureaucratic prurient precision is a load of horseshit (they even stipulated diapers for the Central Park carriage horses—but not police horses!). It's all intended to drive out the homeless, as community activists stormily protested at a hearing in April, temporarily forcing the Commissioner to back down. This July's crackdown is in part Stern's revenge.

While Koch's cossacks brutally roust the homeless, bloody racist attacks go unchecked as the cops stand by. On July 4 a sinister mob of over 50 white racist skinhead punks invaded Washington Square Park to beat up leftist and homeless groups who planned to burn a flag as a political protest. "Burn the flag and we'll burn a fag," the neo-Nazi skinheads shouted, then went after a man who angrily yelled "Sieg Heil" at them, beating him with brass knuckles and beer bottles while police looked on until he was bloody. On their way to the park the skinheads earlier attacked the Anarchist Switchboard in the East Village. "We had a conference with the cops beforehand," a skinhead told a reporter. "we were on the same side as the cops. We would be helping them do their jobs, so we agreed that they wouldn't arrest us unless we got totally out of control" (*Village Voice*, 18 July).

In Queens a pack of over 30 whites chased and beat up blacks celebrating July 4th. Fabrice Thebaud, a Florida businessman visiting his family for the holiday, was attacked along with his companions as they watched fireworks in a playground in Rosedale. They were then chased by a mob with baseball bats, knives and sticks, yelling racist epithets and threatening to kill them. The cops took over two hours to respond to an emergency call and refused to post a bodyguard at Thebaud's cousin's home, even though he was getting death threats (*Daily News*, 7 July). In Brooklyn on July 9, three black youths walking home from their jobs at a Canarsie Roy Rogers were assaulted by a mob of bottle-throwing white teenagers. Screaming racial slurs, the whites kicked one youth in the head and groin; he's still in the hospital after undergoing two operations. No arrests were made.

New York City has been rubbed raw by racism and desperate poverty amid shameless wealth. The real-estate megamoguls "warehouse" apartments, holding them off the market to keep rents up, while city wrecking crews tear down empty buildings inhabited by squatters. Meanwhile, the capitalist politicians indulge in a mean-minded mayoral race to see whose "get tough on crime" pitch can best appeal to racist voters. And New Yorkers able to read their newspapers between subway breakdowns in stifling pitch-black tunnels got a glimpse of the unbelievable greed and arrogance of the real "princes of the city." Hotel "Queen" Leona Helmsley's former housekeeper testified at the Helmsleys' extortion trial that this Marie Antoinette of the tourist trade made her pay for food she bought for the house, while telling her, "We don't pay taxes—the little people pay taxes."

They made a revolution in France 200 years ago over that kind of thing—we're certainly overdue for one here. In the meantime, the homeless in Tompkins Square Park's desolation row should move their things into Helmsley Palace and Trump Towers! ■

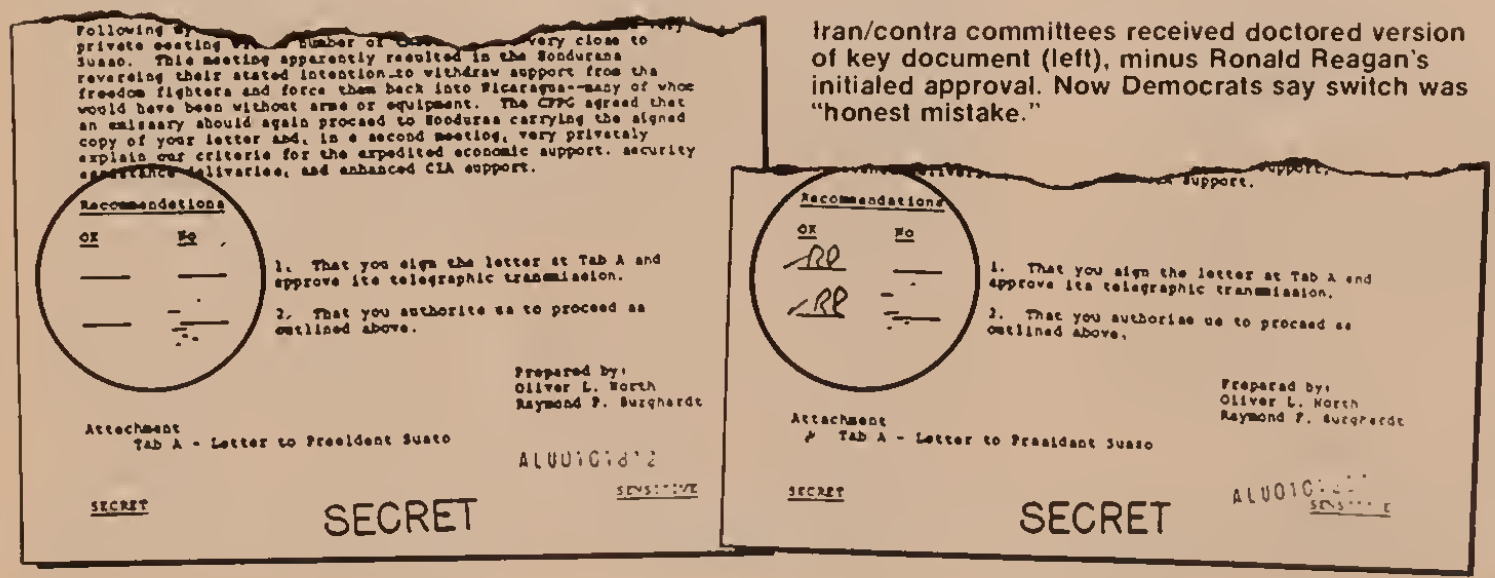
Bush Ducks...

(continued from page 3)

hitting the lecture circuit to give his Hitler-style "stab in the back" speech. North redbaits Congress for "giving Central America away to Communists" while the Congressional Iran/contra committee's hollow threat of a new investigation comes to naught. Liberals like the *New York Times*' Anthony Lewis complain that North's defenders want an "all-powerful Presidency" which would undermine constitutional checks on foreign policy. But the various Congressional "oversight" committees did nothing but overlook the not-so-secret operations being run out of the White House basement.

Newsweek (17 July) commented after North's sentencing, "Yet somehow Iran-contra was never taken quite as seriously as Watergate." Why is not hard to figure out. After American imperialism was beaten in Indochina by the heroic Vietnamese fighters, and the Watergate scandal forced Nixon out of the White House, the last thing either capitalist party wants is another commander in chief down the tubes. As we wrote in "The Bush File" (*WV* No. 468, 6 January) before the North trial began:

> "The Democrats didn't nail Reagan and Bush on the Iran/Contra affair because these covert operations are the stock in trade of the declining American empire in its desperate worldwide crusade for counterrevolution. The network Bush brought into play are the hit men for imperialism in its death agony, and it will take world socialist revolution to put this Company out of business for good." ■


Following ... private meeting ... very close to Suazo. This meeting apparently resulted in the Honduran reversing their stated intention to withdraw support from the freedom fighters and force them back into Nicaragua--many of whom would have been without arms or equipment. The CIPC agreed that an emissary should again proceed to Honduras carrying the signed copy of your letter and, in a second meeting, very privately explain our criteria for the expedited economic support, security assistance deliveries, and enhanced CIA support.

Recommendations
OK No
1. That you sign the letter at Tab A and approve its telegraphic transmission.
2. That you authorize us to proceed as outlined above.

Prepared by:
Oliver L. North
Raymond P. Burghardt

Attachment
Tab A - Letter to President Suazo

SECRET

SECRET

Recommendations
OK No
1. That you sign the letter at Tab A and approve its telegraphic transmission.
2. That you authorize us to proceed as outlined above.

Prepared by:
Oliver L. North
Raymond P. Burghardt

Attachment
Tab A - Letter to President Suazo

SECRET

SECRET

Iran/contra committees received doctored version of key document (left), minus Ronald Reagan's initialed approval. Now Democrats say switch was "honest mistake."

Coal Fields...

(continued from page 12)

moving fast enough on the narrow, twisting roads with 100-foot drops on either side. Overhead are police and company helicopters spying on pickets and ferrying scabs holed up in bunkers at struck mines.

There is also a private army of gun thugs working alongside the cops and the courts to terrorize strikers. Vance International is a vicious scabherding outfit run by Gerald Ford's son-in-law, formerly with the Secret Service. Vance deploys mercenaries fresh from Central America where they joined the contra scum murdering Nicaraguan peasants. This is the outfit that A.T. Massey used against the UMW during their 1984-85 strike; now they're working for Pittston Coal to break the UMW. Another notorious union-busting outfit, Nuckols Inc., is protecting non-union mines in West Virginia.

After the courts slapped injunctions on the Pittston strikers' sitdowns in front of company gates, the miners resorted to "rolling blockades" on the highways. On July 12, the state's uniformed thugs arrested a nun in a Winnebago for going too slow trying to deliver medical supplies to a pregnant woman. *WV* reporters, on their way from the Moss No. 3 processing plant picket line to a rally in St. Paul, were forced off the road through a fence into a miner's front yard by a scab coal truck barreling down a narrow road around a blind corner. Of course, the cops ticketed our reporters.

Pittston Coal president Michael Odom told the press, "I've got a war to run." Pittston, king of U.S. metallurgical coal exporters, left the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) in 1987, arranged a $100 million credit line with several banks, hired the same union-busting lawyers and the same goons used against A.T. Massey strikers, then callously cut off 1,500 retirees' insurance benefits. But Pittston watched helplessly while miners turned injunctions into scrap paper as production plummeted to a fraction of prestrike levels. Now coal output is down by 90 percent in all of West Virginia, and nationally production dropped by a third.

It's war, all right, and Pittston is fighting as dirty as it can. But where is the miners' leadership in the coal war? For over a year, Pittston miners worked without a contract before Trumka finally pulled them out in April. Trumka wants to run the strike by the bosses' rules served up with lawyers' talk about a "corporate campaign" and "civil disobedience" tactics that mean mass arrests while the coal trucks keep rolling. Dressed in camouflage fatigues, living in camps in the woods, wives mobilized in the Daughters of Mother Jones auxiliary, their kids staging school boycotts, *the miners are at war*. But they are saddled with generals who have no stomach for a fight.

Camp Solidarity

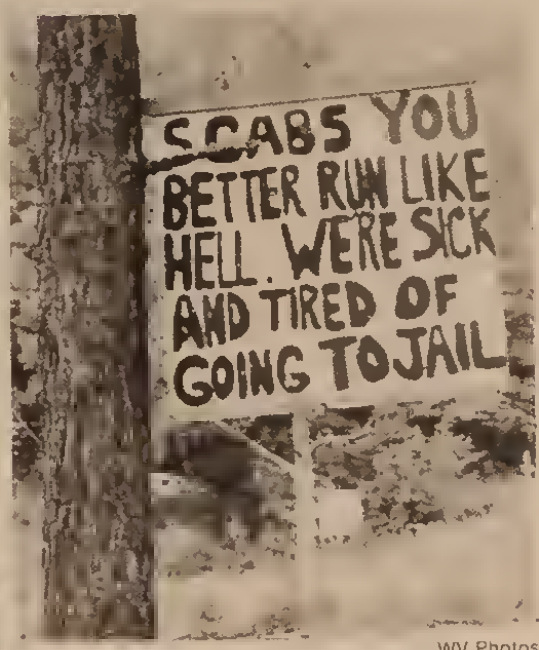
On a road outside Clinchfield dotted with miners' homes a posted signboard proclaims: "Scabs you better run like hell. We're sick and tired of going to jail." Signs on a UMW hall proclaim "Unity, Solidarity, Strength," while displaying a giant check for $71,000 to the Pittston miners from District 11 miners in Indiana. The roof of a shed is painted with a declaration of what they're fighting for: "Our Kids, Our Lives, Our Union—UMWA."

In Russell County off Virginia Route 63 there is Camp Solidarity, established two weeks into the strike and run by United Mine Workers members. At the camp *WV* reporters met auto workers and steel workers from North and South Carolina, miners from Alabama to Virginia, and UMW retirees whose presence is the living embodiment of the class-struggle tactics which built the UMW into a powerful workers organization. A few months ago Camp Solidarity was an abandoned field; now over 100 tents have been erected, 1,000 miners and their supporters are fed daily, and demonstrations are organized on a moment's notice.

There is no end to the stories that miners tell about the viciousness of the cops and courts—agents of the coal bosses. A 12-year-old boy was left abandoned by police who hauled away his miner father, then the cops arrested the miner's friends who came to pick up the boy—leaving him by the side of the road again! The widow of a Pittston miner said: "My husband worked for Pittston for 32 years. He passed away of Lou Gehrig's disease February 17th of 1988. Two weeks before he died, the New Year's gift we got from this company was the news that we no longer had health care coverage." Miners' pickets at the Clinchfield No. 2 portal told *WV* that they have witnessed cops putting sawed-off shotguns to the heads of miners stopped alongside Virginia roads.

An Ohio miner at Camp Solidarity said that "the government is the one that's fighting with the union. They're spending $1 million a month on the state police." At a strike rally in nearby St. Paul on July 12, over 2,000 incensed miners from Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama and Pennsylvania demanded freedom for UMW brother Roy Glovier. A federal judge tried to make an example out of him, sentencing Glovier to three months in jail for "going slow." The state troopers are so hated that miners picket the motels where they are lodged, from Norton to Lebanon, Virginia, and even motel owners tried to evict them (they were enjoined by court orders).

The miners have the militancy, the unity, the organizational capacity and the sympathy of trade unionists around the country that are needed to beat Pittston Coal and strike a great blow against the decade-long war on labor. But without a leadership with the program and the will to win, the battle against Pittston could go the way of the Eastern strike, where the militancy of the airline strikers has been dissipated by "leaders" who look to the capitalist courts rather than labor's power.



WV Photos

Left, miners at St. Paul, Virginia rally angered as scab coal rolls by in Norfolk and Western coal train. Above, sign along road near Clinchfield.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

Instead of leading the battle in the coal fields, UMW leader Trumka spends his time in stunts like appealing to the Boston City Council to plead with the local Shawmut Bank not to do business with Pittston! When the memorial period began on July 10, Trumka was at a meeting in New York with the head of a major Japanese steel company and importer of American coal. Trumka joined Democratic West Virginia Senator Jay Rockefeller and the president of the West Virginia Coal Association in pledging reliable supplies of coal from UMW miners. This is a stab in the back for the Pittston strikers! The scab coal must be *stopped!* It should be stopped at the pit, stopped on the highway, stopped on the Chessie and the Norfolk & Western, stopped on the docks—anywhere!

PR ploys won't win this strike—hard class struggle will. And that requires a leadership that's independent of the bosses and their parties. The Democratic Party governors of West Virginia and Virginia that Trumka pins his hopes on to "intervene" in the Pittston strike are capitalist politicians whose job is to preserve this system. *Virginia Business* (March 1986) noted: "For nearly a decade, the political lore of isolated Southwest Virginia has read like a bank statement. Eight coal company executives gave [Virginia governor] Baliles just under $215,000, not to mention occasional use of company planes and helicopters.... In return, the coal barons expect their candidates to oppose a severance tax and to use state troopers to keep the mines open during strikes."

A working-class *political* program is needed to win the coal wars. In 1972, Arnold Miller was elected UMW chief as a "reform" candidate after Boyle and his hired killers were ousted. We warned then that Miller was beholden to the Labor Department and the Democratic Party. Soon miners were wildcatting every summer, as the union tops worked hand in glove with the courts to squelch labor struggle. In the great coal strike of 1977-78, miners held out for 110 days, burning Democratic president Carter's Taft-Hartley injunctions. *Three times* they turned down contracts negotiated by Miller and the BCOA. But finally they were stuck with Miller's sellout. *Break with the Democrats—build a class-struggle workers party!*

A class-struggle leadership must put forward a program for victory in the Pittston battle. Delegates should be elected from among the working miners, the pensioners, the Daughters of Mother Jones auxiliary—everyone who's in this fight for real—and send them to Camp Solidarity to meet together and decide how to wage this strike to win. And that means taking on the state—rip up the injunctions, can the fines, demand all charges be dropped against strikers and their supporters! And fight to free all the class-war prisoners, including the five Kentucky UMW brothers railroaded for defending picket lines during the A.T. Massey strike and abandoned by the UMW International to rot in prison.

An elected strike committee would mobilize the entire union for struggle, with strike benefits for all miners on strike. And that musn't depend just on the resources of the UMW: a call should be sent out to the entire American labor movement. The support already being shown—the food, the money, the caravans to Camp Solidarity—must be generalized. *Win this strike* and turn that victory into a launching pad for a massive organizing drive; bring the non-union mines back into the UMW! A victory over Pittston will be a blow against union-busters throughout the country. ■

WV Photos

State troopers protect scab coal truck at Moss No. 3 plant, July 12 (left). WV reporters' car forced off road by scab coal truck (right).

WORKERS VANGUARD

Coal Fields Under Siege

ST. PAUL, Virginia, July 18—There's a war going on in the heart of Appalachian mining country. An army of cops and coal company thugs have invaded the highways and mining towns of southwestern Virginia to run scab coal. They're trying to crush the determination of the United Mine Workers (UMW) ranks to win the 3-1/2 month old strike against Pittston Coal Company. The Pittston strikers have been joined by over 50,000 of the union's 65,000 active miners across ten states. This is a showdown for the UMW and an important battle for all American labor.

These miners have endured nearly 3,000 arrests and millions of dollars in fines. Following a union rally in Charleston, West Virginia on June 11 to support the 1,700 Pittston strikers, the battle spread to include almost all union miners east of the Mississippi. Initially the UMW tops denounced the wildcats. For nearly a month, the government—despite its court injunctions, its federal marshals and state troopers, and its huge, constantly escalating fines against the UMW (now over $4 million)—couldn't force the miners back into the pits.

Faced with the accomplished fact of a nationwide strike by the ranks, UMW president Richard Trumka called a three-day "memorial" period starting July 10 explicitly to "cool out" the miners' militancy. When it was clear miners would not go back to work on the 14th, he extended it to the end of the week. Then he had to extend it again for Districts 6 and 31. But as *WV* goes to press, striking miners in southern West Virginia's coal fields continue their picket lines in defiance of the International's call to return to work. A Logan County union official stated on Monday, July 17, that "Everybody is out. They were out in full force last night. They are not going back until this thing is settled with Pittston."

Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

WV Photo

State troopers arrest strikers trying to stop scab trucks at Moss No. 3 plant in April. As strikes spread across ten states, miners stood fast: rally in St. Paul, Virginia, July 12 (right).

"Trumka's riding the back of a tiger," Leo Troy, a labor expert at Rutgers University, told the *Wall Street Journal* (17 July). "If he tries to get off, he'll be devoured." The *Journal* reported that union officials told them "frustration and anger in the coalfields have been building up because, over the years, producers have been shifting coal reserves from union-operated mines to non-union subsidiaries, a move that has left UMW miners fearful that work one day will simply run out."

A *Workers Vanguard* reporting team traveled to southwestern Virginia last week where a virtual state of siege has been imposed to keep coal moving. Highway patrol cars are clustered every 1,000 feet on state Route 63. Police "bomb squads" with sniffer dogs comb the woods around mine sites. Federal marshals ride shotgun with state troopers arresting and jailing motorists not

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Cops Drive Homeless Out of Tompkins Square Park

New York City Raw

Tompkins Square Park on Manhattan's Lower East Side was invaded again on the night of July 5: over 250 cops, some in riot gear, and park rangers with dump trucks swept in with no warning. Hundreds of homeless people were evicted, their belongings thrown into garbage trucks. Many community activists were temporarily absent marching in a pro-abortion demonstration when cops closed the streets around Tompkins Square, positioning snipers on rooftops and sealing off the park to brutally trample the makeshift shelters of the homeless, as ordered by Parks Commissioner Henry Stern.

While outraged local residents watched, a woman yelled, "These are people's homes!" But to Koch and his officious minions, the homeless are just so much human refuse to be pushed out of sight; the few possessions of these people with nowhere else to go—their mattresses, sleeping bags, tents and shopping carts—are just "debris." With infinite bureaucratic cruelty, Commissioner Stern laid down a new "regulation" setting up the raid: the poor as well as the rich can sleep on the grass or on a bench, but they better not try to protect themselves from the rain or cold.

"They can't even let them have a piece of plastic to cover their sick bodies in the park," said community activist Clayton Patterson, who took videotapes of last summer's violent cop assault on the park. Last August over 450 of Koch's cops launched a full-scale police riot in the park to enforce the "gentrification" driving up rents and driving out *Loisaida* (Lower East Side) residents and the homeless. Over 100 complaints of police brutality were filed, but a year later the only result, in the face of a solid wall of cop silence, has been a few token transfers of police.

Meanwhile, city bureaucrats feverishly scribbled away at new rules

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Kevin Cohen/NY Post

War against the homeless: cops invade Tompkins Square Park July 5, arresting over 30.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 483 4 August 1989

Soviet Workers Challenge Perestroika

The powerful strike by Soviet miners has not only shaken up the bureaucrats in Moscow. In an extraordinary front-page "news analysis," the *New York Times* (26 July) had some advice for the Kremlin leaders. "Worry for Gorbachev," it headlined: "Workers, Resentful of His Changes, Could Topple the Crippled Economy." Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev has been trying to portray the miners' burgeoning strike movement as support for his program of pro-market economic reforms that goes by the name of "perestroika" (restructuring). But, warned the *Times*, the workers' "notion of perestroika is not necessarily the one held by Mr. Gorbachev's economic brain trust."

The article noted the mood of the triumphant miners, who raised one "largely overlooked" demand which must have caused Gorbachev a "shiver of disquiet":

> "Along with soap rations and winter shoes, night houses and greater political power, many of the miners called for abolishing or sharply curtailing the freewheeling private entrepreneurs who have amassed wealth and huge resentment under the new economic order that Mr. Gorbachev is trying to build."

Soviet workers have no love lost for price-gouging speculators and exploitation by nascent capitalists: they are hostile to Gorbachev's attacks on "wage-leveling." And, the *Times* article noted, "it is not hard to imagine the newly mobilized workers someday using their power to resist the dislocations that are expected to come with perestroika." For example:

> "Mr. Gorbachev cannot count on blue-collar support for closing bankrupt industries, deregulating prices on consumer goods, laying off surplus workers—all measures that leading economists say are inevitable if the Soviet economy is to be revived."

We Trotskyists have insisted for several years now that the powerful Soviet proletariat is no fan of market-oriented reforms which would dismantle piecemeal the historic achievement of a planned economy. The prospect of inflation, speedup, layoffs

continued on page 4

Reuters/Bettmann

Prokopyevsk, July 15: Siberian miners strike for soap, meat and justice.

For Workers Political Revolution in China!

Reuters

Beijing, May 20: Workers flooded into the streets to defy state of siege.

Lessons of the Beijing Spring

We publish below an edited transcript of a speech by Ray Bishop of the Spartacist League Central Committee at a June 29 SL forum in New York.

While looking out over the carnage in Tiananmen Square on June 4, one young Beijing worker said, "This government is done with." You had troops patrolling up and down Beijing's boulevards; you also had students and workers in China's key cities rising up as one in protest. In Shanghai, China's largest city and its commercial and industrial powerhouse, you had an effective general strike until the end of that week. In the northeast, in Shenyang, 30,000 aircraft workers commandeered trucks and marched in unison to protest the massacre. In the center of China, in Xian, the ancient capital, tens of thousands of workers blocked roads. And in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province, 30 workers were killed in the course of protests over control of the vast underground private market, which was called by one Chinese newspaper "the main monument to capitalism" in that area.

It appeared also that the People's Liberation Army was splitting right down the middle over the massacre. The army unit that carried it out was the 27th Army, very close to Deng Xiaoping. But right after that happened, in Inner Mongolia, which is where the 27th Army is based, there was a troop rebellion, leading to 30 of the officers being shot.

So China was on the verge of civil war, and at that very time the government itself seemingly disappeared. For up to a week foreign diplomats and newspapermen couldn't find anybody to get the line on what was going on. The *People's Daily*, which is the Communist Party's main newspaper, could not be found on the streets of Beijing. But five days after the massacre, Deng re-emerged. And he re-emerged with a vengeance, unleashing a savage repression which to date, so far as we know, has meant 27 workers executed, thousands of arrests, including leaders of the

continued on page 6

Labor and Blacks Have the Power

Stop Racist Terror in Norfolk!

By Cliff Carter

The racism of the eighties has shaped the year of 1989 into a free-for-all for the racists in the Tidewater area. In the early 1980s, segregated schools suddenly became "neighborhood schools" and the racists saw a green light that hasn't changed.

On July 9, 1984, United States District Court judge John A. MacKenzie approved the Norfolk school board's plan to end cross-town busing and return to neighborhood (segregated) elementary schools. The labor unions could have defended busing, but since they didn't, the advocates of the neighborhood schools have been feeling welcome to continue to bring back the old Jim Crow discrimination laws and ways.

In the Tidewater cities several ugly incidents have taken place this year:

- **Chesapeake, January 31**

A cross was burned in the yard of a 32-year-old black lady and her four children.

- **Portsmouth, March 18**

At approximately 10:35 on a Saturday night, a cross was set afire on the lawn of an elderly retired black woman who recently moved into a predominantly white neighborhood.

- **Portsmouth, May 30**

At a playground, a 26-year-old white man fired seven shots with a pump shotgun at black children. Police arrived, questioned the shotgun man, but did not arrest him, saying he DID NOT pose a serious threat.

- **Portsmouth, June 4**

A 32-year-old black man found his 1986 Mazda RX7 messed up with spray paint. On the hood were words "NIGGER MOBILE" and a picture of male genitalia. On one door was a Ku Klux Klan insignia, and the other door had a picture of a pitchfork, the symbol of a satanic cult.

- **Portsmouth, June 4**

A 19-year-old white man was arrested for burning a cross on the front lawn of a 43-year-old black longshoreman who has lived at his present address for the last ten years.

- **Virginia Beach, June 30**

For the third time in a week, a Vietnamese man found his yard ripped apart and his house spray-painted with racial insults. The driveway was also painted with racial insults and had these words: "DIE HO CHEE" and "GO BACK TO CHINA SIGNORA."

- **Virginia Beach, July 11**

A cross was reported burning shortly before 6:40 a.m. The police traced the wood to a nearby resident's yard, where some gasoline also had been stored. These same police determined that the wood and gasoline had been stolen. The police sergeant's final assumption: "We don't think it is racially motivated because there are no black families living in the immediate area. But as a precaution, we did notify the FBI."

In the 1880s the Republicans withdrew the federal troops from the South and placed the control of law and order into the hands of the Ku Klux Klan. Today in the 1980s, while the control of black and poor people is a little more sophisticated, once again we see the nightriding of the Klan.

The Reagan administration continued with Bush (with the backing of the Democrats) and controls black and poor people with:

1) union-busting
2) gun control
3) the drug witchhunt
4) control of abortions and the death penalty
5) the green light to racist terror.

The union-busting got its strong start with the decertification of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in 1981. Sure, the leaders of PATCO made some bad decisions, but the AFL-CIO should never have let Ronald Reagan destroy a union. Labor had the power to shut down the airports and stop all traffic!

Gun control is a way to slowly take away the arms of all decent working people. Then black and poor people would be at the mercy of the local city police and the rest of the racists. Remember, lynching decreased when black people became owners of guns. Labor must destroy gun control. The police and National Guard troops are not geared to protect working people.

The drug testing of the workforce is just a way to control who works and who doesn't. If a shop or company wants to get rid of a militant worker, label this worker a drug user and he is gone. Want to have a family become homeless? Accuse just one member of the family of being a drug user and the landlord can request the door keys. Labor must stop the drug witchhunt.

The Supreme Court has shown its true face where abortions are concerned, by letting the decisions and welfare of women be made by men who care little or nothing about working women of today. Is it strange that every Congressman in Washington that is anti-abortion is for the death penalty?

The death penalty is the "legal" lynching of black and poor people. When the state wants to rid itself of an unwanted person, this person, guilty or not, can be placed on death row. Labor must defend the right for free abortions and fight to abolish the death penalty.

With the "go ahead" given to racists in the form of Congressmen, city councils, school board members, KKK and Nazi skinheads, and aided by Uncle Toms and other so-called black leaders, it is past time for labor to show its strength, unchained from the grip of the Democratic Party.

The labor movement of Tidewater must reorganize itself, not only to fight for jobs for the workers, but to fight racism in the communities throughout the area. To see racism and not organize against this wrong will only weaken you in every way and fashion.

Cliff Carter is a guest contributor to Workers Vanguard.

TROTSKY

Soviet Workers and Political Revolution

From East Europe to the USSR to China, the crisis of Stalinism has reached the point of explosion. The fundamental causes of that crisis were laid out more than 50 years ago by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in The Revolution Betrayed *(1936). The perspective of proletarian political revolution advanced by Trotsky was a keystone in his struggle to forge the Fourth International and return the Soviet Union to the internationalist road of the October Revolution.*

LENIN

Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union....

The revolution which the bureaucracy is preparing against itself will not be social, like the October revolution of 1917. It is not a question this time of changing the economic foundations of society, of replacing certain forms of property with other forms. History has known elsewhere not only social revolutions which substituted the bourgeois for the feudal regime, but also political revolutions which, without destroying the economic foundations of society, swept out an old ruling upper crust (1830 and 1848 in France, February 1917 in Russia, etc.). The overthrow of the Bonapartist caste will, of course, have deep social consequences, but in itself it will be confined within the limits of political revolution....

It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy....

If a bourgeoisie cannot peacefully grow into a socialist democracy, it is likewise true that a socialist state cannot peacefully merge with a world capitalist system. On the historic order of the day stands not the peaceful socialist development of "one country," but a long series of world disturbances: wars and revolutions. Disturbances are inevitable also in the domestic life of the Soviet Union. If the bureaucracy was compelled in its struggle for a planned economy to dekulakize the kulak, the working class will be compelled in its struggle for socialism to debureaucratize the bureaucracy. On the tomb of the latter will be inscribed the epitaph: "Here lies the theory of socialism in one country."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

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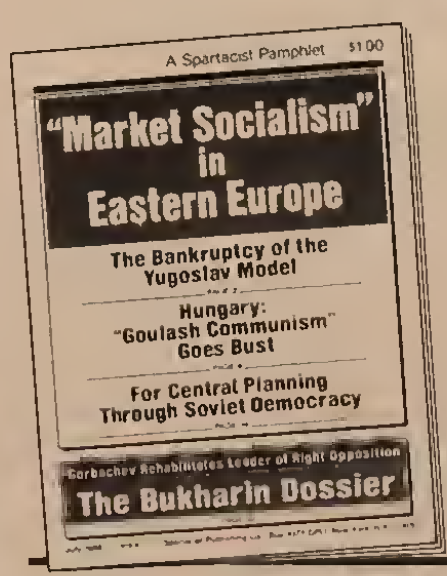

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A Reporter's Notebook

Afghan Soldiers Vow: "If They Come, We're Ready"

KABUL—Every day cities like Kabul, Kandahar and Khost are being hit by rockets. Frustrated by their humiliating defeat at Jalalabad, the *mujahedin* are taking it out on the civilian population, who are growing ever more outraged with the cowardly murderers and their masters in Islamabad and Washington.

On Saturday, July 22, six rockets killed 41 and injured 161 in Kabul. Then on Monday afternoon, a bomb exploded in a normally crowded restaurant a few hundred yards from the Jhumiat Hospital. On Wednesday, a bloodbath was narrowly averted at a vegetable market when shoppers noticed a box, which was found to contain five kilos of explosives. Two days later, 17 rockets hit the city, killing 10 and wounding 19.

We recently went to a huge kindergarten in the capital which had been hit by a rocket. Thankfully, there had been no casualties. When the teachers heard a rocket explode nearby, they quickly got all the kids—aged three months to six years—down to the basement. The windows were completely smashed—glass everywhere. It could have been a massacre.

The *mujahedin* are showing the signs of an army in disarray. Never united to begin with, they are now beginning to kill each other in a serious way. Earlier this month, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's gunmen ambushed a commando belonging to the Massoud faction, wiping out seven military commanders and another 23 men. This could signal a real blood feud. Let them kill each other!

In my third week in embattled Afghanistan, some other observations from this reporter's notebook:

* * *

July 19—The traditional hospitality of the Afghan people stands out even among the horrors of war, and it is doubled and tripled when they find out that this Western journalist is on their side against their counterrevolutionary enemies. Today, while I was walking by a guarded building in downtown Kabul, a soldier waved me over to drink tea with him, curious why a Westerner was not driving past in a car. Luckily, his comrades, standing guard with bayonets fixed, spoke Russian (one had studied in Stavropol, the other in Leningrad). They came over to translate when they learned I was opposed to the *mujahedin*. One of the soldiers invited me inside their billet to share their lunch, a tasty mix of some cereals with roasted potatoes, milk and cucumbers.

They all had lots of questions—this is very typical here, I get interviewed more than I can interview others. A young officer wanted to know about the status of women in the West. From the little that we could say to each other it was nevertheless clear that the other side of women's oppression is how miserable life is for the young men of Afghanistan. People on the dance floor never touch, women enter the buses from the front and men from the back, swimming pools are for boys and men only. We talked about Jalalabad and what this victory represents for working people the world over, how our campaign got an audience especially among women from every part of the globe. I talked about how the civil war had erupted over issues like equal rights for men and women and how every step toward social progress is always met with reactionary resistance.

When I was about to leave, the young captain told me how much he liked our conversation and offered a handshake and embrace and exchange of "tasakor" (thank you).

* * *

July 24—A visit to Watan's nursery, the main nursery in Kabul. It is enclosed in a large walled compound west of the city center, with a steep hill to the back. It houses 1,000, mostly boys, who have been orphaned by the war or come from poor families. Another nursery for girls is located in the southern part of Kabul near the Soviet embassy. There are some 60 such homes all over the country, which provide schooling and recreation and introduce the children to practical skills, like carpentry, mechanical work, carpet weaving and drawing. Occasionally the children are taken for excursions around Kabul.

Guardian (London)

Afghan militiawoman with Soviet-suppiied AK-47, ready to fight counterrevolutionary mujahedin.

The nursery is heavily guarded. This underlines the fact that in this country anything which represents culture and progress and the most elementary defense of human dignity—be it a nursery home, the national art gallery, a school—has to be protected against the counterrevolutionary cutthroats.

I also visited the Indira Gandhi Institute for Child Health. In the past year the Institute treated 3,525 war-wounded children. Most suffer from burns due to rockets or falling flares; 89 percent don't survive because their bodies are too weak to withstand the wounds they have received. "These are the pangs of a nation in the throes of war. The economy of a nation can be brought back on the rails, the infrastructure can be rebuilt, but what about the hundreds and thousands of innocent children who get wounded, their arms and limbs amputated?" said Dr. Abdul Salm Jalali, president of the Institute. "It will take decades to undo the destruction and damage being wrought on the society."

* * *

July 25—I was privileged to be present at a meeting of the Association of Families of Martyrs and Invalids, held at a hall of the Women's Council to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the country's independence. The association provides housing and other assistance for its 25,000 members. The president of the women's organization, a woman in her 60s, gave a very fighting speech. Other women spoke about how they came to lose their relatives. None of them wore the chador, although many had a scarf over their heads. One described how her family was attacked by *mujahedin* bandits on the road from Konar to Jalalabad. Her husband was killed and a little son died under a tank. Two of her daughters threw themselves into a river to die rather than be captured. She and the women with her waited for the enemy to return. Some of the women took small bombs and, knowing they would die at the same time, threw themselves at the murderers.

Not surprisingly, most of the women in the regular army battalions and in the new voluntary women's militia come from the association—they want revenge. Commander Shafiqa, a Russian-trained woman who runs the training center, told me very proudly when I met her that this is the first time in the history of Afghanistan that women have been allowed to set up military units. They currently have a battalion of 600, one of whose detachments was in Jalalabad. The battalion is also responsible for guarding schools and institutions where women study or work.

* * *

July 27—Accompanied by the head of the provincial youth organization, our armed escort and a translator from the press center, I visited a youth battalion made up of People's Democratic Party (PDPA) and Democratic Youth Organization (DYOA) members stationed near Koresimir, some ten to twelve kilometers north along the Charikar Road, which is now closed off but used to be the main link with Salang. Army artillery units were active while we were there, and the youth unit was preparing to pursue *mujahedin* in a nearby village. This is part of the defensive ring around Kabul.

Earlier, I met with general secretary Mazdak, the 30-year-old leader of the DYOA. A member of the youth organization since 1976, he spent a year in jail under the Daoud regime. I outlined our support for the Soviet intervention in 1979, our offer to organize international brigades after the Soviet withdrawal and our criticisms of the policy of "national reconciliation." All personnel in the DYOA have undergone military training; there is even a military HQ in their Central Committee offices. The armed forces have six independent regiments made up of PDPA and DYOA members.

At the Koresimir outpost today they welcomed my visit and explained that one of their main tasks is to prevent rocket attacks against Kabul. Khamayon, the unit's political commissar, told me how everybody predicted they would fall after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, but "Afghans are defending themselves everywhere"; the *mujahedin* are "afraid to fight with us face to face, that's why they hurl rockets against defenseless people." "They come, we are ready," he added.

Hassan heads the special "Partisia" group and has been a partisan leader for eight years. The partisans, often disguised, infiltrate areas where the counterrevolutionaries are active, and then strike at them. Hassan and some of his comrades were featured prominently in a front-page article in the youth paper. Nurallah, a 22-year-old political activist, wanted to know the opinions of ordinary people in the West. It was a pleasure for me to be able to say, on the basis of our concrete experience around the campaign for Jalalabad, that there are tens of thousands of people that care about the fight of the Afghan people against the reactionaries. I concluded by assuring them that I and my comrades would do all we can to help them to win victory over the counterrevolutionaries who would like to bring back the Middle Ages. ■

AP

Children in Kabul waiting for food. CIA-supplied terrorists target civilian population.

Soviet Workers...

(continued from page 1)

and vast income differences is social dynamite in the USSR with its deep collectivist heritage. When the workers enter the scene, we wrote, they will take aim at the parasitic bureaucracy which from Stalin on has usurped political power and whose policies ultimately threaten the very foundations of the Soviet workers state. Now imperialist spokesmen, blinded by the Solidarność experience into thinking that Soviet-bloc workers are a fertile field for anti-Communism, are beginning to wake up. But from an opposite class standpoint.

The *Times*' "analysis" suggested that Moscow think twice about the "price of buying peace in the coalfields" by concessions to workers interested in "instant gratification." This view from the most authoritative organ of the American bourgeoisie is of a piece with the line taken by the White House toward the recent crackdown in Beijing. While vote-conscious legislators called for sanctions, President Bush uttered a tut-tut while making sure the U.S.' trade ties, investments, military connections and intelligence listening posts along the Soviet border were secure. The imperialists' immediate concern is to pump billions in surplus value out of the deformed workers states; ultimately their aim is counterrevolution. Workers political revolution, toppling the Stalinist bureaucrats and returning the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, is the mortal enemy of their plans.

Riding the Siberian Tiger

The miners strikes which spread like wildfire across the USSR last month marked the gravest crisis in the four years of Gorbachev's regime. From the Kuzbass coal fields in Siberia to the Donbass in the Ukraine to Vorkuta in the far north, *half a million* miners walked off the job. In an irony of history, Donetsk workers shut down the Stakhanov mine, named for the Stalinist superworker who jacked up piece-rate norms for all Soviet workers by overfulfilling his daily quota. Thousands of strikers in hard hats jammed the city squares from Prokopyevsk to Donetsk in round-the-clock protests. A worried Gorbachev went on nationwide television three times with personal appeals to the miners, saying they had "good reasons" for "taking matters into their own hands" but urgently asking them to return to work. As the London *Financial Times* (24 July) put it, Gorbachev is "trying to ride the Siberian tiger." Now a rail strike is threatened.

The miners finally heeded Gorbachev's appeal. In the deal worked out with strike committee delegates who traveled to the Kremlin, the government granted sweeping concessions including bonuses for hardship and night work, higher pensions, longer vacations and promises of an extensive list of goods, from meat to soap, detergent, milk, coffee, tea, cloth, shoes, cars, refrigerators, bathtubs and toilets. The desperate shortage of consumer goods, the worst in recent Soviet memory, is one of the bitter fruits of perestroika as neither plan nor market function. To satisfy the mine strike settlement, Moscow had to dispatch a government delegation on a shopping trip to the West. Deputy prime minister Aleksandra Biryukova purchased $58 million in pharmaceuticals and $108 million in consumer goods, including 30 million pairs of pantyhose. The total price tag for the concessions is estimated at $8 billion. But this is only the tip of the iceberg: what of the needs of millions of other Soviet workers?

Conservative columnist William Safire wrote that "It would be ironic if Mr. Gorbachev... should slip on a cake of soap" (*New York Times*, 20 July). But, as a member of the Supreme Soviet from the Donbass, Aleksei Boika, said, "The people have been driven to the streets not by a shortage of soap, but by a shortage of justice." He added, "The miners of Donetsk trust nobody and nothing. This is what we have come to ...there is no protection, not from the work councils, not from the unions, not from the party committees." Thus from the beginning, the miners movement threw up elected strike committees, recallable at any time, whose work was overseen by mass workers assemblies. These are the embryos of soviets. The strike committees will be maintained as workers commissions to monitor the fulfilling of the concessions, and as a reminder that the workers' muscle can be flexed again.

Der Spiegel

Mammoth miners strike rally in Mezhdurechensk, July 13. The Soviet workers have awakened.

The government conceded the miners' demand for the right of individual mines to sell excess coal abroad after their plan delivery quota is met. This is a dangerous demand, ultimately threatening the state monopoly of foreign trade, which Lenin established as a cornerstone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, the workers may not like what they get. Soviet miners are relatively highly paid while Soviet mines are comparatively inefficient, so their coal may not be competitive on the world market. The logic of the market would dictate pay cuts. We warned in our last issue that the demand for enterprise autonomy could spell unemployment. Some miners are already realizing this. In the Kuzbass a Western reporter went down in the shafts, where a miner told him:

> "No one's paying any attention to the fact that this mine is the worst around the Kemerovo region. It's exhausted. There are two villages to feed, and we're going to be out of coal in a few years. Some of the mines have no coal left in them at all. We've got to talk about redundant work."

Under the system of each mine on its own, miners may find themselves out of a job.

The Western press at first hoped that the outbreak of workers strikes in the Soviet Union presaged the formation of a new Solidarność, the anti-Communist, pro-imperialist, Polish-nationalist, company "union" of the CIA and the Vatican. But when the U.S.-financed "Democratic Union" tried to raise its head in the Kuzbass, its spokesman was hooted off the platform. The only place where the name Solidarity has been proposed is in the formerly Polish western Ukraine. When a strike committee member in Novokuznetsk (the former Stalinsk) said "we are the new Solidarity," the chairman begged to differ. "Workers in Gdansk had many political demands. We are putting forward only economic ones." In fact, the Soviet coal strikers have formulated political demands from the outset, but of a markedly different kind. The Kuzbass miners called for abolition of all special privileges for the bureaucracy and for a new Soviet constitution, to be prepared and publicly discussed by 7 November 1990, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In Vorkuta, strikers called for power to the elected soviets and for abrogating Article 6 of the Stalin-Bukharin constitution consecrating the political monopoly of the Communist Party. The Stalinist CP is not a workers party but the political vehicle of the bureaucracy. On the other hand, Gorbachev's refurbished "soviets" are hardly the revolutionary workers councils of 1905 and 1917 but pseudo-parliamentary talk shops. Indeed, the Kuzbass strikes grew out of frustration with the recent meeting of the new Soviet congress in June. One miner in the Kuzbass told the *Financial Times* that the workers had been waiting for results ever since 1985, when Gorbachev came to power.

> "Then, the Congress of Deputies began. The workers expected something concrete to be decided. We were all waiting for something important. Every day people watched. They saw how people talked and talked, and took no decisions. The people had just had enough."

All "glasnost," no action. What's needed is a fight for real soviets! Not debating societies, but organs of workers' struggle, led by a genuine communist vanguard, to become the basis of a revolutionary regime of soviet democracy.

Baltic Nationalism and the Danger of Capitalist Restoration

Meanwhile, raging nationalist turmoil is threatening to tear the Soviet Union apart. In the Black Sea region of Abkhazia, 20 people including three policemen have been killed in the last month in ethnic clashes between Abkhazians and Georgians. Strikes in the regional capital of Sukhumi have stopped most rail traffic to the Caucasus. More than 1,500 weapons were reportedly seized in raids on police stations by Abkhazian nationalists who are demanding secession from Soviet Georgia. In the Georgian capital of Tbilisi on July 24, there was a general strike and march through the capital of some 20,000 Georgian nationalists waving flags and shouting "Long live free Georgia, Down with the Russian Empire" and "Invaders go home." Interior ministry troops have been stationed in the area to prevent ethnic pogroms, as with the dispute between Armenians and Azerbaijanis to the south.

For decades, from the beginning of Stalin's rule, the Kremlin has pursued a nationalist course which reflects itself at home in Great Russian chauvinism toward the other peoples of the multinational Soviet state. The bankrupt policies of the Stalinist regime have generated powerful tendencies for the restoration of capitalism, which are going under the cover of national self-determination. While in the Caucasus and Central Asia ethnic pogroms have been set off as various nationalities squabble over their share of the pie in the framework of "market socialism," in the Baltic republics the nationalist movements are blatantly heading toward counterrevolution, with the support of local CP leaders. And last week the USSR Supreme Soviet gave preliminary approval, with the support of the Gorbachev leadership, to a law for the economic autonomy of Estonia and Lithuania that represents the first step on the road to independence.

Simultaneously there was a four-day general strike in Estonia, called by the "International Movement," against a new proposed law which would effectively bar Russian workers from local and republic elections. Estonian nationalists cooked up this chauvinist legislation, which would require voters to have two years residency, and candidates must have lived in the republic for 15 years! Already, a law making Estonian the sole "official language" was passed in January. This is a proposal to disenfranchise and deprive of their rights nearly *half* of the population of Estonia, which includes several hundred thousand Russian-speaking residents as well as 200,000 Soviet troops stationed in the area. Most industrial workers in the republic are Russian, and the walkout included thousands of workers at the Tallinn shipyards. Similar national-chauvinist proposals have been raised by the "People's Front" in Latvia and the Sajudis of Lithuania, including calls for a ban on immigration by Russians.

The "economic reform" plan for Estonia and Lithuania debated in the Supreme Soviet is a frontal attack on central planning. Under the law, which is supposed to be a pilot plan for perestroika, the Baltic republics would raise their own taxes, set prices, control financial markets and foreign trade, and eventually issue their own currency. Hoping to build a "market economy" based on agriculture and light industry, advocates of this plan seek to build a system "resembling Finland or Sweden more than the traditional Soviet model," the *New York Times* (28 July) reports. Yet their own tiny markets are far too narrow to support an industrial economy, and even the nationalists don't think they can produce quality goods up to international capitalist standards. Their main market is to be the Soviet Union and, says the *Times*, "success of the plan, Baltic economists admit, depends heavily on the ability to lure foreign investment to help modernize and develop new industries."

This means the Baltic republics would become neocolonies of Western imperialism, just like they were in the period between 1920 and 1940. Today reactionary "captive nations" nationalists and social democrats mourn the demise of these nasty statelets, dominated by German and British capital, where fascistic nationalists dominated the universities while Jews were restricted under the *numerus clausus*, and "independence" came under the protection of British naval guns while Communists were slaughtered. In World War II, Bal-

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated September 1.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Auto Workers Shafted at Smyrna

It was *the* vote on organizing auto in the South. The labor-haters at Nissan ran an all-out campaign to defeat the United Auto Workers whatever the cost. And the labor *traitors* at Solidarity House *let them get away with it*. Bieber's boys had nothing to offer—they couldn't even show the union made a difference. How could they, after giving away *billions* to Chrysler, Ford and GM in the last decade? The UAW tops lost this one big, by more than two to one. *All labor will pay for the defeat.* Nissan's Smyrna plant will soon be the largest assembly plant in the U.S. Like new plants being constructed by Honda, Toyota *and GM*, it was sited in the rural South to *exclude* militant and black and union-conscious workers. Nissan, like the others, hires a far smaller percentage of black workers than live in the surrounding area. The plant has been open for *six years*, the one millionth vehicle rolled off the line last month. But for six years *the UAW did nothing to fight Nissan's racism.*

Crippling back and carpal tunnel injuries at Nissan are the direct result of the grueling pace of the "team" system of production. But "teaming up" with the boss is exactly what Solidarity House is ramming down the throats of auto workers across the country. South of Nashville, just a few miles from Smyrna, GM's new Saturn plant will be the "model" of the UAW bureaucracy's sweetheart "teamwork" schemes, which rip up seniority rights and any union defense on the shop-floor. The UAW tops aren't union organizers, *they're union wreckers.*

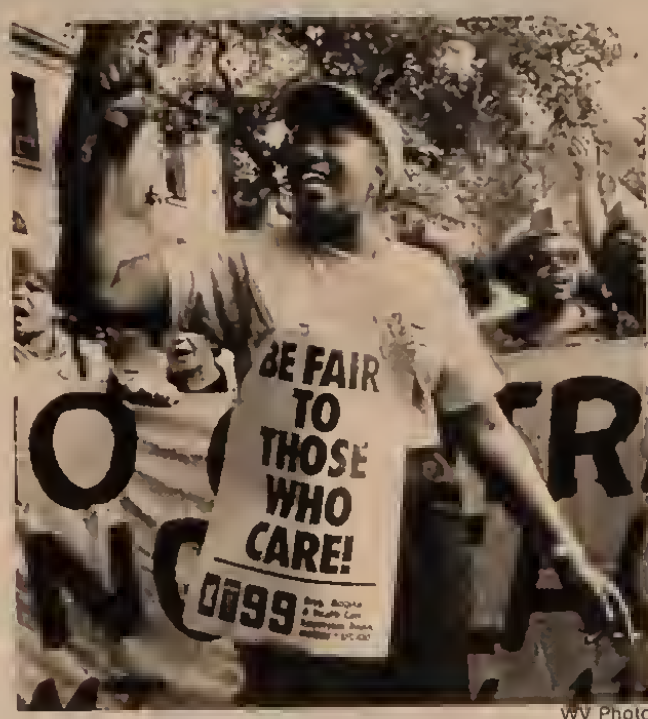
Criminally, the union went ahead with the vote *knowing they were going to get routed.* The *Wall Street Journal* (28 July) spilled the beans: "Before the vote UAW officials conceded privately that they expected to lose." Just a month before the vote, UAW president Owen Bieber was cynically trumpeting the organizing drive at the UAW convention in California. Now workers who put everything on the line for the union face Nissan's retaliation, while the bureaucrats can safely retreat to "Sacrifice House."

Since former UAW chief Doug Fraser joined the Chrysler board of directors, the UAW tops have openly been company cops, enforcing giveback robbery and layoffs, whipsawing one union local against another. Over 500,000 auto union jobs gone, labor/black Detroit decimated. And it's all done under the labor traitors' rabid protectionist program: the lie that workers must unite with their exploiters to "protect American jobs." How are you going to organize workers slaving away for Nissan, Toyota or Honda with that racist crap? The only things the bureaucrats have "protected" are capitalist profits and their own privileges.

And the "New Directions" gang, the lash-up of reformists and out-bureaucrats on the make? They peddle the same protectionist poison against workers in Mexico, Korea and Japan. The racist, open-shop South can be broken, but it will take the kind of class-struggle tactics that built the UAW—like "hot-cargoing," mass picket lines and sitdown strikes.

NYC Hospital Workers Call Three-Day Strike

In the second one-day strike by Local 1199 in two weeks, more than 15,000 NYC health care workers massed on July 24 outside St. Luke's Hospital in Harlem, then marched crosstown to Mt. Sinai. The fight by



WV Photo

1199 workers rally, July 24. NYC hospital workers need solid citywide strike to win big.

the low-paid, overwhelmingly black and Latin hospital workers is a fight for decent health care for all. 1199 president Dennis Rivera says that starting August 14, the union will strike for three days, kicking off with a mass march from City Hall to Battery Park.

The hospital union's members have been working without a contract at 53 hospitals and nursing homes since July 1. On the picket line at St. Luke's, before striking workers from other hospitals arrived, picket captains tried to lead chants of "No Contract, No Peace," pushing the 1199 leadership's program of civil disobedience stunts instead of strike action. But the strikers began to chant "No Contract, *No Work*" instead.

Rivera had vowed that the rally outside St. Luke's would be "the largest picket line that has ever circled a hospital in the world." But he caved in to a state court order obtained by the League of Voluntary Hospitals prohibiting pickets in front of hospital entrances, and scabs were able to enter unimpeded.

The 1199 leadership is pleading with the hospital bosses to "Do the Right Thing" by settling for the same contract negotiated at the city's Catholic hospitals, a contract which *gives up* pension money in return for an 8.5 percent a year raise. And at a July 20 hospital workers rally at Riverside Church, Jesse Jackson told workers to "Do the Right Thing" by voting for Democratic mayoral candidate David Dinkins.

But empty slogans, pressure tactics and relying on Democratic Party politicians like Dinkins and Jackson, and Governor Cuomo, won't beat the bosses. They're hardlining it, and they have the capitalist courts and cops behind them. What's needed is a solid strike of *all* New York City health care workers, including AFSCME workers in the public hospitals. Mobilize NYC labor to swell the picket lines in what would be a hugely popular struggle. For a whopping wage increase and free, quality health care for all!

For a National Coal Strike!

After wildcats in defense of the striking Pittston miners spread across ten states for over a month, the United Mine Workers tops called a "memorial period" to squelch what had become a virtual national UMW strike. West Virginia miners, who had been the first to shut down the mines in June, were finally pushed back to work by union president Richard Trumka in mid-July, as the courts and labor board handed down massive injunctions.

Across the Appalachian coal fields, the war on the UMW continues unabated. Jails continue to fill up with Pittston miners, their families and supporters. Fines against the UMW have soared into millions of dollars. An army of armed thugs and state police (called "Pittston's blue lights" by the miners) have put coal towns in southwest Virginia under virtual martial law. But Trumka, who likes to brag that he goes "up to see the good people on the hill in Washington D.C. wearing my camouflage tie," continues to beg from the Democratic Party and labor boards.

The Pittston strike can and must be won. Reportedly, a "heated" meeting of the UMW executive board held in Virginia last week debated a call for a national coal strike. But Trumka, with his "selective strikes" and impotent civil disobedience, has hamstrung this fight from the beginning. This is class war, and miners need a leadership that is willing to fight. Delegations from every section and district of the UMW—miners, pensioners, the Daughters of Mother Jones auxiliary—should meet in Camp Solidarity, organize an all-out national strike and appeal for solidarity *action* from other unionists.

Steel workers in Pennsylvania shut their plant down when UMW pickets arrived. Hundreds of other unionists have come to Camp Solidarity to fight alongside the miners. The miners must tap this power. For a real national coal strike, with roving pickets dispatched to shut down steel mills and power plants across the East and Midwest! Hot-cargo scab coal! Victory to the Pittston strike! ■

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tic nationalists welcomed the Nazi invaders, and retreated with the SS when they were driven out by the heroic resistance of the Red Army and the Soviet peoples. Now they are trying to attract Swedish, West German and American capital in the name of "democracy." In the heyday of Solidarność it was said that the Poles wanted to live like West Germans and work like Russians. Well, the Baltic nationalists want to live like Swedes and *exploit* the Russians!

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

In his annual July 26 speech, Fidel Castro raised a cry of alarm about crisis in the Soviet bloc. Developments in Poland and Hungary, he said, "lead one to think of a peaceful passage from socialism to capitalism." Cuba can no longer rely on "the supplies which have been arriving like clockwork from the socialist camp for 30 years," he said. The Bush administration has "shown a triumphalist attitude like no other U.S. government, not even Reagan's." And as for the Soviet Union, Castro remarked: "If one day we wake up to the news that the Soviet Union has disintegrated, something we hope will never occur, Cuba and the Cuban Revolution will continue to fight and resist." As Trotskyists we don't view things from the same vantage point as Castro, who stands at the head of a bureaucracy that claims to be building socialism in one island and has dug in to weather some strong winds coming from the north. But neither are we worlds apart, and we share some common concerns.

And with his connections, maybe Castro knows something we don't. The very next day the Supreme Soviet in Moscow approved the Baltic economic "autonomy" law. And now an ultra-perestroika "Inter-Regional Group" has formed in the Supreme Soviet, led by Communist Party "maverick" Boris Yeltsin and pro-imperialist "dissident" Andrei Sakharov. Although the group is described as "left-radical" in the official Soviet media, its politics point instead to Western social democracy. Historian Yuri Afanasyev, one of the Inter-Regional Group spokesmen, called in a press conference for rethinking socialism, "from Jesus Christ, through Lenin's death agony, to contemporary social democracy" (*Financial Times*, 31 July). During the recent coal strikes, Yeltsin went on national TV appealing to the miners to go back to work. And as Moscow party chief, in 1987 the "populist" Yeltsin met with the sinister Russian nationalists of Pamyat, thus giving credence to this dangerous fascistic outfit.

The "triumphalism" of American imperialism is palpable. Bush just returned from a trip to Poland, where he spoke before a crowd at Gdansk in which members of "Fighting Solidarity" carried signs proclaiming "A Good Communist Is a Dead Communist," and to Hungary, where the American president chortled that Marx's *Capital* is no longer required reading at Karl Marx University. Gorbachev's response to this flaunting of American imperial arrogance was a belly-crawling letter to the Western economic summit in Paris, in which the Soviet leader called for the USSR's "full and entire participation in the world economy." With his plans for making the ruble convertible, and appeals to the imperialists that they "can only gain from the opening up of a market as big as the Soviet Union," Gorbachev is offering an open door to capitalist exploitation.

Unlike Castro, Trotskyists understand full well that counterrevolution would be anything but peaceful. And it's anything but inevitable. What's posed for the Soviet proletariat is fighting a civil war from Jalalabad to Riga to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution. While Gorbachev ignominiously withdrew Soviet forces from Afghanistan in order to appease imperialism, there are recent reports from Moscow that "Soviet veterans of the Afghanistan war have asked the Central Committee of the CP to be allowed to return there with a voluntary division" to fight the counterrevolutionaries (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 July). We Trotskyists wholeheartedly supported Soviet intervention in the face of imperialist reaction and were outspoken in denouncing the pullout as a betrayal of internationalism.

With the miners strikes of July 1989, the Soviet workers dramatically returned to the political scene with a display of proletarian power that shook the Kremlin bureaucrats of all factions and cliques as well as the imperialist bourgeoisies. Under revolutionary leadership, this is the decisive force which will determine the fate of the Soviet Union, together with the struggles of their class brothers and sisters throughout the world. Their urgent need is to reclaim the banner of Bolshevism, the program of world socialist revolution, which we Fourth Internationalists of the International Communist League also take as our own. ■

China...

(continued from page 1)

autonomous trade unions that have sprung up. Thousands of others are in hiding all throughout the country.

It's very significant that the regime has struck out first and foremost at the workers. The first executions, in Shanghai on June 21, claimed three young workers. The next day, seven Beijing demonstrators were shot. They were all workers as well. And in Jilin, 17 were killed. Deng's bloody terror is a monstrous crime, and partisans of the working class everywhere must demand a stop to the executions.

But you have to ask, why is it that all the executions to date are of workers—and most arrests as well—when it was the students who touched off this whole series of demonstrations? Some of the papers have suggested that students traditionally have this very privileged status in China, and in fact the leaders of the demonstrations largely came from the families of the governing bureaucrats themselves. However, the fundamental reason is that while the students were the spark, it was the workers' social power that immediately threatened the bureaucrats' grip on Chinese society.

As revolutionary Marxists, as internationalists, we must pose the way forward for the next wave of battles which will inevitably grow out of the current situation. We have to ask: what kind of government must replace the hated, discredited regime of Deng Xiaoping?

Chung-Asiaweek

Sea of protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, May 1989. Hundreds of thousands of voices sang the Internationale.

AP Photos

Tanks in Tiananmen Square (above) and victims of crackdown. Deng's provocative massacre sparked beginning of proletarian political revolution.

Deng's Big Lie

When Deng finally resurfaced on June 9, his first act was to speak to the Military Commission, where he congratulated them on their "victory" in Tiananmen Square. And what did he say? Well, first of all, there's this Big Lie: the army didn't kill anyone, it was the people who fired at the army. Secondly, Deng says, the student demonstrations were intended to "overthrow the communist party and the socialist system, subvert the People's Republic of China and establish a bourgeois republic." When you read the bourgeois press, they say the very same thing: the demonstrations were a unanimous cry for Western-style democracy, for the free market, for capitalism. Not only the bourgeois press, but sections of the left in this country said this, like the Workers World Party of Sam Marcy, which historically has denounced all working-class uprisings against Stalinism as inevitably feeding into capitalist counterrevolution.

The Spartacist League said that it was a massive outpouring of defiance which signaled the beginning of a proletarian political revolution in China. We need to explain that, because that's a uniquely Trotskyist conception. The first thing to state, very clearly, is that this was not an attempt to restore capitalism. For Deng Xiaoping to call the students counterrevolutionary and pro-capitalist is at the very least the most incredible hypocrisy. This is a man whose favorite slogan is "To get rich is glorious," whose entire program revolves around a deal with the United States and with Japanese imperialism, opening up wide areas of China for their exploitation. And he's accusing the demonstrators of trying to bring back capitalism!

It's very true that the demonstrators had plenty of illusions. They had illusions in the United States, and in so-called Western democracy. Yes, they did listen to the Voice of America and to the BBC. There were certainly pro-capitalist elements that were active in the demonstrations, but whenever those forces appeared to try to take over those protests, they were defeated. There's one anecdote that I think captures it very well, from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (11 June): after the troops started firing on the demonstrators, there was shock, then, "Gradually, the chants of 'Tu Fei, Tu Fei'—the old nationalist cry of 'Communist handit'—grew louder and louder. Then they stopped and men in tears began singing the *Internationale*." And every time you turned on the news, that's what you heard, the *Internationale*, the international socialist anthem. When Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng, the premier, were denounced by the students, they were not denounced as communists—they were denounced as fascists and as reactionaries.

This is very unlike a real counterrevolutionary organization like Solidarność in Poland, which glorifies the prewar fascistic regime of Pilsudski and carries his portrait in their demonstrations. You did not see posters of Chiang Kai-shek, you did not see the Kuomintang flag in Beijing. The students were not aiming to overturn socialism. They were angered at the corruption, and they wanted more democracy as they understood it, in political and social life. And that's why we say it was the start of a political revolution, a revolution whose only outcome, to be successful, would have to lead to ousting the Beijing bureaucracy and replacing it with the democratic rule of workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' councils defending the collectivized property.

Our program is based on our understanding of what the Chinese People's Republic is. It is a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Despite all the encroachments by capitalism, it's still a workers state in that its basic economic forms, the state-owned industry and state-owned land, are the basis of a planned economy, the necessary economic foundations for any workers' dictatorship. The creation of the People's Republic in 1949, which will celebrate its 40th anniversary on October 1, was a revolution against imperialist subjugation of China; it threw out the bloody Chiang Kai-shek regime, led to the expropriation of the capitalists, finally united the country, gave land to the peasantry—a revolution that took years of bloody civil war to accomplish. Certainly the working people of China know far too well what Chiang Kai-shek stands for, and they don't want his tyranny back.

But the revolution and the state it created was deformed from the beginning. The Communist Party in China, in fact, really is communist only in name. It rode to power not on the basis of a proletarian insurrection, but through guerrilla warfare based on the peasantry. It was the peasant-based Red Army that seized power in 1949. And when it finally marched into Shanghai and other cities, it made sure that the working class was kept down. The workers never played an independent political role in that revolution. So the regime that took over, led by Mao, was basically a bureaucratic military caste that knows only one way to rule society—through commandism. It was a state that was modeled on Stalin's Russia, where in 1923-24 a conservative bureaucracy seized control of the young workers state through a political counterrevolution.

The Stalinist Bureaucracy—A Fragile Caste

Deng's violent repression of the workers at the very first sign of their resistance shows not the strength of that regime, but its *extreme fragility*. Its power stems from monopolizing political control of a workers state, a state based on collectivized property. In fact, the Stalinist bureaucracy rules in place of the proletariat, and *in contradiction* to the very working-class basis of that society. What they do is they conduct a very delicate balancing act between the proletariat and imperialism, which seeks nothing less than the overthrow of socialized property, which seeks nothing less than capitalist re-enslavement of the masses. That's why Deng Xiaoping cannot stand any independent mobilization of the workers. That will ruin his balancing act. And the bureaucrats know it could only spread too quickly and just shatter their rule.

Now, there's a good example of how this can happen, which is Hungary 1956. It's in the news now, because there's been this drama over the reburial of the body of Imre Nagy, who was the liberal reform Stalinist who headed the country and was hanged in 1958 after the defeat of the Hungarian workers' uprising. Hungary was the peak of a working-class insurgency that swept through Eastern Europe. First you had the German workers in '53, then Poland in '56, and then Hungary the same year.

The Hungarian workers' uprising started as a show of support to Nagy against the old hardline Stalinist regime.

Viktor Bulla

Putilov factory workers voting for delegates to Petrograd Soviet, 1920. Banner reads, "Long live the holiday of the international army of labor." Chinese workers need soviet democracy, Bolshevik internationalism.

There was a series of demonstrations, leading to one where Stalin's hust ended up just lying on the ground in the center of Budapest. What happened when the workers overturned that statue and threw it to the ground is that the secret police started machine-gunning them down. And that touched off uprisings all throughout the country. The workers armed themselves and they formed workers' councils throughout the country.

The Communist Party apparatus shattered—80 percent went over to the side of the workers' councils—which really points up its contradictory nature, as opposed to a capitalist ruling class. You would never see even a tiny fraction of the capitalists go over to the workers against capitalism. Like the Chinese workers and students, the Hungarian workers also had plenty of illusions in the West. They were influenced by bourgeois nationalism. But every time fascist or openly counterrevolutionary elements appeared, they were defeated by the workers. The workers' councils eventually declared for international socialism. Some of them even called for the councils to take power. The only way the Stalinists could suppress the uprising was to use the Soviet army; twice, because the first time there was too much fraternization between the troops and the Hungarian workers. And, by the way, the first government to applaud the crushing of the Hungarian workers was Mao's government. He sent Chou En-lai to Moscow to make that clear.

Now around the events in Tiananmen Square, we called for the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils. And that's not some pie-in-the-sky notion. You had tens of thousands of workers, whole work units from the factories marching en masse, as a unit, to those demonstrations. The workers' councils, what were called soviets in Russia, are quite appropriate to such generalized uprisings. When they did arise in Russia it was to coordinate strike actions in the 1905 Revolution. Workers' soviets are based on the power that workers have at the point of production. They pose the question of who should rule that society. In Russia in 1917 that question was answered through the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of the first workers state, based on the workers' and peasants' councils.

Now why didn't the Hungarian workers succeed in taking power on the basis of their soviets? The critical element they lacked was the revolutionary leadership that the Russian workers in 1917 had, a tested Bolshevik party that could show the way forward, that could pose how to seize power. And that is in fact the central lesson of the events in China: the Chinese working masses also need that kind of Bolshevik party, if they are to be successful.

Financial Times

Deng says "To get rich is glorious." Consumer goods are available, but not for Chinese workers.

AP

Stalin statue toppled in Budapest, 1956. Bureaucratic apparatus was shattered by Hungarian political revolution.

China in Crisis

Right now the Deng regime would have you think that it's back in the saddle. You know, it has just reshuffled the government; it has appointed a new party leader, the former Shanghai boss Jiang Zemin. In fact it's faced with a situation of extreme instability. There is an underlying economic crisis behind the crisis of the political regime, a product of Deng's so-called "open door" policy. First of all, in the countryside right now land is still technically owned by the state, but they long ago broke up the people's communes, and they lease land to individual peasant families. That's created a very sharp class differentiation in the countryside, so that on the very same street, or the very same neighborhood, you'll have rich peasants who have benefited from these pro-capitalist measures, living side by side with poor peasants who have lost out. Huge resentment is building up.

Furthermore, the peasants now depend mostly on sales of their produce in the private markets, where they get a better deal. When the state tries to buy agricultural goods, it's pretty hard because they're chronically short of cash, and recently they resorted to issuing worthless IOU's to the peasantry. That's building up to a tremendous crisis in agriculture. In fact it was reported on June 14 that the martial law authorities dispatched troops to the countryside to harvest wheat and to move the food into the cities, because they rightly feared that food shortages were on the way, which would mean price hikes, and that would simply inflame the situation again.

Then there's inflation, a very sore spot among the workers, who have a fixed income. Last year was the first time that China saw double-digit inflation in almost 40 years. This year it's estimated to be 30 percent. And all these unemployed workers who flocked to the demonstrations—where did they come from? Article 42 of the Chinese Constitution proclaims guaranteed lifetime employment for China's workers; it's what is called the "iron rice bowl." But the dislocation that went on in the countryside shook loose a lot of poor peasants and they're flocking to the urban areas.

Furthermore, the way that Deng Xiaoping has largely dismantled centralized economic planning means that if individual factory managers don't show a lot of output, they can fire workers, lay off workers. Unemployment is an extremely explosive issue right now. They're also letting factories go bankrupt if they can't turn a so-called profit, except the government has not closed a single factory under that new law, precisely because they fear the workers' resistance to such a measure. One writer, Orville Schell, called it the "Chapter 11 revolution." When he visited China in 1986, he saw a newspaper that said, "Bankruptcy Improves Businesses."

So you're getting to see what Deng's "building socialism with capitalist methods" really means. It's brought back some of the most hateful institutions of prerevolutionary China—child labor, prostitution. Then you have the return of what used to be called foreign concessions, basically a whole network of wealthy playgrounds for rich foreigners. Schell describes one of them in his book *Discos and Democracy*, the Zhongshan Hot Springs Golf Club (designed by Arnold Palmer, no less) where, he says, "while shooting down a fairway, one could pause to admire picturesque Chinese peasants plowing their rice fields with water buffalo." This is literally a picture you could have taken from the China of 60 years ago.

There's another important factor of instability. It's a certain political awakening. In 1978 when Deng Xiaoping first got back in the saddle, students went out in demonstrations and said, "Hello, Xiaoping." That was their chant, calling him familiarly by his given name, which they've never done to a Chinese leader in the past. Now he's the most hated man in China, next to Li Peng probably. When the current wave of demonstrations first broke out, students were not really opposed to the government. What they were doing was appealing to those in the regime they saw as their friends. But how about Zhao Ziyang, who they were looking up to as a fighter against corruption and bureaucratism? Zhao was one of the main architects of the economic reforms like the bankruptcy law in 1987. And corruption? Zhao's two sons are two of the wealthiest men in China now.

The demonstrators' illusion that they would find a solution by pressuring for change at the top was utterly shattered on June 4, under the bodies at Tiananmen Square. The next uprising will be fundamentally different.

For Workers Democracy—For Lenin's Communism!

I also want to talk about the illusions that the students showed in Western-style democracy. Democracy is a very vague term, and many people mean many things by it. As Marxists, we understand there is no such thing as a classless, pure, abstract democracy. Democracy here and in West Europe was a product of revolutionary struggles against feudalism, and in this country against slavery, and it provided a political framework for the development of capitalist class society. Today the capitalist state tolerates democratic institutions just so long as their rule is not in jeopardy. When their rule is in jeopardy, you get something like Chile 1973. There you had a self-described Marxist elected president who didn't even talk about building socialism but was seen as enough of a threat by the United States for it to help sponsor the bloody coup by Pinochet that unleashed the last 16 years of terror.

For the Chinese people, there is an alternative. It's the workers democracy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, when the workers seized power and built their state on the basis of workers' and peasants' soviets, the revolution that inspired the founders of Chinese communism. That's why we say in China today, workers' and soldiers' soviets must rule.

We have another slogan: "For Lenin's Communism." In fact, what the Chinese people know of communism is the Stalinist perversion of the communist program. You know, a whole wave of radicals in the '60s and the early '70s looked to Maoism as a revolutionary alternative to the conservative policies of Brezhnev and the Kremlin. Today, aside from bizarre sects like the Avakianite Revolutionary Communist Party, Maoism is utterly discredited. Its image, its following, was basically ruined when Mao embraced Kissinger and Nixon in Beijing while American bombers rained death and destruction on Vietnam. But Maoism never amounted to more than Stalinism as applied to a peasant country.

Mao's peasant-based Stalinism arose out of the greatest defeat the workers of China ever suffered, which was in the failed revolution of 1925-27 and the Shanghai massacre of 1927. The CP was founded in 1921 with one or two dozen intellectuals who had their origins in the radical bourgeois-nationalist May 4 [1919] Movement. Under the impact of the Russian Revolution, a section of these radical intellectuals was won over to Bolshevism, to a program of world

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AFP

Shanghai worker condemned to death for protesting massacre.

China...

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workers revolution to liberate their country. By 1924, they had grown to be the mass party of the Chinese proletariat. But Stalin and Bukharin ordered the Communist Party to liquidate into the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, and even made Chiang an honorary member of the Comintern. The result was that in 1927 Chiang's Nationalist Army turned on a disarmed CP, unleashing a horrific bloodbath. Tens of thousands of Communist workers were killed. It was a blow that beheaded the Chinese proletariat literally and politically, a blow from which, in a sense, they've never fully recovered.

Many Chinese Communist militants discovered that in the USSR Trotsky had fought that policy of disaster all along. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Peng Shu-tse and others fought for Chinese Trotskyism under the most horrible conditions, ending up first in Chiang's jails, then in Mao's. The rest of the party fled the cities for the countryside and concentrated on organizing the peasantry. In the process they transformed the party from a Communist workers party into a peasant guerrilla army with a peasant nationalist program. It was in this period that Mao took control of the party. With the Japanese invasion of China, it was Mao's Red Army that fought them. All this time, Mao was calling for a coalition government with Chiang Kai-shek, but despite these appeals the Chinese bourgeoisie decided to flee to Hong Kong and Taiwan after the war. The Kuomintang regime basically disintegrated, ravaged by its own corruption. In 1949 Mao's Red Army seized power and, to counter the pressure of American imperialism, finally expropriated the Chinese capitalists.

If it was absurd for Stalin to talk about building "socialism in one country" in the USSR, it's doubly absurd for the Chinese Stalinists to believe they can build it in their extremely backward and poor country. What it takes in fact is workers revolution throughout the world, an international division of labor based on a common economic plan, to take advantage of the advanced economies, like Japan especially, which is the powerhouse of Asia. But the Stalinists wanted to make China modern, rich and powerful on their own. And that is basically what explains the zigzags that have taken place since 1949, from the Great Leap Forward in the mid-1950s, where Mao tried to forge a modern power by increasing the load of labor on the peasants' shoulders. And all that did was lead to a massive economic collapse where you had widespread starvation in the countryside. It also meant that Mao lost tremendous prestige in the Party. Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping were then in the ascendancy, and they proceeded to dismantle the people's communes and reverse a lot of the measures that Mao had taken.

That laid the basis for what was called the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," which was nothing more than Mao's attempt to get back as head of the Communist Party. It was a giant faction fight, where Mao mobilized basically the students, the Red Guards, with the support of the People's Liberation Army led by Lin Piao, against the bureaucracy of Liu Shao-chi, based mostly on the trade unions, as well as the party bureaucracy. When the Red Guards moved to "revolutionize" the PLA, Mao sent them off to the countryside—he was saying, don't touch my army.

When Mao died in 1976, Deng took over, purging Mao's wife and the "Gang of Four." Deng came in preaching his gospel of "Four Modernizations," his gospel of reaching the level of the West by the year 2000. He appealed to the self-interest of the middle-class elements especially. He coined a slogan, "To get rich is glorious." After Deng initiated his market reform policies, there was in fact a boom that lasted quite a few years, but now we're seeing the price the workers are paying for that boom. It's coming home to roost.

A Mondadori

no credit

Armed workers militia in Shanghai, 1927 (left). Stalin's class-collaborationist policy of subordinating Chinese CP to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang led to mass slaughter of Communist workers.

Down with China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism!

The lesson here is that whatever wrenching faction fights took place between different wings of the Chinese bureaucracy, they were really agreed on fundamentals. And one thing that really proves it is China's utterly reactionary, counterrevolutionary alliance with the United States, which arose out of the nationalist rivalry between the Chinese and Soviet Stalinist bureaucracies. As I said, back in 1969 Maoism was all the rage on the left. The Spartacist League, though, said, "we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China." That's exactly what happened, and that alliance was *forged by Mao*.

It was an alliance that was sealed in acts of war, from Angola in 1975, where China armed insurgents backed by the CIA and South Africa against the pro-Soviet MPLA, to Afghanistan today, where the Chinese regime is arming the CIA's cutthroats who are fighting to re-enslave women and to stamp out any attempt to modernize that backward society. China today is home to some of the CIA's most valued intelligence listening posts along the Soviet border, which makes that border a possible trip wire for World War III. This, of course, is what explains the "moderate" response by the American government to Tiananmen Square. For them, Deng Xiaoping is just too valuable an asset to upset too much. Probably the most serious weakness of the recent demonstrations is that they failed to raise the issue of China's alliance with American imperialism.

WV Photo

Spartacists protest China's invasion of Vietnam, 1979. Beijing bureaucracy sealed alliance with U.S. imperialism in blood of Vietnamese workers.

One possibility now is that China could disintegrate into what people are calling economic or military warlordism. The PLA could break up into different regional entities. You have the economically better-off regions like in the south and east, where the imperialists exploit Chinese labor in the so-called special economic zones—sort of free trade areas. They recall the foreign concessions they used to have in China earlier in the century. That's why we call for the unity of China under workers' leadership. But for this unity, the workers must have an internationalist program. One of the first tasks of a revolutionary Chinese regime would be to combat Han chauvinism, the chauvinism of the predominant people of China, granting autonomy and respecting the autonomy of Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and the Turkic peoples in Sinkiang province. In fact, one of the reasons why the workers must restore centralized economic planning—under democratic soviet control—would be to enhance the development of those more backward areas with the rest of China.

The workers of China must have a perspective for international socialist revolution, most importantly in Japan. There must be an immediate rupture of the shameful alliance with the United States. While Deng Xiaoping continues to harass Vietnam by supporting the genocidal maniac Pol Pot trying to fight to get back power in Cambodia, a workers and peasants government in China would immediately provide massive aid to Vietnam. Such a government would seek to forge communist unity with the Soviet workers state, because if George Bush and his NATO allies succeed in their plan to overturn the gains of the October Revolution of 1917, you can count the future of the People's Republic of China in days. This unity is not only urgently required for military defense against imperialism, but in fact would make possible what's really a natural economic partnership between China, the Soviet Union and a workers' Japan.

I want to close with a certain theme. A couple of weeks ago, you had *U.S. News & World Report* claiming "Collapse of Communism"; you had *Business Week* saying "Communism in Turmoil." Here's what we said in announcing the launching of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist):

> "The bourgeoisie is celebrating in anticipation of the 'end of Communism.' The Stalinist bureaucracies have indeed reached the point of terminal crisis. But their crisis is because they are opposed to everything communism stands for. The national antagonisms in the Soviet Union, the revolt in China, arise in response to 'market socialist' policies that are counterposed to centralized socialist planning. The bureaucratic stranglehold over political and cultural life, the appeasement that has emboldened imperialism—these are not communism but its antithesis."

Today it is the Trotskyists who uphold the banner of Lenin's communism.

And you know that Chinese worker that I talked about at the beginning? He was right, there is no future for Deng's regime in China. The task we have is the building of a Bolshevik party in China as part of a reborn Fourth International, under whose banner the working people of China will find the road to ousting their bureaucratic oppressors, to securing the socialist future, and in so doing avenge the massacre at Tiananmen. ■

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The Hungarian Workers Uprising of 1956

On July 6, Imre Nagy and four others sentenced to death for their role in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 were officially "rehabilitated" in Budapest. Three weeks earlier, the bodies of Nagy, Pal Maleter, Miklos Gimes, Jozsef Szilagyi and Geza Losonczy were removed from the unmarked graves in which they had been buried in disgrace and reinterred in a ceremony attended by over 100,000 people. While the ruling party was not officially represented, party leaders in the government attended and a ceremonial guard was provided by the People's Army. Having for three decades vilified the events of October-November 1956 as a "fascist counterrevolution," the Stalinists now seek to "rehabilitate" it, as Soviet historian Leonid Yagodovsky puts it in the Soviet newsweekly *New Times* (4 July), as "the harbingers of the current changes in Hungary and in the socialist world as a whole."

Thus does one Stalinist lie replace another. While the neo-Bukharinite "reform" Stalinist Nagy could in some ways be considered the progenitor of the current regime's policies, even he might well have balked at the grotesque extremes to which his epigones have gone. More or less with Khrushchev's blessings, Nagy sought to carry out a program of economic and political liberalization prefiguring Gorbachev's perestroika. And later, after Nagy was removed and arrested by Soviet troops, the Kremlin installed not the old hardliner Rakosi—a tyrannical butcher—or one of his underlings but Janos Kadar, who was part of Nagy's circle and who went on to implement at least the economic aspect of Nagy's program in what came to be known as "goulash communism."

In foreign policy, Nagy sought to follow in Tito's footsteps, declaring Hungary's "neutrality," then breaking with the Warsaw Pact as a way of dislodging the Soviet troop presence. But it wasn't Nagy's policies, internal or external, which made the Soviets decide to intervene. Khrushchev sponsored Nagy and was at that moment engaged in a reconciliation with Tito. Indeed, Khrushchev visited Tito on the eve of the military intervention and Tito condoned it.

What drove the Stalinists into a frenzy was the fact that *the armed power in Hungary was in the hands of the insurgent workers.* The essence of the Hungarian Revolution was not to be found in Nagy's liberal Stalinism, but in the armed revolutionary committees and workers' councils which sprang up throughout the country in October-November 1956. The Nagy regime lasted less than two weeks, devoting its efforts primarily to trying to rein in the insurgency on the streets and in the factories; in contrast, the workers' councils had sufficient influence and organization to carry off solid protest strikes even a month after the Soviet suppression.

While there was plenty of political confusion among the revolutionary workers, their representative organs stood clearly opposed to a return to capitalism and were in practice counterposed not only to the old hardline Stalinist butchers like Rakosi and his coterie but to the Nagy reform regime as well. The Budapest Parliament of Workers Councils, representing two dozen of the city's largest factories, proclaimed as its first principle when it convened on October 31: "The factory belongs to the workers" (reproduced in Bill Lomax, *Hungary 1956* [1976]). A district workers' council in the capital demanded "free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that means of production belong to society" (see "'Pure Democracy' or Political Revolution in East Europe," *Spartacist* No. 30, Autumn 1980).

Wide World

Der Spiegel

Budapest insurgents atop Soviet tank (left). General Pal Maleter (above) vowed: "There will never be capitalists and landowners in Hungary again."

It was the proletariat asserting itself as an independent political force which caused the bureaucratic apparatus to shatter. This is vividly described in an autobiographical account, *In the Name of the Working Class* (1986), by Sandor Kopacsi, who was Budapest chief of police at the time and later a co-defendant with Nagy, Maleter et al. when they were tried. Among the illusions within the insurgent proletariat, nationalist sentiments were widespread, in part a reaction to the police role of the Soviet army and in good measure a reflection of the influence of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." But these confused views were by and large *not* an expression of anti-Sovietism or anti-Communism. Kopacsi recounts a scene in which three Soviet tanks came "nose to nose" with a crowd of demonstrators on October 25:

> "A boy, undoubtedly a student—the scene took place just below us—pushed his way through the crowd to the first tank and passed something through the loophole.
> "It wasn't a grenade but a sheet of paper. It was followed by others....
> "Then the top of the turret of the lead tank opened a little, and the commander, with his leather cap and gold epaulettes, emerged slowly into the view of the apparently unarmed crowd. Then he flung the turret open and perched himself upon the top of his tank....
> "The crowd erupted in a frantic ovation. In this jubilant atmosphere, the commander's cap was thrown into the middle of the crowd. In exchange, someone plunked a Hungarian Army kepi on his head. The crowd sang 'Kossuth's Song' and then the Hungarian national anthem. And, at the top of their voices, they cried: 'Long live the Soviet Army!'"

Moments later, Kopacsi recalls, he received a report from one of his police officers at the demonstration: "The AVO [Hungarian secret police] is firing from every roof. Now the Soviet tanks are firing on the AVO! They're defending the crowd...." The extent of fraternization between the insurgents and the Soviet troops sent to suppress them was so widespread that the Kremlin was forced to pull back and unleash a second intervention days later, on November 4.

Nagy's defense minister, Pal Maleter, was a decorated anti-fascist partisan in World War II, a dedicated Communist and a colonel (promoted to general when he was appointed defense minister) in the Hungarian People's Army. Far more than Nagy, he was seen by the workers as the popular leader of the insurgency. When Maleter called a meeting of the various insurgent groups with the aim of organizing a new National Guard, he told them:

> "The purpose of this meeting is to lay the foundations for a new armed force in our country. This force is born of the insurrection, but we must ensure that reactionary elements, wanting to re-establish the old prewar regime, don't worm their way into it. That regime, fortunately, is dead, and there will never be capitalists and landowners in Hungary again. Am I understood?"

Maleter's going over to the side of the insurgency is illustrative of the shattering of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste. He was at the head of a tank unit sent to suppress a nest of "counterrevolutionaries." When he spoke to them under a white flag and discovered that they were pro-socialist workers, he turned his tanks around. Like Maleter, Kopacsi was also a former partisan, a third-generation working-class socialist from the steel mills of Diosgyor. Had the insurrection continued and the workers' councils become the new state power, doubtless there would have been a further polarization among pro-Nagy "national Communists" like Kopacsi. The essential element that was missing in the Hungarian uprising was a conscious proletarian vanguard party, committed to the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin's and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

Today there *are* capitalists in Hungary again. A 13 July *New York Times* piece observed how "Budapest barely seemed Communist at all, with gambling riverboats on the Danube and swank millionaires." In February, the regime decreed the right of all political parties—including openly pro-capitalist ones—to contest the coming parliamentary elections. Foreign capitalist investors can now own up to 100 percent of Hungarian firms, and will be able to repatriate profits; the government aims at putting fully one-third of the economy in private hands over the next few years. Even the "market socialist" Kadar was too orthodox by the standards of Hungary's present leaders: Kadar was stripped of the presidency and expelled from the Central Committee in May. Imre Pozsgay, a leading government spokesman and member of the new four-man presidency, declares that it is "impossible to reform communist practice as it currently exists in the Soviet Union and East Europe.... This system must be liquidated" (*Le Monde*, 30 May).

It will require more than state decrees and parliamentary elections to liquidate the historic gains achieved for the Hungarian workers by the overturn of capitalist property relations. As the nascent capitalist class—supported by sections of the bureaucracy—moves ever more to assert itself, it will be confronted with a *civil war*, as the workers seek to defend the jobs, rights and living standards associated with the collectivized economy. With inflation and unemployment soaring, the current regime is so discredited among the workers that when Kadar died, ironically the same day that the former comrades he betrayed in 1956 were rehabilitated, tens of thousands turned out for his funeral. One woman explained, "We trusted him more. He was stable, prices were stable."

The Hungarian workers uprising, even in defeat, vindicated in life the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian political revolution. The key to a future victory lies in the urgent crystallization of a Trotskyist vanguard. Trotsky's observations about Stalin's Russia in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933) apply with full force to Hungary 1956 and today:

> "When the proletariat springs into action, the Stalinist apparatus will remain suspended in midair. Should it still attempt to resist, it will then be necessary to apply against it not the measures of civil war but rather the measures of a police character....
> "A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution.... The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."■

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Young Spartacus

"Do The Right Thing"—A Review

Continued from page 12

the degradation, disease, crime and poverty that are endemic in the ghetto. Spike Lee has created a stylized neighborhood for his movie, which is of course his right. Still, Lee purports to tell "the truth, Ruth"—and *this portrait is unreal.* Before he could even build the sets for this movie, Lee hired 20 bow-tied heavies from Louis Farrakhan's Fruit of Islam as his private security force! They boarded up two crack houses, swept up M-16 cartridges, ran the junkies around the corner, cracked down on crime and patrolled the set round-the-clock through the entire shoot.

In this film, nobody but Mookie has a job (except for his sister, who Lee described as "in a grey area, not black or white, when it comes to politics"). Working for the white man makes Mookie the middleman between Sal's business and the black community. Mookie's unemployed friends keep reminding him to "stay black" and demand that Sal add pictures of black people to his pizzeria's "Wall of Fame." The main omission from Lee's slice of life is the black working class, a force that could lead the ghetto masses in struggle.

There is a purpose to this deceptive portrait: to construct a framework for the simultaneously liberal and reactionary politics of cultural nationalism. Certainly blacks and Hispanics caught in America's ghettos know what they've got stinks and they want out. They don't want Ed Koch's decals of flower boxes pasted over burned-out tenements, they want real housing, real jobs, real schools. So why prettify the conditions and omit the power that black people have in the working class? It's convenient if your perspective is petty-bourgeois black nationalism.

The name of Spike Lee's production company, "Forty Acres and a Mule," identifies with the aspirations of black people after the Civil War and is a reference to their freedom betrayed. It is past defeats of integrationist struggles that fuel the defiant *posture* and rhetoric of nationalists who have in fact *given up* the fight. Pork barrel politicians and black capitalist hustlers worship the accomplished fact of segregation in order to push their own ambitions: to politically control and economically exploit "their" people, "their" market. Although this nationalist mindset permeates Spike Lee's diary, production notes and interviews, his talent as a filmmaker transcends his politics. His camera records all players in the New York scene with compassion and complexity and gives us a richer picture.

WV Photo

1980 New York City transit workers strike: integrated labor movement has the power. Unleash it in revolutionary struggle to bring down racist capitalist system!

New York City Raw

Do The Right Thing captures the ambivalence of the black community toward a Korean greengrocer and turns it into an argument *against* the anti-immigrant bigotry that nationalist hustlers (like Sonny Carson, or FBI fink Al Sharpton who led a march against Arab grocers) are pushing in New York City. In one scene, the three sidewalk sages argue over why they are black and unemployed while a Korean has a successful new business in the neighborhood. One hastens to remind "Coconut Sid," a Caribbean black, that he's not so long off the boat himself and ought to drop this Korean-hating nonsense; another rejects talk of a boycott with the announcement that "it's Miller time" and heads over to buy a beer. When the police murder Radio Raheem, the Korean grocer is among those chasing the cop car out of the ghetto. The crowd turns on him as another "outsider" charging "much money" in the black neighborhood. He frantically swings a broom to defend his store and pleads that he is not white either, that he too is black. Fury turns to amusement and finally compassion; the crowd disperses.

Lee exposes the contradictions of race-hatred with humor, and at times with a startling blast of raw loathing. Sal's son Pino, a racist Italian punk who can't stand serving Pop's pizzas to black people, ties himself in knots trying to justify his bigotry while conceding that all his entertainment idols are black: "...but not really black. They're more than black. It's—it's different." A rapid-fire montage of racial slurs slung between blacks and Italians, cops and Puerto Ricans, and the Korean to the Jewish mayor, stings the audience while they laugh. These words mean blood in NYC and everybody knows it. Lee hammers home the point of how absurd it is for everybody to hate everybody... while the cops get away with murder.

Sal (Danny Aiello) is a compelling figure in the film because he seems like such a decent guy, but when menaced, the same racist filth surges out. Moreover, that scene was a genuine, unscripted eruption. Giancarlo Esposito, who plays "Buggin' Out," the mover of the boycott of Sal's in the film, says "I got the ball rolling when I called Sal a guinea bastard":

> "When Danny said 'Nigger,' I freaked. It finally came up for him. I knew that at some point in his life, he'd called somebody a nigger, and I went crazy because he was someone I liked. Danny was upset with himself, I was really upset with myself, and Spike was gleaming, because he'd gotten the scene."
>
> —*Rolling Stone*, 15 June

Esposito's real-life mother is black and his father is Italian. Off camera, he and Danny Aiello chatted in Italian. On camera, they were hurling epithets at each other. Lee's art didn't imitate life, it became life.

The Fake Unity of Malcolm and Martin

To the incessant beat of Public Enemy's rap tune "Fight the Power" blasted from Radio Raheem's boom box, the recurring image in this film is a photo of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King standing together. The incoherent, stuttering "Smiley" peddles this photo up and down the block. When Sal's pizzeria is burned to the ground, "Fight the Power" still pounds away from the ashes and Smiley pins his photo on Sal's previously all-white, all-Italian "Wall of Fame."

What's the point? The photo evokes a period of militant struggle against Jim Crow segregation and racist inequality in this country. That struggle was defeated—by black misleaders who sold their souls to the Democratic Party, by brutal state repression that mowed down the most militant black fighters, and by a passive labor movement that failed to flex its muscle in a *class-struggle* fight for black freedom. But that photo (snapped in the one brief moment that these two *opposing* political leaders ever stood together) has been preserved and peddled to promote a liberal lie.

Malcolm X, who stood for militant self-defense against racist attacks and opposition to the bosses' Democratic Party, is made more "acceptable" by association with King. King, who preached "love thy oppressor," is packaged to make him acceptable for today's alienated and oppressed black youth. That photo hangs in virtually every Black Studies department in every university. Malcolm X is now marketed for the *illusion* that you can "fight the power" while just buying into it. And that message is the conclusion of the film. There is no social struggle to combat cop terror against black America, just one word from "Mister Señor Love Daddy," the neighborhood's DJ and social conscience: "VOTE!"

Fight For Power

In his epilogue to *Do The Right Thing*, Spike Lee (who thinks his character, Mookie, is "from the Malcolm X school of thought") writes: "In the end, justice will prevail one way or another. There are two paths to that. The way of King, or the way of Malcolm.... I know who I'm down with." The film ends with two quotes. Martin Luther King espouses nonviolence. Malcolm X objects to self-defense being mislabeled as "violence"; he rightly calls it "intelligence."

It's a terrible abuse of a terrific quote from Malcolm X. Malcolm told the truth about the need for black self-defense and warned against any illusions in the bosses' police or the bosses' political parties to defend black rights.

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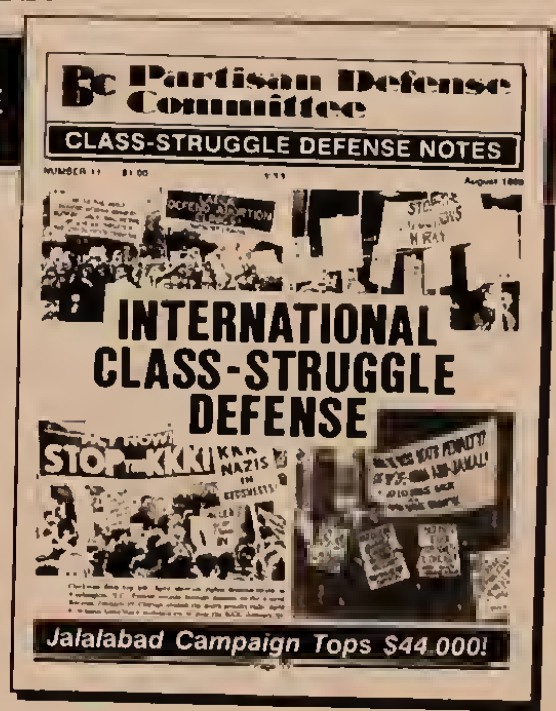

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Army Storms Salvador University

About 60 people demonstrated outside the Salvadoran consulate in New York City July 26 to protest the latest wave of repression against students in El Salvador, carried out by the Salvadoran death squad government backed by the United States. Organized by the Hunter College Central America Solidarity Committee and CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), demonstrators demanded freedom for René Antonio Cruz, president of the General Association of University Students (AGEUS). Cruz was captured and beaten by government soldiers at a bus stop just outside the University of El Salvador on July 16. At this writing he is still being held by the notoriously sadistic Treasury Police.

Between July 1 and July 16 at least 14 students and teachers were captured by government security forces. A social science student, a sociology professor and a high school student abducted by government forces are missing and feared dead. On July 17, army soldiers and Treasury Police fired on a demonstration of some 500 students demanding the release of Antonio Cruz. Robert Drennon, a Hunter College exchange student studying Spanish at the University of El Salvador, was one of nine people injured at the July 17 demonstration. Drennon told *Young Spartacus* that when they heard gunshots and bazooka fire, "Everyone just scattered and ran into the University away from the guns. It was a lot of confusion, and right after that I broke my leg."

UPI

San Salvador, July 17: troops occupy campus, round up students.

Under the constitution, the University of El Salvador is supposed to be an "autonomous" institution, the one place in the country where soldiers aren't allowed to come. But since last December the government has held the campus in a virtual state of siege, establishing military checkpoints at all gates. After the July 17 protest the government of Alfredo Cristiani sent in troops to occupy the campus indefinitely. Preceding the abduction of Cruz, government helicopters flew overhead and planes dropped leaflets. One of the leaflets "said the UNTS [the main Salvador labor federation] equals urban terrorists and it had the picture of a skull," Drennon told us.

The intensified repression against Salvadoran students follows on the heels of a stepped-up terror campaign targeting the labor movement and peasant and community groups. Hundreds have been arrested and kidnapped since the victory of the fascistic ARENA party in U.S.-brokered elections held March 16. But contrary to Pentagon propaganda claims ("Salvador's Army Gains on Rebels") in the *New York Times* (30 July), the leftist insurgents of the FMLN control a good third of the country and are hitting government forces in the heart of the capital, while the unions mobilize tens of thousands in defiance of state terror. So ARENA has introduced "anti-terrorist" legislation which would officially outlaw virtually any activity of trade-union, student and peasant organizations.

At the July 26 protest in New York, one protester, Mark Hoyt, was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and "assaulting" cops who knocked him to the ground, punched him in the face and wrenched his arms behind his back. The presence of numerous "undercover" agents at the demonstration was particularly menacing in view of the U.S. government's concerted campaign of harassment against Central America solidarity activists. We demand the dropping of all charges against Mark Hoyt. Stop the repression against workers, peasants and students in El Salvador! ■

But burning down a pizzeria has nothing to do with self-defense, and the real powers that keep blacks locked at the bottom of a capitalist social system lie far from "Sal's Famous" pizzeria in Bed-Stuy. Herein lies the danger of the purposely ambiguous message of *Do The Right Thing*.

In a recent *Penthouse* (August 1989) interview Spike Lee said the way out is that "blacks have to build our own economic base, own our businesses, be self-sufficient." And, he added in a talk show on Black Educational Television, when blacks are not just consumers but owners, then they can put up the pictures they want in their shops. So in the end, what triumphs is accommodation with the racist Pino's views: blacks should stay in their own neighborhoods and Italians in theirs. What crap! In a racist society, *separate means unequal*. The myth of black capitalism is a hoax, and furthermore a naked one, which anyone can see by just looking at the racial composition of the ruling class in this country: not one black CEO in the top 1,000 corporations. Yet "black capitalism" schemes such as pushed by Jesse Jackson tell black people the lie that they should look to Coca-Cola for liberation, rather than to united class struggle together with white, Hispanic and Asian working people against their common enemy.

Lee provides the wrong answer to the question of why there are no black-owned businesses in a discussion about the Korean grocer in the film. His sidewalk sage concludes: "Either dem Koreans are geniuses or we Blacks are dumb." Black people are not simply another ethnic group in this society or just the most oppressed among many. Since the victory of Northern capitalism in the Civil War and the defeat of Reconstruction, the black population has been compacted as a *race-color caste*: last-hired, first-fired and segregated at the bottom of society. A caste system means social mobility only for some—Koreans, even light-skinned Hispanics can move up, but keeping black people down is a pillar of this capitalist system.

Wide World

Malcolm X addressing Harlem rally. He opposed both racist parties of American capitalism.

But society is not fundamentally divided between owners and consumers. There are *producers* of the wealth who have been systematically denied the fruits of their labor. It is the integrated working class that has the social weight and power to break the bosses' rule. To see that, Spike Lee would have to cast his camera off the microcosm of one ghetto block. But not too far. Even a glimpse of the local subway at rush hour would do. Tens of thousands of black men and women, many of them unionized hospital workers and public employees, teachers, utility employees and service workers, are a key component in what makes New York run. And getting them to work every morning are the transportation workers, who showed their power in 1980 in a big strike that left the Brooklyn Heights yuppies limping over the bridge to Wall Street.

Genuine emancipation of black people from their oppression in this racist capitalist society, making racial equality a reality rather than a dream, will begin with socialist revolution. There is no other road to black freedom. To lead that fight, we need a party—an integrated, class-struggle workers party that will mobilize labor and minorities in defense of the beleaguered ghettos. The bosses' Democratic Party is the main political means used to tie the oppressed to their exploiters. We need a workers party to lead all the oppressed in a fight for a workers government. To this we in the Spartacist League are dedicated. ■

UPI

Martin Luther King Jr., Robert Kennedy, Roy Wilkins, Lyndon Johnson in 1963. King tried to channel ghetto anger into racist Democratic Party.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Universal City Studios Photos

Scenes from the movie: Residents outraged by police murder trash pizzeria; above, Mookie (Spike Lee) and Sal (Danny Aiello).

"Do The Right Thing"—A Review

Young Spartacus Film Review

by A. Stevens

New York City. From the Bronx to Brooklyn, people are lining up in the summertime heat to see *Do The Right Thing*, Spike Lee's new film about racism in New York. It is a riveting picture of abrasive race relations as seen in the life of one block of the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood in Brooklyn. Here people are locked in, compressed, brimming with pent-up frustration. Nothing comes from outside this block except the heat—the killer cops and a merciless sun. As the temperature rises, we see not the fabled American "melting pot" but a pressure cooker that serves up an American meltdown. A racial confrontation and then police terror spark an explosion. People who don't even see themselves as racists get caught up in it: there is *no way out*.

There is a genuine New York flavor to this movie—both in the stinging rawness of race-hatred *and* the cultural mix in this city with its ethnically diverse population of minorities and foreign-born. This vibrant and often very funny film is something of a cultural breakthrough: a restoration of humanity and compassion to black people that Hollywood has all too often typecast in racist stereotypes. Lee's idea for *Do The Right Thing* arose out of the racist murder of a black man by a gang of white racists in Howard Beach, Queens. Lee says: "It was 1986 and a black man was still being hunted down like a dog. Never mind *Mississippi Burning*: Nothing has changed in America, and you don't have to go down south to have a run-in with racist rednecks. They're here in Nueva York." Although Lee has brought a charged political issue to the big screen, *Do The Right Thing* is deliberately ambiguous in its message.

Do The Right Thing is dedicated to six black men and women, a roll call of victims of lynch-mob and racist cop terror: Michael Griffith, Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Edmund Perry, Yvonne Smallwood, Arthur Miller. As their names rise on the screen we remember each chilling murder and also think of the new names that must now be added and also not forgotten—Richard Luke, seized in his housing project and murdered in police custody; Trevor Francis, hurled to his death from a Harlem roof. How many more have been martyred for the "crime" of being black in a racist society? Deliberately timed for release in the midst of New York City's mayoral race, this is pretty hot stuff—too hot for some blowhards of the bourgeois press.

One reviewer hysterically accused Spike Lee of having lost the election for black Democratic hopeful David Dinkins. Others sound the alarm that this film could spark race riots at a theater near you. But did the press worry when they screamed "WILDING" all over their front pages? Did any of them fear unrest when George Bush rode to office over the image of Willie Horton? Whipping up white fear and hatred is news fit to print for those who mold "public opinion" in order to keep things as they are. But black rage? Misdirected vengeance? It's a racist double standard. As Lee said, "Any riot this summer will be because another cop killed a black kid who's innocent."

The Euro-chic judges at the Cannes Film Festival snubbed this film, declaring a movie about American racism "irrelevant." (We suspect that North African workers in France and Asian immigrant workers in Thatcher's Britain won't think so.) The critics found "Mookie," the movie's central black character, "unheroic." It is precisely the absence of heroes and angels and feel-good-Movieland endings that give this film its complexity and its viewers something to think about. Shouting "Howard Beach!" Mookie turns his wrath at the police murder of Radio Raheem (the block's baddest, most alienated and menacing youth) on Sal, the white pizzeria owner. It's not heroic. It is a very tame screenplay of the repression and rebellion that's swept America's inner cities when black youth have been driven beyond reason by trigger-happy cops.

Wilford Harewood

February 1987 protest outside Bronx courthouse against police murder of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.

Cultural Nationalism: Liberal Lies

A self-proclaimed "black nationalist with a camera," Lee paints a very *idealized* portrait of ghetto life. This block of Bed-Stuy looks good: poor but rich in spirit, laughter and innocence. Even the cops are too good to be true. The chokehold murder of Radio Raheem is horrifying and intentionally evocative of the real-life police murder of Michael Stewart, yet here it's portrayed as an accident by two overzealous pigs, one of whom pleads, "Hey, that's enough, stop it." By contrast, the murder of Michael Stewart, like so many others, was no accident. It was 14 against one and nobody yelled "stop!" except the anguished family and angry New Yorkers in protest of this heinous crime.

It is not this "artistic license," however that has many critics howling. All they want to know is "where's the dope?" One can appreciate Lee's bristling at racists who believe all black people are shiftless, lazy junkies who must be held personally responsible for

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 484 1 September 1989

Civil War Threatens in Baltics

We print here excerpts from a statement by the Central Committee of the CPSU, dated 26 August, distributed by the Soviet news agency TASS.

These words as printed are fair and even often true. But they come from an institution which has saturated the Soviet Union since the 1920s with a mass of unmitigated lies—in the first place by the regime of the infamous Stalin, and perpetuated by his successors in the bureaucracy of which he was the architect.

Today the Soviet population must tend to believe nothing that is published by the Soviet government. Thus they deeply disbelieve that there is poverty, racism, limited and expensive medical care, massive unemployment, homelessness and the like in the U.S. They do not know that there is enormous ostentatious wealth that would put any Soviet bureaucrat to shame, displayed by the small numbers who are the vicious and arrogant American ruling class.

Exception must be taken to the statement's pejorative use of the words "foreign organizations." Some "foreign organizations" are resolute military defenders of the Soviet Union; others are imperialist spies. The bureaucracy does not want to know the difference.

The statement by the CC of the CPSU also leaves out the critical element, insisted upon by Lenin, that all nations not seeking counterrevolutionary social change were promised the right to fully administratively disaffiliate from the rest of the Soviet Union. This right was incorporated in the founding constitution of the USSR.

In the guise of national separation, the Baltic nationalist independence movements seek not merely separation with full protection of all peoples within these borders, but a vicious capitalist restoration, rapidly producing a new and ethnically pure ruling class, and the degradation or exclusion of all other Soviet peoples.

It is in this context that it is necessary to view this often accurate document by the Soviet Central Committee.

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The current situation in the Baltic republics is the cause of increasing concern. Developments there affect the vital interests of the entire Soviet people, our entire socialist motherland.

Perestroika paved the way for the rapid growth of the national awareness of peoples, made them confident that they can independently solve the problems of their political, social, economic and cultural life.

The Baltic republics actively joined in the process of deep transformation. Workers' collectives got moving and the intellectual forces of all strata of society became active.

But at a certain stage nationalist, extremist groups took advantage of democracy and openness and gradually

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Stalinists Bow to Counterrevolutionary Solidarność

Poland on the Brink

Newsweek

Burnett/Contact

Stalinist general Jaruzelski (left) and Lech Walesa in parliament. Pope John Paul Wojtyla masterminds Solidarność' drive to restore capitalism in Poland.

On August 24, the Polish parliament, the Sejm, installed an open counterrevolutionary as prime minister. The new premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is a longtime leading Catholic politician and close adviser to Solidarność leader Lech Walesa. The imperialist media triumphantly proclaim "An Epochal Shift" (*Time*) and "Communism Crumbles in Poland" (*Newsweek*). On American TV, Barbara Walters interviews Walesa on "the beginning of the end of Communism," as tears of joy glisten on her cheeks. Jimmy Carter's Polish Cold Warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski foresees a "peaceful revolution" and "evolutionary termination of Communist totalitarianism." The fast-moving events in Warsaw signal the opening of a terminal crisis for Stalinist bureaucratic rule in Poland. But the announcements of the "death of Communism" are premature, and a successful counterrevolution would be anything but peaceful.

Strikes Break Out Against IMF Austerity

Already, what happens in Warsaw is being directed by the Polish Pope straight from Rome. Columnist Anthony Lewis revealed (*New York Times*, 24 August): "This summer Mr. Geremek [Solidarność' parliamentary fraction leader] and another leading intellectual adviser to Solidarity, Adam Michnik, were quietly invited by Pope John Paul II to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo," where the intricate steps of the Polish parliamentary polonaise were orchestrated. The new prime minister Mazowiecki, in an interview with *Izvestia* (24 August), described his politics: "Simply put, I'm a Christian, a Catholic who follows the social teachings of the Catholic church, which emanate from the instructions of Pope John Paul II." Upon taking office, Mazowiecki placed a phone call to the Pope to get his "instructions." Many people, not just Polish Stalinists, might not find life in Poland as a latter-day Vatican state to their liking.

Eight years ago when we called Solidarność a "company 'union' for the CIA and bankers" and demanded, "Stop Solidarność' Counterrevolution!" the international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone on the left. Now as Solidarność takes the reins of government, it openly reaffirms its agenda for capitalist restoration. Lech Walesa, in an interview with the Italian newspaper *Il Messaggero* (22 August), said the new government intended to pull Poland along the road "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism." "Nobody has previously taken the road that leads from socialism to capitalism," he said. "And we are setting out to do just that, to return to the prewar situation when Poland was a capitalist country, after having gone through a long period of socialism." Their plans call for a "shock treatment" rivaling that applied to Chile by Pinochet after the bloody 1973 coup.

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Pratt Parole Denied: Free Geronimo Now!

WV Photo

America's foremost class-war prisoner, Geronimo Pratt.

On August 17 the California Board of Prison Terms once again refused parole for Geronimo Pratt. It was the *ninth* time the panel condemned Pratt to remain in his prison hellhole, and followed by just five weeks the refusal by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals to reconsider its decision to deny Pratt's appeal on an insignificant legal technicality.

Board of Prison Terms Commissioner David Brown, who started his career 25 years ago as a guard at San Quentin prison, emerged from the nine-hour parole board hearing for the ritual denunciation of this courageous fighter for black liberation. Brown stated that Pratt "is not suitable for parole at this time," and claimed that Pratt refused a crucial psychological evaluation. The Board ignored psychiatric reports recommending parole, such as that of prison staff psychologist Randall Bruce who in 1987 described Pratt as a "principled individual and an idealist and supporter of human rights" whose "prognosis for parole should be excellent," and Dr. M. E. Roudebush, whose recent evaluation concluded, "Mr. Pratt is believed to have an excellent chance at making a constructive adjustment in the free world."

To counter growing support for Pratt, Brown invented a new heinous slander, repeated in a number of newspapers, that Pratt is a heroin user. Pratt responded in a statement, distributed by the Partisan Defense Committee, stating:

> "The Parole Panel's latest attempt to vilify, defame and discredit me must be challenged because of the insidious image it portrays to our children in the midst of the genocidal drug war which is savagely being waged against our families and communities daily.
>
> "In closing there is no basis in fact or reality for these statements that the panel has made. The aforementioned statements were made during a so-called parole hearing without me or my attorney being present. Therefore, I hereby challenge any and all members of that panel to face me with their baseless accusations in the open instead of hiding in the shadows with these deceitful and damaging lies."

Bolstered by recent Supreme Court decisions holding that prisoners have virtually no rights at all, Brown peddles his nasty lie in order to justify the continued imprisonment of America's foremost class-war prisoner, and to bury deeper the very real crimes of the COINTELPRO criminals who murdered 38 of Pratt's Panther brothers and sisters and railroaded Pratt and numerous other black militants to a lifetime of prison hell. The true reasons for the parole denial were clearly presented in the last Board of Prison Terms witch-hunt two years ago, when they viciously attacked Pratt's honorable political past as a Black Panther and humanist. Deputy district attorney Diane Vezzani raged that Pratt is "still a revolutionary" and lashed out at the "network of people" who have come forward in the cause of Pratt's freedom. Like South Africa's Nelson Mandela, Geronimo Pratt remains unbowed and deeply committed to the cause of the oppressed in fighting for his own freedom. But American capitalist "justice" has again declared that, like fugitive slave Dred Scott, Geronimo Pratt has "no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

Pratt, a former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader, has been in jail for more than 19 years for a crime he did not commit. And for 19 years he has fought to uncover and expose the FBI/COINTELPRO campaign of murder and disruption against the Black Panther Party and others. To get Pratt behind bars the FBI withheld evidence and concealed from the jury that their chief witness was a paid FBI informant. In 1987, CBS' *60 Minutes* program aired an exposé of Pratt's frame-up in which jurors at the initial trial stated they would have voted to acquit had they known these facts! FBI wiretap logs which would prove Pratt was in Oakland at the time of the Los Angeles murder have been "disappeared."

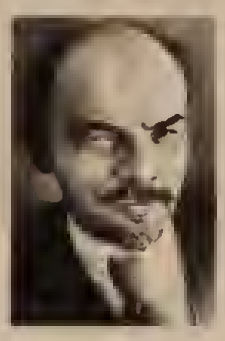
Thousands have endorsed Pratt's fight for freedom. Congressman Ron Dellums, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, has introduced House Resolution 109, calling for the "immediate release from prison of Elmer 'Geronimo' Pratt." On August 26 we wrote to the Parole Board demanding Pratt's freedom. The PDC calls on all of Pratt's supporters, for labor and civil rights activists, to redouble their efforts to generate the widest campaign of protest and publicity to demand "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!"

* * *

Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 11 is now available. This issue focuses on international class-struggle defense, including the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund and solidarity greetings from fraternal defense organizations initiated in seven countries. We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

For the Rebirth of Polish Communism!

TROTSKY



LENIN

Polish Stalinism is terminally discredited and bankrupt, but authentic communism in Poland had a deeply revolutionary tradition, one so strong that in order to root it out Stalin had to dissolve the Communist Party in 1938. The Polish working class must look back to and reappropriate this legacy which was inspired by the internationalism of Rosa Luxemburg and V.I. Lenin. In a 1957 interview, Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher, one-time leader of the Polish Left Opposition, described the valorous history of this party which led the Polish workers' resistance to Pilsudski's White terror.

It was a great and heroic party, the only party in Poland which represented the interests of the proletarian revolution, the great Marxist tradition, and a true and living internationalism. In this respect no other Polish party could be compared with it. Unfortunately, up to this day the history of the Polish Communist Party still remains a closed and sealed book....

How did it happen, we must ask, that a Party which had to its credit decades of underground struggle and a long (seventy years long!) and proud Marxist tradition submitted meekly to this horrible outrage—without a protest, without making any attempt to defend its martyred leaders and fighters, without even trying to vindicate its honor, and without declaring that in spite of the death sentence Stalin had passed on it, it would live on and fight on? How could this happen? We must be fully aware of the moral corrosion to which Stalinism had for so many years exposed Polish Communism in order to understand its complete collapse under the blow....

Stalin saw the Polish CP as the stronghold of hated Luxemburgism—the Polish "variety of Trotskyism"—which had defied him as long ago as 1923; the Party in which some leaders were close to Bukharin and others to Zinoviev; the Party of incurable heresies, proud of its traditions and of its heroism; the Party, finally, which might well in certain international situations become an obstacle on his road... And so he decided to remove that obstacle by the blade of the same guillotine which, working furiously, was already destroying a whole generation of Bolsheviks....

Not only the historian, but also every militant Marxist, must draw certain conclusions from the tragic history of the Polish CP. Here, I must of necessity confine myself to one rather general idea: if the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, *it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and the Russian revolutions.*

—Isaac Deutscher, "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party" (1957)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 484 **1 September 1989**

Women and Revolution Forum

Democrats, Republicans Wage War on Abortion Rights

Women's Liberation: What Strategy to Win?

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- **Government Out of the Bedroom!**
- **For Separation of Church and State!**
- **For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

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NEW YORK

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Lynch Mob Murder in Bensonhurst

Brooklyn, NY

A black father grieves and rages at the loss of his child to lynch mob murder. "My son went to a neighborhood and was blown down because of the complexion of his skin. Doctors told me my son's heart was blown right out of his body. Why can't he go to Bensonhurst with his friends?" Moses Stewart's 16-year-old son Yusef Hawkins was shot dead by a racist mob in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn on August 24. "This isn't 1889. It's 1989," Stewart said. "This isn't Alabama.... This is New York." But in the racially supercharged atmosphere of Ed Koch's New York, parts of the city have become crucibles for race-terror rivaling the Klan-infested Jim Crow South.

At least three other black men have died at the hands of lynch mobs in segregated white neighborhoods hugging the Belt Parkway from Brooklyn to Queens. **Willie Turks**, a transit worker, dragged from his car and bludgeoned to death by a club-swinging racist mob on Avenue X in Gravesend, June 1982. **Samuel Spencer**, run down on his bicycle, then beaten to death by four carloads of young white racists in Coney Island, May 1986. **Michael Griffith**, chased into the path of a speeding car on the Parkway by a gang of bat-wielding teenage racists in Howard Beach, December 1986. And now, Yusef, an "A" student who was about to enter Transit Tech high school, brutally murdered by a mob of 30 "corner boys" on the streets of 93-percent-white Bensonhurst.

Hawkins had been watching a video of *Mississippi Burning* and was stunned by the brutality of the lynch mob shown in the movie. He didn't get to finish because he and three friends, all from a quiet street in the mainly black Brooklyn section of East New York, had an appointment to look at a used car in Bensonhurst. There they ran into the racist punks who had gathered, baseball bats in hand, to waylay blacks they believed had been invited to a party given by a young woman named Gina Feliciano. Feliciano had violated the neighborhood "code" by having a dark-skinned Caribbean boyfriend and inviting black friends over to her house. Hawkins and his friends were simply the first blacks to come along, and Yusef paid with his life.

Koch's black police commissioner, Benjamin Ward, pronounced the lynching a case of "mistaken identity" set off by the jealousy of a "spurned lover." This became the argument of those who denied racism was involved: in other words, if the killers had only shot Feliciano's boyfriend, it would supposedly be no big deal. But this ambush was cold-blooded racist murder. In a cruel irony, the attack victims included Luther Sylvester, who is related to Michael Griffith as well as to Curtis Sylvester, the driver of the car that broke down, forcing its passengers to walk into Howard Beach.

The Hawkins case is now being played out against the background of the cynical politics of the NYC mayoral race. Desperately trying to catch up in the polls, arch-racist Koch rushed to Brooklyn to demand the governor appoint a special prosecutor. Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman, herself a candidate for Comptroller, recoiled; her office has plenty of "experience" in prosecuting "bias" cases, she said. Holtzman "handled" the Willie Turks case, too: his murderers were slapped on the wrist and are walking the streets today. So far, the Bensonhurst suspects have been charged with riot, assault, conspiracy and with violating Yusef's civil rights. No one has been charged with murder, and all are now out on bail.

Black mayoral front-runner David Dinkins had a point when he said, "It was like, 'Any n----- will do.' If I take my tie off I could go there and get my behind kicked, too.... The tone and the climate of this city does get set at City Hall." Dinkins, who has a good shot at replacing Koch in City Hall, is calling for thousands more cops on the streets to "fight" crime and crack. Yet it was racist killer cops, unleashed by Mayor Koch, who blew away grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with a shotgun because she was behind in her rent, stomped the life out of subway graffiti artist Michael Stewart, hurled Trevor Francis from a Harlem rooftop on a "drug bust."

In Bensonhurst, where lots of cops and their friends live, and the punks on the street idolize John Gotti, people heard nothing and saw nothing. The suspected triggerman, Joey Fama, reputedly Mafia-connected, has mysteriously vanished. Meanwhile, the neighborhood has turned on Feliciano, daughter of a Puerto Rican father and an Italian mother, "the girl that ruined the neighborhood." Some of the punks threatened to kill her even before the shooting. A neighbor said, "If she wanted friends like that, if she wanted black people as friends, she should've went into their neighborhood."

There is bitter outrage in the black community and throughout the city against the murder of Yusef Hawkins. Yet the organized response, or lack thereof, has again highlighted the crisis of black leadership. After the Howard Beach killing, hundreds of black people repeatedly took to the streets, but their anger was channeled by the liberal-nationalist lawyers Maddox and Mason into impotent calls for Democratic governor Cuomo to appoint a "special prosecutor." This was done, and now there's yet another lynch mob attack. Black anger was further dissipated in the disastrous Tawana Brawley hoax, dragged on forever by the two lawyers and the charlatan and admitted FBI fink Al Sharpton.

On August 26, Sharpton led several hundred black people into Bensonhurst, where isolated and unarmed they were spat upon and abused by screaming mobs, and depended for their safety on the "protection" of the racist NYC cops! "'Niggers go home!' shouted some of the 400 white residents...including some holding signs reading 'We're not racist'," reported *Newsday* (27 August). On Sunday, black preachers led a vigil to the site of the murder and were also met by screaming mobs, some holding up watermelons. In response, Koch lashed out...against the black marchers, accusing *them* of escalating tension by marching into Bensonhurst.

The workers movement must insist on *and enforce* the democratic right of anyone to go anywhere in this city. That includes black men in Howard Beach and Bensonhurst and white women in Central Park. This is not accomplished by "moral witness" marches of small numbers of protesters defenseless against the racist mobs. Instead of a show of weakness, what's needed is an impressive show of strength by the integrated labor movement, demonstrating the power and determination to stop the racist punks in their tracks. Such a mobilization, including many of the thousands of trade unionists who live in Bensonhurst, can have a powerful impact in breaking down the segregation which breeds racist terror.

In 1982, after Willie Turks was clubbed to death after he and some friends stopped to buy a bagel on the way home from work at the Coney Island transit barn, fellow members of TWU Local 100 called for mass integrated workers defense guards to defend the right to walk the streets. Transit workers, including supporters of the Spartacist League, issued a call on this strategic union to organize hundreds of flatbed trucks filled with thousands of union militants to patrol the streets of South Brooklyn. But mass mobilization of union power was opposed by the pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats who control the TWU. Then, as now, they preached reliance on Democratic Party pols, the courts and the racist cops.

Yusef Hawkins, Samuel Spencer and Michael Griffith might be alive today, and many others unscathed by racist attack, if the cruel lynching of Willie Turks had been met by mass labor/black defense back in 1982. Now the lives of black people are even more at risk. We will finally get rid of the racist rot, in Bensonhurst and throughout this country, when the workers take power, led by a multiracial revolutionary party which fights intransigently in defense of all the oppressed. In the warning words of Moses Stewart: "It did not start with my family. It started 400 years ago.... If you want to keep your son, you stop it now!" ■

CWA Striker Murdered on the Picket Line

Gerry Horgan, a chief steward in Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1103, and other striking phone workers were picketing a Valhalla, New York NYNEX facility access road on August 14 when a scab, Patricia McNamara, drove at the picket line. Horgan was forced onto the hood of her car. Horrified union witnesses reported McNamara driving for over 100 feet accelerating and swerving from side to side, causing Horgan to be thrown head first to the pavement. The 34-year-old cable splicer died the next day, leaving a widow and two small children. This was *murder*.

The cops called it an "accident" and refused to press charges against McNamara, while the bosses' press blacked out news of the killing or obscenely blamed Horgan for his own death. But Gerry is not forgotten by his coworkers. On August 17, over 2,000 angry unionists rallied in White Plains, New York in memory of Gerry Horgan. One sign read: "Cut a Cable—Go to Jail; Kill a Picket—Get Off Free. Where Is Justice?" Even in the face of this scab murder, the CWA union tops have been conducting business as usual: sending CWA members at AT&T across strikers' picket lines and turning the strike into a toothless consumer boycott.

In the wake of this brutal murder, strikers must demand a solid national strike against the "Baby Bells" and AT&T! To win against the highly automated phone system, workers have to *occupy the offices*, pull the billing tapes and give the public free service, winning the support of millions against the hated phone companies. Some selective service cuts—Wall Street, the banks—will bring the bosses to their knees! Honor Gerry Horgan and stop scabs with picket lines that *nobody crosses!* ■

WV Photo

August 17—Two thousand angry workers at memorial rally in White Plains, New York.

Young Spartacus

The Great French Revolution of 1789 is not an isolated and remote historical event but has formed the framework for social struggle in France for the past 200 years. In 1848, the workers tried to shatter the entente that emerged from the counterrevolutionary reaction to the French Revolution. In response the propertied classes massacred the Paris proletariat in the June Days.

These same counterrevolutionary forces shot down the Communards of 1871 and sought to frame up the Jewish military officer Dreyfus, leading to a near civil war in France at the turn of the century. And with the rulers demoralized by the enormous casualties of World War I, they found that the 1936 general strike and election of the Popular Front made capitulation to German imperialism in 1940 the "lesser evil."

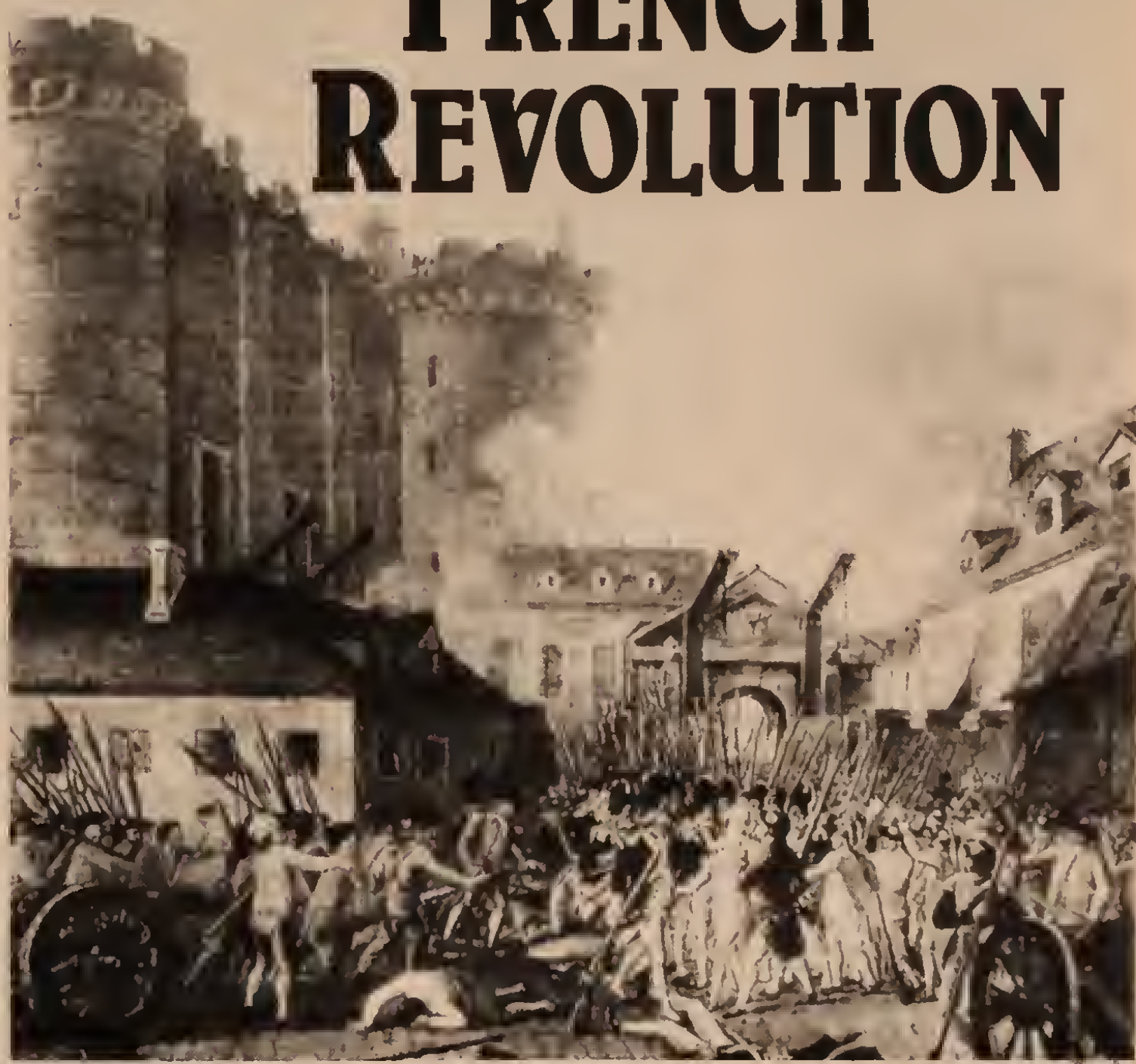
The issues of the French Revolution, with the shifts in social composition and struggle over 200 years, still live vividly in France today, especially in the mindset and activity of French reaction. Their diminution and derogation of the Revolution serves immediate purposes of the same kind as their forebears, perhaps with the immigrant labor force the target of appetites to impose a contemporary version of serfdom.

The claim by revisionist historians that the French Revolution is irrelevant to the modern world is similar in intent to the statement of the reactionary American Zionist Norman Podhoretz that, for him, the American Civil War is as remote as the English War of the Roses. What they mean is quite the opposite. In attempting to exorcise the spectre of social revolutions past, they seek to justify and obscure social and racial oppression in the contemporary bourgeois world.

The following is an edited talk on the occasion of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, given in Paris on July 22 by Joseph Seymour, member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S.

From Jacobinism to Bolshevism

In Defense of the French Revolution



Giraudon

14 July 1789—French Revolution begins as Parisian working people storm Bastille prison-fortress, freeing prisoners and seizing arms.

PART ONE OF TWO

It may seem very presumptuous for an American who neither speaks nor reads French to give a talk on the French Revolution. Yet in an important sense the true greatness of the French Revolution is felt more outside of France than within France—for within France the Revolution carries the tricolor, outside of France it still carries the red flag. In France it is celebrated as the birth of the French bourgeois nation-state, as a commemoration of the unity and grandeur of the French people, of the triumph of the liberal principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens. But outside of France the Revolution is still seen as an uprising of the oppressed and exploited for a just and egalitarian society, the revenge of the have-nots against the haves.

Y. Mebius

V.I. Lenin claimed Jacobin heritage for proletarian revolution.

In France Bastille Day is just a patriotic holiday like the American 4th of July, filled with military parades, marching bands, fireworks and all the flag-waving hoopla. But imagine celebrating Bastille Day in El Salvador, or Bolivia, or Pinochet's Chile—or for that matter even in the United States. Last weekend the comrades in New York celebrated Bastille Day in Prospect Park, and I can imagine going up to a black bar in Brooklyn and inviting some black people to join us. Maybe they've never heard of Bastille Day, so they'd say: What's all this Bastille business about? And I'd say: Two hundred years ago a bunch of poor working people like you stormed this prison fortress, they freed the prisoners, they took the arms, and they strung up the commander. And they'd say: Right on, man, we gotta do that here!

It may come as a surprise or even an astonishment for a French audience today to learn that 50 years after the storming of the Bastille the French Revolution was celebrated as the inspiration for international communism, and it was *only* celebrated as the inspiration for international communism. One of Frederick Engels' first writings as a communist was a report on a celebration of the founding of the French Republic by communists and other working-class radicals in London. The main speaker was Julian Harney, the leader of the Chartists—the first mass workers party in history. Harney said that whenever we English workers demand democratic reforms of Parliament, whenever we demand lower taxes, whenever we demand better education for our children, the ruling class screams at us: Jacobins! The Terror! You want to set up a guillotine in Trafalgar Square! You want to execute Queen Victoria! Unfortunately, they didn't.

It was only later, and only in France, that the French Revolution was celebrated as the birth of the French bourgeois nation. But it's important to understand that the chauvinism of a Clemenceau, of a Thorez, of a De Gaulle and a Mitterrand, was not the patriotism of Robespierre and Saint-Just. The Jacobin leaders sought to base French patriotism, the sense of nationhood, on the universal principles of the Enlightenment. Thus Robespierre, speaking in early 1794:

> "Only in democracy is the state really the *patrie* [fatherland] of all individuals who compose it and can count as many interested defenders as it has citizens. That is the source of the superiority of free peoples over all others. If Athens and Sparta triumphed over the tyrants of Asia, and the Swiss over the tyrants of Spain and Austria, we need not look for any other cause.
>
> "But the French are the first people in the world who have established real democracy, by calling all men to equality and to the full rights of citizenship:

and there, in my opinion, is the real reason why all the tyrants in league against the Republic will be vanquished."

The Jacobin constitution of 1793 granted French citizenship to any foreign friend of liberty who wanted it, and in the Jacobin Convention there were foreign radicals who represented the French *patrie*. Robespierre declared: "The men of all countries are brothers, and the different peoples should assist one another as much as possible like citizens of the same state."

What we call nationalism today, in the imperialist era, is not the ideology of the French Revolution. Rather it is the ideology of the reaction *against* the French Revolution. It was the English conservative Edmund Burke, the main ideologist of the European coalition against the French Revolution, who elevated particular national traditions as the highest political value. It was Burke who treated Englishmen and Frenchmen as if they were almost different species, incapable of sharing a common political vocabulary and common political values.

It was the German romantic reactionaries against the French Revolution who glorified the mystic unity of the German *Volk* going back to the ancient Teutonic forests. In the 20th century the Nazis picked up all of this blood-and-soil crap. The Nazis called this the *Blu-Bo* literature—*Blut* and *Boden*. The Jacobins didn't speak of *Blut* and *Boden*, they spoke of democracy and equality.

Jacobin ideology had a bourgeois and national component, and an egalitarian and universalist component. After Robespierre fell, these two components divided and went off in different historical directions. In a sense these directions were personified by the Corsican Napoleon Bonaparte and the Italian Filippo Buonarroti.

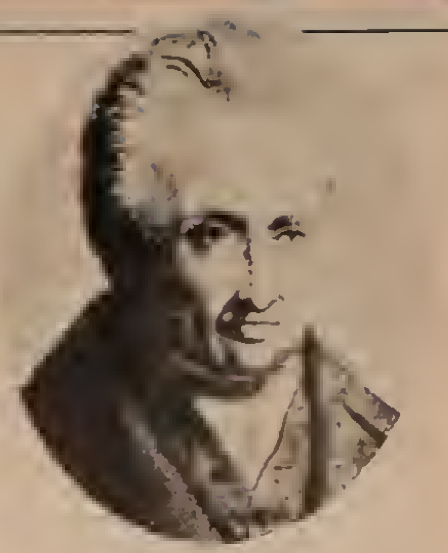
Both Napoleon and Buonarroti began their political careers as part of Robespierre's political circle. Napoleon was originally a protégé of Robespierre's younger brother. Buonarroti played the piano at dinner parties in Robespierre's household. It's as if Robespierre had two sons who divided his inheritance between them. At first it appeared as if Napoleon had got the real inheritance and Buonarroti the illusory inheritance. Napoleon's armies conquered all of Europe, Buonarroti was left to organize some handful of followers in secret societies. Incidentally, when Napoleon was defeated and went into exile, in his memoirs he claimed that he had always been a true Jacobin—that he had fought only to liberate the peoples of Europe from the dynasties. Needless to say, he never said this when he was the Emperor.

But in the end the universalist and egalitarian principles of the French Revolution proved even more powerful than Napoleon's armies. Buonarroti was the living link between the French Revolution and Karl Marx, just as in a different sense Marx was the living link between the French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution.

In the decade before the first imperialist world war, both the French bourgeois radical Clemenceau and Lenin claimed to stand for the Jacobin heritage—the first in the name of French chauvinism and imperialism, the second in the name of proletarian revolution and internationalism. But since Lenin's achievements are considered far greater than Clemenceau's—except by the French bourgeoisie—today in most of the world Jacobinism is associated with Bolshevism, not Clemenceauism.

Maximilien Robespierre

Gracchus Babeut



Filippo Michele Buonarroti

Credits Paul Popper Ltd, Radio Times Hulton, Kurt Desch

For example, in the United States there's a magazine called *National Geographic*, which is supposedly a popular and nonpolitical magazine. It is read by millions of schoolchildren, and you can even find it in the waiting rooms of doctors' offices. As you see, the July issue is devoted to the French bicentennial, and in it we are told:

> "It was elsewhere, and not until the 20th century, that men of the Robespierrean type came into their own, seizing power first in Russia and then in many other countries. These modern despots acted with the same savage violence as the Paris archetypes to destroy their enemies, shatter the past, and impose the total authority of the revolution."

Young Spartacus

In commemoration of bicentennial of the French Revolution, SL/U.S. Central Committee member Joseph Seymour speaks in Rouen (above) and Paris.

A Political Battleground for Two Hundred Years

In one sense it is meaningless to ask the question: Who are the heirs of the Jacobins today? Because the French Revolution as such is a closed chapter of history. It cannot be emphasized enough that it occurred in a *pre*industrial society, an overwhelmingly agricultural society. The typical French shopkeeper or artisan—the so-called *sans-culotte*—spent 50 to 75 percent of his income on food.

Of the four contending classes in the Revolution, three no longer exist in the modern world, and the fourth—the peasantry—is a small remnant of what it was at the time. Clearly the landed nobility and the artisan proletariat—not an industrial, but an artisan proletariat—don't exist anymore. We talk about the bourgeoisie, but this is a preindustrial bourgeoisie. This is a bourgeoisie whose wealth came from the production, processing, distribution and financing of agricultural products. Recall that the main school of bourgeois political economy in 18th-century France, the physiocrats, maintained that land was the only source of wealth and that all other economic activities were derived from agriculture.

Yet, given the intensity of debates about the French Revolution, you would think it happened 20 years ago, not 200 years ago. The French Revolution looms larger in the consciousness of the modern world than revolutions much closer in time. How many people even in France can name the leading figures of the Revolution of 1848 or the Paris Commune? Yet Marie-Antoinette and Robespierre have entered the political vocabulary of the modern world, the first as a symbol of ruling-class arrogance, the second as a symbol of revolutionary intransigence or fanaticism. Even Danton has become a symbol of moderation, the eternal liberal seeking a middle road between reaction and revolutionary extremism.

For the past 200 years every generation has fought the French Revolution anew. In the 1830s James Bronterre O'Brien, a leader of the British Chartists, wrote a biography of Robespierre, whom he considered one of the greatest and purest reformers of all history. In the 1840s the young Marx and Engels believed that the Jacobin regime represented the political power of the working class of its day, although under conditions fated to serve the historical interests of the bourgeois revolution. In the 1850s the leading literary figure of English liberalism, Charles Dickens, wrote a novel of the French Revolution, *A Tale of Two Cities*. In this work the Jacobin terror is portrayed as an orgy of popular bloodlust. (Margaret Thatcher gave Mitterrand a copy of this novel as a present for the bicentennial.)

In 1904 Lenin declared that a Bolshevik is a Jacobin indissolubly tied to the organization of the working class. In 1933 the Nazi German Minister of Education declared that the victory of National Socialism is a victory over the French Revolution. A few years later Trotsky called the Stalinist bureaucratic counterrevolution the Soviet Thermidor, the equivalent in the Soviet Union of the French Thermidor of 1794 which overthrew the revolutionary-democratic Jacobin regime. When the French Stalinists initiated the Popular Front in the mid-'30s, they established a cult of Robespierre, which to some degree they have maintained to this day—much to the embarrassment of the Gorbachevites!

In the 1950s the American reactionary Henry Kissinger first came to academic prominence when he wrote a book which praised the Hapsburg minister Prince Metternich, the main architect of the European reaction against the French Revolution. In the early 1980s the Polish film director Andrzej Wajda, a leading supporter of Solidarność, produced the movie *Danton* which was financed by the Mitterrand government. This movie presented Robespierre as a bloodthirsty paranoid monster like Stalin, and glorified Danton as a modern liberal—Jacobinism with a human face. A few years ago, when the French Communist Party historian Michel Vovelle visited China, the Beijing authorities told him, "we are Thermidorians." And this bicentennial year the archbishop of Poland, Cardinal Glemp, participated in the commemoration of the Catholic-royalist uprising in the Vendée.

What is it about this 200-year-old bourgeois-democratic revolution, that every generation sees a political parallel of its own time? Why has this bourgeois revolution, both at the time and later, been seen by so many as an *anti*-bourgeois revolution? Why has the greatest revolutionary leader of the French state, Maximilien Robespierre, been vilified for 200 years as a bloodthirsty monster and a forerunner of communism to boot?

Why Was the French Revolution So Radical?

There is a long intellectual tradition from Edmund Burke to François Furet which blames the whole thing on the baneful influence of the Enlightenment *philosophes*. Somehow, they claim, a group of demented Rousseauians took over France and attempted to establish the Republic of Virtue through a reign of terror. Poor Jean-Jacques Rousseau has been held responsible for everything from the September Massacres of 1792 to Stalin's Gulag. (He might be

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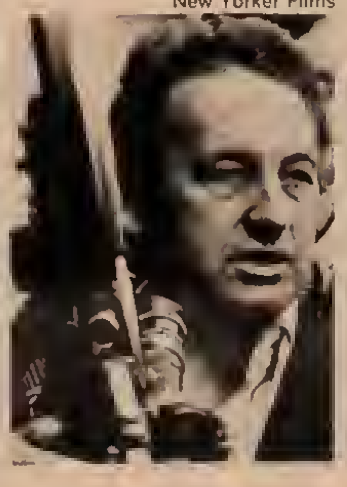
Manoukian/Sygma

New Yorker Films



Solidarność against the French Revolution: Polish Archbishop Glemp joins with French royalists in the Vendée; Director Andrzej Wajda vilifies Robespierre in film Danton.

French Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

amused. Actually, he had no sense of humor—he wouldn't have been amused. A very humorless guy!)

It is true one can draw very radical conclusions from the notion of the Noble Savage. There's an essay on cannibals by Montaigne, one of the forerunners of the French Enlightenment. He tells of a Brazilian cannibal who was captured and taken to France. He was obviously an intelligent man and soon learned French. One day someone asked him what he thought of French civilization. And he said that there were many wonderful things in France, but there was one thing he didn't understand: he saw beggars who were starving, were all skin and bones, and then he saw rich people dripping with fat, and he couldn't understand why the beggars didn't kill and eat the rich people. He was obviously a primitive communist—*très primitif.*

But of course the French Revolution was not a product of radical ideology. It was a product of the economic and class structure of French society. And to understand the radicalism of the Revolution it is useful to compare it to the English bourgeois revolution. Both before, during and after the French Revolution, England with its constitutional monarchy and its Parliament of property owners was held up as a model of what France should be. Even today Furet laments that a French Tory party did not cohere and dominate the Revolution.

But this is a purely idealist view because the English economy was radically different at the time of the English Civil War than the French economy at the time of the Revolution. Beginning with the 16th century the English peasantry was driven off the land by the enclosure movement. Much of the English countryside was turned into pasture for sheep to produce wool for the world market. In the language of the day, "sheep ate men."

Bulloz

Working women of Paris lead march on royal palace at Versailles, October 1789.

A whole section of the English landed aristocracy basically became bourgeois landowners. When the Civil War broke out a minority of the landed aristocracy supported Parliament and a larger number remained neutral—they just ran their estates and continued to make money. The radical party in the English Revolution—the Levellers—demanded the breaking up of the enclosures and the resettlement of peasants on the land. That is, they wanted to reverse the course of economic development. But this was not only politically unfeasible, it was economically utopian.

English agriculture had already become highly competitive and geared to a market economy. It was not enough to have land, you also had to have capital to invest and improve crop yields, so that peasant smallholding was *no longer* economically viable in England as it still was in late 18th-century France. During the English Civil War the Cromwellian colonel William Sydenham told Parliament that it was futile to give propertyless soldiers free land: "They are poor, and if you assign lands to them they must sell again" (quoted in Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* [1961]). The historic compromise between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie which ended the English Civil War was possible because English agriculture had already gone a long way toward becoming capitalist.

But the France of the Bourbon monarchy was still a country of peasant smallholders, who had to pay a multitude of feudal-derived dues both to the landed nobility and the many bourgeois who had purchased land. If in England one can speak of the bourgeoisification of a section of the nobility, in France you had the feudalization of a section of the bourgeoisie. And the main function of the absolutist state was to extract rent from the peasantry for the landed class. So that when the authority of the monarchical state was destroyed in 1789, French society polarized along *very different lines* than had England during the Civil War a century earlier.

Furet is famous for the thesis that the French Revolution was "blown off course." Naturally, he maintains, it should have ended up like England—a constitutional monarchy with a Parliament of property owners. But in fact it wasn't blown off course, because the bourgeois liberals had set a course for never-never land. On the one hand, they proclaimed that feudalism was abolished. On the other hand, they told the peasants to continue to pay the main rents or else redeem them for 20 to 25 times the annual amount. Well, the peasants decided that feudalism was abolished and refused to pay any rent to their landlords. And the French army was so divided, faction-ridden and mutinous that it could no longer be used as an instrument for suppressing peasant revolts.

The reason that the French aristocracy refused to accept the liberal revolution of Mirabeau and Lafayette was not primarily reactionary ideological prejudices—the belief that they had all descended from Charlemagne. That was not the main factor. Rather, they could not accept a revolution whose consequences were depriving them of the economic surplus necessary for their existence as a class. So the policy of the French aristocracy was to restore a monarchical state by encouraging the foreign absolutist states to invade and occupy France. In France a historical compromise between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie was only possible on the basis of a successful *counter*revolution which suppressed the peasant revolt and in some form restored the exploitation of the French peasantry both by sections of the bourgeoisie and of the aristocracy.

Even sophisticated historians like Furet continue to blame the radicalization of the Revolution on the personality of the royal family. If only Louis had not been so blockheaded and stubborn, if only Marie-Antoinette had not been so shallow and arrogant, a Bourbon would still be in Versailles instead of this upstart Mitterrand! But in fact Louis was acting as a responsible representative of his class, and his class was the nobility. Thus, while in public accepting the Revolution grudgingly, in private he was writing to the crowned heads of Europe to invade France and restore his authority.

A key turning point of the French Revolution was the abortive flight of the king in June 1791, when Louis attempted to flee France and join his Hapsburg brethren. This destroyed many of the popular illusions in Louis and therefore produced a wave of popular radicalism on the part of the urban lower classes, the *sans-culottes.* At the same time a section of the liberal bourgeoisie was now convinced even more strongly that the monarchy was a necessary protection against popular radicalism. Thus a month after the abortive flight of the king, a principal liberal leader of the Constituent Assembly, Barnave, stated:

> "Are we going to end the Revolution or are we going to begin it all over again?... Any new step forward would be a fatal and culpable act, since a further step in the direction of liberty would involve the destruction of the monarchy, while a further step in the direction of equality would mean the destruction of property."

And the very next day after Barnave made this speech, a large group of petitioners who were calling for abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republic were massacred in the Champ de Mars by the National Guard of Lafayette. The massacre at the Champ de Mars irrevocably split the hitherto patriotic bourgeoisie into hostile camps. Robespierre later recounted that it was only after this massacre that he became convinced of the necessity for a republic.

The splitting of the bourgeoisie enabled the plebeian masses of Paris to come forward as a somewhat independent revolutionary force. Thus the establishment of a democratic republic involved the mobilization of the urban plebeian masses outside of, and to some degree against, the representative institutions of the bourgeoisie. The *journée* [uprising] of 10 August 1792 not only overthrew the king but created a condition of *dual power* between the Paris Commune and the city sections on the one hand, and the Legislative Assembly and later the Convention on the other.

At the same time the overthrow of the monarchy transformed the Revolution into a European-wide war. Six days after the invasion of the Tuileries Palace which overthrew the king, an army of Prussians, Austrians and French émigrés invaded France. The commander of the army, the German Duke of Brunswick, threatened a terrible and savage vengeance against the people of Paris for daring to lay hands on the sacred monarch. Brunswick and all the royalists of Europe were supremely confident that they would sweep away this French rabble, march into Paris, and restore the king to his throne.

The French army encountered this largely Prussian army about 70 miles from Paris on the crest of a hill called Valmy. The French army outnumbered the Prussians. The French infantry stood up to the Prussians, the most feared, disciplined and well-drilled army of the European *anciens régimes.* The French artillery and artillery officers proved superior. At the end of the day a torrential rainstorm broke out and the Prussian army retreated, its confidence somewhat shaken. With the Prussian army that day was the German writer Goethe, and according to one account, that night as the rain was coming down he stood in the middle of the battlefield and said: "This day and this place open a new era in the history of the world."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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For a Workers Republic!

Japan Ruling Party in Disarray

TOKYO—1989 has not been a good year for the Japanese ruling class. It began with the death of Emperor Hirohito, the longest reigning monarch in the world. Now, battered by a financial scandal, then a sex scandal, facing a public outraged by a tax increase while the rich and powerful flaunt their wealth, the reign of the longest-ruling party in the advanced capitalist world—the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP)—may be coming to an end.

In June Japan's prime minister, Noboru Takeshita, resigned in the face of the Recruit stock and influence-peddling scandal. Two months later his successor resigned after the right-wing LDP lost partial control over the Diet (parliament) for the first time in 35 years. Since the LDP bosses believed they enjoyed a natural monopoly in running Japan, Inc., the July 23 election loss to the Socialists came as quite a shock. "The LDP is in hell right now," moaned one party bigwig.

The Liberal-Democratic Party is neither liberal nor democratic nor a party. It is a coalition of ruling-class cliques based on patronage and "money politics." Its internal structure rather resembles that of the Mafia. The LDP was formed in 1955 under American auspices to keep the Communists and social

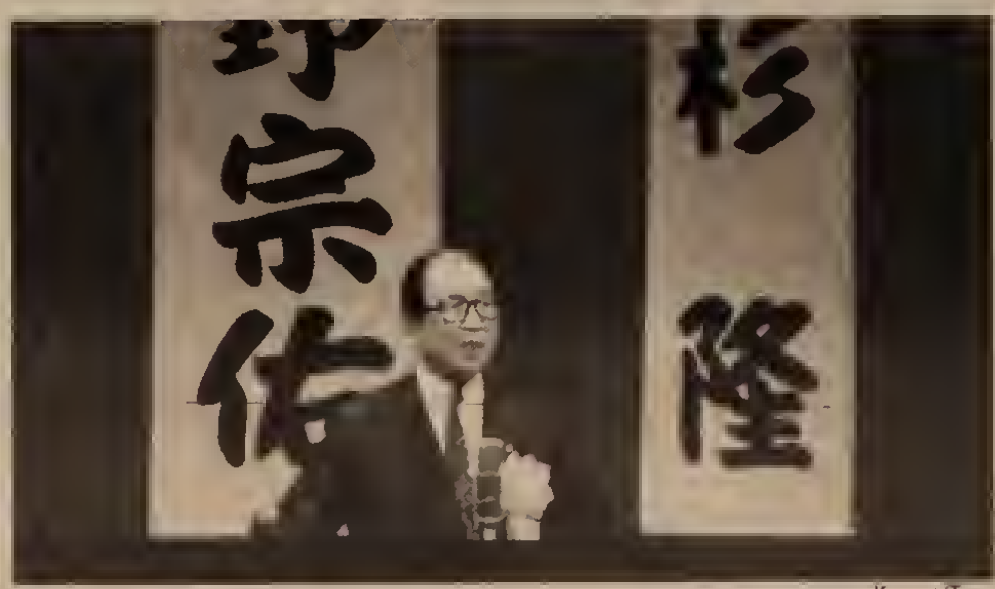
Independent [London]

Social democrat Takako Doi (left) wins upset electoral victory.

democrats out of office, and was able to maintain a solid majority in the Diet for the next three and a half decades.

But early this year the LDP's tight control over Japan began to unravel with the Recruit scandal. This is the most serious in Japan's recent history, in part because it is so widespread. Recruit honcho Hiromasa Ezoe managed to piece off virtually everyone in the bourgeoisie's who's who, even slipping a few yen into the pockets of the leaders of some of the opposition parties.

Moreover, the LDP pushed through the Diet their 3 percent consumption tax at the very moment the Recruit scandal was heating up. The growing disparity between rich and poor fueled the scandal, and the outcry got louder as the consumption tax went into effect. The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) captured the political mood when it subtitled a piece on Japan: "'Recruit' Scandal, Fortunes in Speculation Give Rise to Resentment of Rich." The *Journal* quoted a housewife railing against one



Kogure/Time

Ex-prime minister Uno's two-month reign sunk by geisha scandal.

of the LDP beneficiaries of Recruit's largesse: "I was so angry, I couldn't even look at my place. My whole apartment would fit into the entranceway of [LDP bigwig] Fujinami's house—maybe into the bathroom."

Beginning last spring the LDP suffered a series of defeats and humiliations in various elections. When Takeshita finally announced his intention to go, his popularity rating had fallen to under 4 percent! The first choice to replace him was the party's elder statesman, Masayoshi Ito, who had a reputation for being a "clean" politician and advocate of internal party reform. But when Ito naively demanded dismantling the LDP's clique structure, he was out. Next in the batter's box was Foreign Minister Sousuke Uno, a political lightweight whose main credential for being prime minister was being "Recruit-free" and no threat to the prevailing clique alignment. Uno's appointment resembled an 18-inning baseball game with the manager peering at the end of the bench to see who's left.

But far from burying the Recruit scandal, Uno's appointment as prime minister touched off a sex scandal when his 1985 affair with a geisha was made public. Apparently the man is a real cheapskate who refused to pay the customary "sayonara" money to politely end this type of liaison. The geisha in question, Mitsuko Nakanishi, got her own back with a vengeance when she told all to the media. "A person who is not considerate of the weak cannot conduct good politics," she lectured the new prime minister over the Tokyo Broadcasting System.

The public furor over the prime minister and the geisha reflected the usual mixture of sexual bigotry and salaciousness. But it also expresses the bitter resentment Japanese women have to the deep-seated oppression they have suffered for eternity. Japan is notorious for being the most grossly male-chauvinist culture this side of the Third World. And the company of geishas—the old world of flowers and willows—is strongly identified with the feudal privileges of Japan's ruling patriarchy.

Thus the mainstream social democrats of the opposition Socialist Party (JSP), under the direction of its woman leader Takako Doi, was able to combine populism and bourgeois feminism in an effective electoral mix. The JSP simultaneously appealed to the economic grievances of working-class housewives and the social aspirations of yuppie women. Doi was named party chairman in 1986 after the Socialists made a poor showing in the elections. The JSP tops evidently believed they had little to lose by selecting a woman to publicly head a major Japanese party for the first time ever. Doi herself is in the right wing of the party. A former professor of law, she also represents the growing number of educated, professional women who resent the elderly patriarchy of Japan's ruling elite.

Doi's JSP ran as its candidates a large number of housewives who had previously been uninvolved in politics, an electoral strategy the media dubbed "Operation Madonna." These working-class women are being used to further the careers of social-democratic bureaucrats and feminist yuppies. Sections of the LDP establishment responded to "Operation Madonna" with obscene expressions of male chauvinism. Agricultural minister Hisao Horinouchi declared, "It is wrong for women to come to the forefront in politics," and baited the 60-year-old Doi for being unmarried and childless. This outburst alone probably cost the LDP millions of women's votes.

While infuriating women of all classes, the LDP has also alienated its hitherto most solid voting bloc, Japan's smallholding farmers. For decades the Japanese ruling class has stubbornly maintained a high degree of agricultural protection, both to preserve a socially and politically conservative peasantry and to ensure self-sufficiency in food production for strategic military purposes. As a result, food prices in Japan are outrageously high compared to other advanced capitalist countries. The urban population subsidizes every farm household in the Japanese islands to the tune of $20,000 a year.

In the past year, in response to increasing American pressure, including the threat to retaliate against Japanese industrial exports, the Takeshita regime relaxed some of the controls on food imports. So farmers are up in arms against their former LDP protectors, while Doi's JSP has demagogically and cynically taken up the reactionary banner of agricultural protectionism.

Abolish the Emperor System!

The current leftward shift in the political mood should not obscure the danger from the right or the powerful reserves of reaction in Japanese society. One has only to consider the intense emotional outpouring as Emperor Hirohito lay dying. When the mayor of Nagasaki, Hitoshi Motoshima, suggested that Hirohito bore some responsibility for World War II, he received death threats from right-wing fanatics and was formally censured by the LDP.

The fascistic right, while currently small in numbers, is well financed and has influential links to big business, *Yakuza* gangsters and sections of the LDP. As the Socialists move toward governmental office, they could well become the target for right-wing terrorist attacks such as occurred in the 1920s. In 1960 a right-wing fanatic assassinated popular JSP chairman Inejiro Asanuma. Last May, two thugs of the rightist group Seikonguku ("Sacred Spirit Organization") assaulted JSP general secretary Tsuruo Yamaguchi while he was making a public speech. The emperor, supposedly descended from the sun goddess, serves as a powerful rallying point for all the reactionary forces in Japanese society. In a deep-going social and political crisis the sacred ruler in the imperial palace could legitimize a fascist or military takeover. This is what happened in the 1930s.

The emperor system symbolizes the whole complex of feudal relics which

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Asahi Shimbun

Railway workers demonstrate, 1987. Powerful Japanese proletariat must break with social democracy and Stalinism, in struggle for a workers republic.

Against CIA's Cutthroats

Afghanistan: Scenes of Civil War

Jalalabad, July 7—Chanting "Afghanistan Zindabad!" (Long Live Afghanistan) and "Marg ya Watan!" (Death or Country), thousands march to celebrate their victory over the months-long mujahedin siege.

Exclusive Photographs From Our Correspondent

For the past decade, the once obscure country of Afghanistan has been the focus of the international Cold War. Washington and its allies have poured billions of dollars into the counterrevolutionary insurgency aimed at drowning in blood the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government. Meanwhile, the Western press has spewed out a steady stream of lies and disinformation, originating from the CIA supply base in Peshawar, Pakistan, retailing lurid "Soviet atrocity" stories. With the Soviet withdrawal last February, these were replaced by equally fantastical predictions of the imminent downfall of the Kabul regime, as the U.S. and its allies pulled their embassies out. But the Afghan army fought tenaciously, along with women's militias and youth battalions, and the PDPA government continues to stand, while the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats spiral into disarray.

From the beginning, the Spartacist press has told the truth about the civil war raging in Afghanistan. On one side stood the Soviet Union, the reform-minded PDPA regime, and the cause of

Kabul, city under fire. Left: Women amid destruction caused by rocket attack on their home. A grandmother and several children were hospitalized. Right: Terrorist car bomb blast near Pashtoonistan Square killed nine people and wounded 49 in busy shopping street.

Karesimir: Youth battalion guards northern approach to Kabul. "They come, we are ready," vowed one young fighter, "each one of us to fight against ten of them."

social progress and women's emancipation: on the other, the imperialist powers, the feudal khans and mullahs, and a reactionary crusade to keep women enslaved and young girls illiterate. We stood firm against the prevailing winds of Cold War, denouncing Carter's anti-Soviet hysteria and cutting through Reagan's grotesque lie that the *mujahedin* murderers were "freedom fighters." We greeted the December 1979 Soviet intervention, proclaiming "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and calling to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Nine years later, we denounced Gorbachev's withdrawal as a betrayal not only of the Afghan people, but also of the defense of the Soviet Union and of the interests of the international proletariat.

Far from ensuring the Kremlin's pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence," Soviet withdrawal only emboldened the imperialists to escalate their bloody *jihad* (holy war). In February, the Partisan Defense Committee offered to organize international brigades to join in fighting against the counterrevolution. In response to a request from the Afghan government and in concert with fraternal legal and social defense organizations, the PDC initiated an international campaign of humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad, raising over $44,000 in less than two months. In immigrant communities, at factory gates, on campuses, at May Day marches, many thousands of working people and supporters of women's rights came forward to give what they could.

As part of our efforts in solidarity with the struggle against the CIA's cutthroats, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) dispatched a special correspondent to Afghanistan for four weeks in July to counter the lies of the imperialist press with reports direct from the civil war. Now *Workers Vanguard* is proud to present for our readers the photographic images of "Front Line Afghanistan." In the face of a decade of destruction, showing their determination as well as their grief, the people of Afghanistan stand proudly in defense of their gains.

Those who contributed their dollars, pounds, francs, marks, lire, pesos and yen can see the vindication of their stand in these vivid scenes of a long-suffering people fighting for elementary social progress. This campaign helped inspire the heroic defenders of Jalalabad, who held out and then victoriously broke the *mujahedin* siege. When our correspondent arrived in Jalalabad, the governor of the province warmly greeted him, "Ah, Partisan." Make your stand known—send a contribution, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.■

War over women's rights: CIA-backed mujahedin would force all women to wear head-to-toe chadors (above); women are fighting to defend right to cast off veil of enslavement (right).

Above: Children in Kabul. Left: Soldier standing guard outside children's home for boys and girls in Maimana. Any institution representing social progress has to be protected against the CIA's barbaric cutthroats.

Stop Baltic Counterrevolution!

Bloody counterrevolution is brewing in the Baltic republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Their appetites whetted by Gorbachev's policy of perestroika—encouraging market forces and private enterprise—bourgeois nationalist movements in this relatively prosperous region of the USSR have openly set course for restoring capitalism under the slogan of complete independence from the Soviet Union. The Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and the Lithuanian Sajudis—overlapping with nationalist wings of the Baltic Communist parties—seek to resurrect the reactionary "independent" bourgeois republics of the interwar years, vassal statelets of German and British imperialism noted for repression of Communists and Jews. To this end, these supposed "democrats" have enacted discriminatory restrictions on language, voting and employment rights, and "immigration" controls directed against non-Baltic peoples.

What apparently finally provoked the Central Committee statement of the Soviet Communist Party excerpted here was the August 23 "human chain" protest linking the capital cities of Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The protests were marked by flagrantly anti-Russian and anti-Communist manifestations, including the now omnipresent flags of the interwar bourgeois republics, banners reading "Soviet occupation army go home!" and signs equating the Nazi swastika with the hammer and sickle. Echoing the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd, protest organizers declared that the Soviet Union had "infringed on the historical right of the Baltic nations to self-determination...occupied them with overwhelming military force." The Sajudis declared that Lithuania "is no longer under the administrative or judicial jurisdiction of the USSR with immediate effect."

Stalin's "non-aggression" pact with Hitler did not prevent the Nazis from invading the Soviet Union in 1941, but the Soviet annexation of the region in July 1940 cannot be separated from the exigencies of the German war threat at the time. Trotsky argued that although the territory was strategically important, the Red Army occupation would be seen as an act of violence, not liberation, and in the long run would do more harm than good. In any case, Stalin's annexation lasted only until Hitler invaded and occupied the Baltics a year later, at which time many bourgeois nationalists enthusiastically joined with the Nazis in hunting down and murdering Communists and Jews. The social revolution which marked the real integration of the Baltic republics into the USSR came following the Red Army's heroic defeat of Nazi fascism.

We warned recently: "The stage is set for a bloody civil war in which capitalist counterrevolution will disguise itself as a struggle for 'national liberation and self-determination'" (*Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Last November, the Estonian parliament passed a resolution—subsequently ruled unconstitutional—asserting a "right" to unilaterally reject Soviet laws. Two months later, it decreed Estonian the sole official language. Fully 40 percent of Estonia's population and half of Latvia's are ethnic Russian, Byelorussian or Ukrainian, predominantly concentrated in the working class. In May, Lithuania followed suit with a law asserting its veto power over USSR legislation and its right to control migration into the republic. On August 8 Estonia passed legislation—again ruled unconstitutional—demanding a five-year residency requirement for the right to vote and ten years for the right to stand in elections. These chauvinist measures strike at the heart of the multinational Soviet state.

Turnley/Newsweek

AP

Lithuanian nationalists march under flag of reactionary interwar bourgeois state (left). Russian-speaking workers strike in July against discriminatory measures of Estonian parliament. Sign says: "We strike! For equality of nations—without privileges."

There has been significant resistance to these reactionary measures by workers in Estonia. The predominantly Russian "Internationalist Movement," co-led by a Russian and, interestingly, a Siberian Estonian (a group also looked down upon by "pure" Estonians), called a strike for the second time in less than a month in protest against the discriminatory voting restrictions. Some 30,000 workers walked off the job, shutting down dozens of factories in Tallinn and bringing rail and air cargo transport to a halt. The Estonian government immediately moved to ban the protest strike and brought in scabs to run buses in Tallinn. But the strike continued for nine days, until the central government agreed to review the local legislation.

Latvia and Lithuania have already passed legislation aimed at restoring private property in agriculture by allowing lifetime possession and inheritance of "family farms." When in late July the Supreme Soviet in Moscow endorsed a new program of "economic autonomy," giving the Baltic republics control of trade, industry and resources and the right to run their economies on a market basis, Estonian economist Mikhail Bronshtein cheered: "It opens the road for us to begin realizing our program of independence" (*New York Times*, 28 July). But these tiny countries, necessarily dependent on the Soviet economy, cannot hope for a semblance of independent economic life, should they win the local civil war necessary to restore capitalism. Like Hong Kong vis-à-vis China, the Baltic states could only serve as a spearhead for imperialist penetration into the Soviet Union.

On the right flank of the People's Fronts stand even more extremist nationalist formations. According to a TASS dispatch reported in *Die Wahrheit* (25 August), newspaper of the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party, the Estonian city of Kohtla recently unveiled a public monument to a group of World War II Nazi collaborators called Counterintelligence-2-"Erna." The monument was erected on the site of an earlier monument put up by the Hitlerite occupiers in 1942! At the unveiling ceremony a former member of "Erna" was given a platform to rant that Estonia must "be liberated from the Reds." Even mainstream nationalist spokesmen like Estonian economist Tiit Made echo disgusting Nazi rhetoric: the *New York Times* (10 August) reports that he sees "Russians as aggressive people whose primitive behavior he traces to centuries of breeding with Mongol occupiers." According to the racist Made, Russian "aggressiveness and violence is manifested even in love.... After rape, comes a feeling of love and delight."

On the eve of the August 23 protest, the National Independence Movement of Latvia (LNKK) staged a two-day conference in Riga, as the *Washington Post* (22 August) put it, "to plot publicly the downfall of 'the Soviet empire'." Speakers included Republican U.S. Senator Robert Kasten and a representative of Polish Solidarność. The rabid Baltic nationalists would do well to recall what this region looked like the last time it was "liberated from Reds," under the sponsorship of imperialist intervention against the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1919, the armies of newly independent Poland marched into and seized sections of Byelorussia and Lithuania, including Vilnius, and imposed Polish as the official language. The following year, Pilsudski invaded the Ukraine, provoking a Soviet counteroffensive.

Today, the nationalist resurgence in the Baltics poses once again the dangers of war and counterrevolution. In a sharp warning foreshadowing the August 26 Central Committee statement, Valentin Falin, head of the CPSU's international department, said: "If the striving to divide what cannot be divided continues, as was characteristic of the period before the previous two world wars, if lands and frontiers are being recarved while the lives and safety of people are neglected, the worst, and this time, the final disaster will be brought on" (*New York Times*, 23 August). Worried about developments in the Baltic, and responding in part to West German concerns over the flood of ethnic Germans seeking to emigrate, the Gorbachev regime has recently mooted establishing an autonomous ethnic German homeland around Kaliningrad (the former East Prussian city of Königsberg). This would conveniently establish a bulwark between the Baltic republics and Poland.

Decades of Stalinist nationalism and Great Russian chauvinism have created a sea of bitter nationalist sentiments, and Gorbachev's perestroika has now opened the floodgates. The leadership of the "Inter-Movement" seeks to pressure the Kremlin to act as guardians of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltics. But strikers are careful to call for "equal rights for all nations" and to eschew privileges for any language. A proletarian challenge reasserting the principles of Leninist internationalism against all variants of nationalism—and particularly Great Russian chauvinism—could polarize the ethnic Baltic populations as well, at least some of whom must be shocked by the direction in which this reactionary nationalist crap is heading.

Potentially, the greatest nationalist threat to the unity of the Soviet peoples is that of Great Russian chauvinism, now spearheaded by the fascists of Pamyat. The Soviet working people must smash Pamyat and, with that authority, easily destroy more marginal fascists and counterrevolutionary threats. It will take proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish Bolshevik internationalist principles, guaranteeing full and equal rights for all the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union. ■

Bonn and Liveright

Working masses of Latvia staunchly supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Latvian Smolny Battalion arrives in Petrograd, November 1917.

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Continued from page 1

began to introduce an unhealthy aspect into the development of events.

Having misappropriated the part of true proponents of the national interests, they, step-by-step, steered the course of affairs toward an alienation of the Baltic republics from the rest of the country and the disruption of long-standing organically formed links with other Soviet nations. Their positions became more and more openly extremist and separatist. The anti-socialist and anti-Soviet nature of their projects became evident very soon. In some places, organizations resembling political formations of the bourgeois period and the time of Nazi occupation sprang up. Actually, parallel bodies of power began to be set up. Intimidation, deception and disinformation became routine, and even moral terror and defamation of all who disagreed, all who remained true to internationalism and the idea of an integral Soviet Union. Some of the mass information media served as sources fostering nationalistic attitudes.

Abusing freedom of international relations, nationalist leaders contacted foreign organizations and centres, seeking to involve them in what was in fact the internal affair of their republics and treating them as consultants and advisers, as if people in the West were better aware of the actual needs of the Baltic nations, as if they were guided not by their own open or concealed projects with respect to our country, but were in fact concerned about the Soviet people's welfare.

It came to direct acts of vandalism, mockery of state insignia, desecration of sacred things viewed as inviolable by any decent individual—monuments to those who fell in the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars.

Soviet people across the country watched and read with astonishment and bitterness about things that in no way agreed with what they knew of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian national traditions and would appear insulting to the national character of these people known for their honesty, sober-mindedness and respect for standards of civilized human relationships.

The activity of forces that are destructive, anti-Soviet and anti-national in their core, the atmosphere of nationalism led to the promulgation, at the level of bodies of state authority in the republics, of unconstitutional acts contradicting our state's principles of federation and envisaging discrimination against the non-indigenous population of these republics.

On August 23, 1989 attempts were made to fan up emotions to a point of actual nationalist hysteria. Slogans foisted upon thousands of people were brimful of animosity toward the Soviet system, Russian people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army.

The activities of the nationalist forces have already led to serious economic losses in the economy of the Baltic republics, as well as to inter-ethnic and social tensions. In some places, a real threat of a civil conflict and mass street clashes which will involve grave consequences, has arisen.

Things have gone far. The fate of the Baltic peoples is in serious danger. People should know into what abyss they are being pushed by the nationalist leaders. The consequences could be disastrous for these peoples, if the nationalists managed to achieve their goals. The very viability of the Baltic nations could be called in question.

We should say it openly and with a feeling of responsibility before the Baltic and all Soviet peoples.

It must be said that the leaders of these republics failed to do everything in order to contain the process in the normal channel of perestroika reforms. They failed to stem the negative tendencies, to redress the situation, to uphold the principled positions, to convince people of the harmfulness of the plans and practice of opposition forces. The genuine line, consolidating society on an internationalist basis, on nationwide and universal values of perestroika taking maximum account of national peculiarities and requirements, came against obstacles which are yet to be cleared.

One also has to admit that some Party committees and functionaries gave in to difficulties and lost heart. Some even began to play up to nationalist sentiments, weakened counteraction to separatist plans.

The situation that arose calls for a deep analysis, real and serious assessment and resolute urgent measures to clean the perestroika process in the Baltic republics from extremism, destructive and harmful tendencies.

The CPSU Central Committee urgently calls on the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, all those who cherish their homeland, peace and national accord to realize the full extent and reality of impending disaster, to display responsibility and wisdom at this turn of the history of the entire country.

The Central Committee appeals to the working class, peasants, and those who create the material base of life and are always the first to suffer most of all from social and national upheavals—we need jointly to seek and find a way out of the situation, to stop the hysterical elements and not to give in to nationalist hysteria.

We all share many difficulties. The country and its economy are in a difficult situation. Do not believe those who try to prove that the life of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians will be better off and comfortable, once the migrants are evicted, the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Jews and others who live and work together with you put in an unequal position, the republics secede from the USSR. This is an obvious lie. This is delusion.

Each republic, each region are linked by thousands of economic, social, cultural, scientific, technological and simply human ties with others, with the entire country. What will happen if these ties are cut at one fell swoop? It is absolutely clear that none will be better off.

The Baltic republics, which are the first in our country to get the opportunity to organize truly independent management, to go over to self-reliance and cost-accounting, today face the broadest vistas for initiative, innovation, economic development and better life. Accretions and distortions of the past, which prevented state bodies and the population of the republics from feeling and acting as masters in their house, are being removed.

The CPSU Central Committee hopes that the working class, working people of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, who have glorious revolutionary internationalist traditions of struggle for the happiness of their and all peoples of our great country will say their weighty word this time as well, defend the new revolution and uphold perestroika.

We appeal to the common sense of the peoples of the multinational Soviet Baltic region. It is time, in our common interest, to put an end to the fateful course of events, to come to your senses, go over from confrontation to dialogue and a painstaking search for expedient decisions and compromises.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is appealing to all communists of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, to Party veterans and those who recently joined their fate with that of the Leninist party: you must set an example of good-will and human communication and persuade people of the necessity of concord and consolidation.

Let's preserve the single family of the Soviet peoples and the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Japan...

(continued from page 7)

prop up the Japanese bourgeois order, beginning with the family. Women have a polite form of language they are expected to use when addressing men. Their role is not to partake in family functions but merely to cater them. Family members are more often than not addressed by their title as their name. The Japanese language contains many honorifics, and social intercourse is marked by bowing, the inferior party always bending a little further. From language and social mores to politics, the bourgeoisie seeks to use the vestiges of Japan's feudal past to sap the will for social struggle. But there is also enormous resentment against the rigid feudal-derived hierarchy weighing upon present-day Japanese society.

Only the proletariat in the struggle for the *workers republic* can purge Japan of the reactionary remnants of its not-so-distant feudal past. But to achieve this historic task, the working class must be broken from social democracy and Stalinism.

Doi's Socialists Move Rapidly Rightward

The July 23 election result was not so much a mandate for the Socialists as a protest vote against the LDP. Thus an unusual number of independents and small, single-issue parties gained seats. For example, a former wrestler, running on the sole platform of creating a ministry of sports, whomped his LDP opponent. Since these elections were limited to half the seats in the upper house of the Diet, the LDP still retains control of the more powerful lower house, for which elections are to be held no later than July 1990. In the wake of the July 23 debacle the hapless Uno resigned, the prime ministership going to an obscure politician, Toshiki Kaifu, who at 58 is being advertised as representing the younger generation.

One party which was expected to benefit from the LDP's troubles but did not is the Japanese Communist Party. Long a super-reformist "Eurocommunist" party, the JCP has openly declared its primary loyalty to Japanese imperialism. Thus these shamefaced Stalinists demand that the Soviets return to Japan the Kuril (Northern) Islands, which they occupied at the end of World War II. (These islands are strategically key for the USSR, controlling the sea lanes which if blocked would keep the Soviet Pacific Fleet bottled up in Vladivostok.) Nonetheless, the JCP is widely viewed as the "reds" and has been the target of a red scare by the bourgeois media and LDP establishment.

For over 20 years the JCP's relations with the Beijing regime have been frigid to hostile. (By contrast, the Japanese bourgeoisie has been the major foreign investor in Deng's China.) Yet Japan's ruling class has sought to identify the JCP with the June 4 massacre in Tiananmen Square by the Deng regime. The LDP head of the Tokyo Municipal Assembly screeched: "The Tiananmen incident has caused a rain of blood in China—if the JCP gets power they will do the same in Japan" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 July). These red-scare tactics had their effect, and the Communists lost a few seats in the elections.

For the moment all the growing discontents and resentments in Japanese society have benefited the Socialist Party. The JSP's present constituency ranges from deeply conservative peasant smallholders to bourgeois feminists, while the party retains its traditional support within the working class. Now the main goal of Doi's JSP is to reassure the bourgeoisie (both Japanese and American) that it can responsibly run the wealthiest capitalist state in the world. These social democrats have veered sharply to the right to ally with the rabidly anti-Communist Democratic Socialists and Buddhist-supported Komeito as potential partners in a coalition government.

Thus Doi's Socialists have supported LDP candidates against the Communists (for example, in the Nagoya mayoral contest). And the JSP is scrapping what remains of its lip service to the pacifistic radical and anti-nuclear sentiments which were widespread in the population for decades after the war. It has dropped all talk of ending Japan's military alliance with U.S. imperialism, much less abolishing the armed forces: "We would for the time being limit defense spending within the equivalent of 1 percent of the country's gross national product" (*Japan Times*, 16 July). Given the enormous size of Japan's national output, even 1 percent finances one of the most powerful armed forces in the world. And the JSP spokesmen go on to say that they have "ruled out the possibility of unilaterally abolishing the security treaty" with the U.S.

For its part, Washington does not seem to be worried about Doi's foreign policy, which is staunchly anti-Soviet. What worries the American bourgeoisie far more is the JSP's now rabid trade protectionism—much worse than the LDP's. A JSP-led coalition government in Tokyo would almost certainly escalate the U.S.-Japan trade war.

Whatever its relations with Washington, a JSP-led coalition government will be no victory for the working class and the oppressed women of Japan. Social democracy in Japan as elsewhere serves only to bind the exploited and oppressed to the decaying and war-driven imperialist order. The liberation of Japan's proletariat, of women and oppressed minorities (such as the Korean community and immigrant workers from other Asian countries), demands the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party based on Leninist principles. The Spartacist Group Japan, sympathizing section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to building such a party in the struggle for international workers power. ■

Poland...

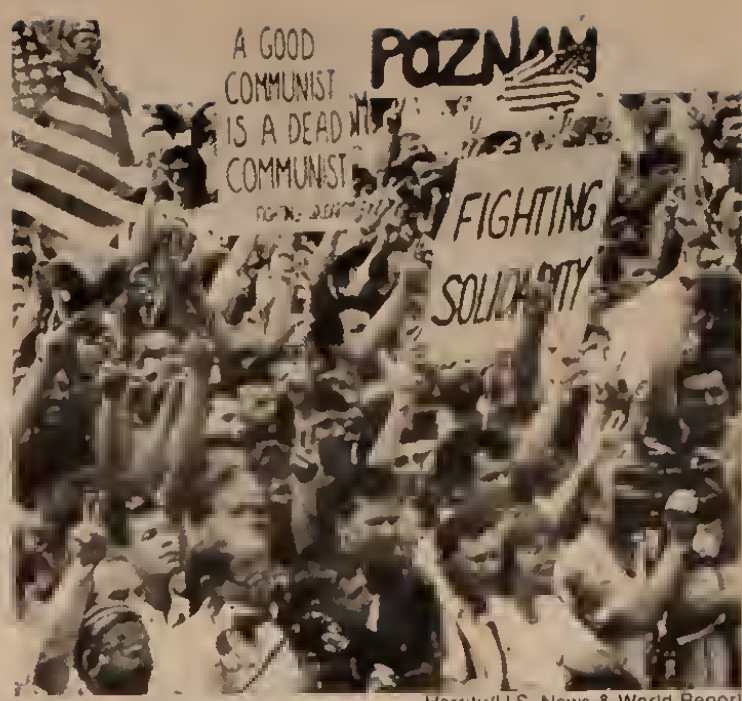
(continued from page 1)

The first victims would be the Polish workers, who are already paying the price of brutal austerity dictated by Western bankers and carried out first by the Stalinists and now by Solidarność. The economy is in chaos—prices are skyrocketing and the shops are bare, the black market flourishes and the floating of food prices on the "free market" has doubled and tripled the cost of staples such as meat, cheese and milk. Desperation has spawned bitter strikes. Thousands of coal miners have occupied two mine complexes in Silesia in a strike which Solidarność warns could "dynamite" the new government. Thousands of rail workers struck in Lodz, the second largest city, only going back after Walesa denounced their action as a "provocation aimed against the first Prime Minister elected on the initiative of Solidarity." While Walesa calls on the workers to halt all strikes for six months, the new government's plans will mean mass layoffs on top of the triple-digit inflation.

The Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), the mouthpiece of the Stalinist apparatus, talks of the new government as a "grand coalition." A majority of the PZPR parliamentary fraction even voted for Mazowiecki. In the deal worked out between the church and Polish president General Jaruzelski, Solidarność has the prime minister and most of the cabinet while the Stalinists hold on to the critical posts of defense and interior ministries, and Poland will remain in the Warsaw Pact. For anyone familiar with even the "A" of the "ABCs" of Marxism, this does not (yet) constitute a counterrevolution. The Stalinists still head the police and army, those "armed bodies of men" which constitute the core of state power. This is not a "coalition," but a state of dual power at the governmental level. It could even last for a while as the components dither around in parliamentary maneuvers. However, the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus is disintegrating as Poland slides toward economic chaos and political anarchy.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has created a situation where it is impossible for it to continue to exist as a parasitic caste balancing between world capitalism and the socialized economy. To pay the Western bankers means imposing a level of hardship that guarantees massive strikes, slowdowns, the breakdown of labor discipline. Added to this is the prospect of a popular uprising. As a desperate maneuver, the top echelons of the bureaucracy around Jaruzelski have sought to get Walesa & Co. to share responsibility for the economic shock treatment.

At the same time, a number of well-placed *apparatchiks* are looking out for number one by transforming themselves into private capitalists, now that they have run the socialized economy into the ground. A prototype is the former minister of industry, Mieczyslaw Wilcez, who is both a millionaire private entrepreneur and PZPR party member. Timothy Garton Ash writes in the *New York Review of Books* (15 June) that "the process whereby members of the *nomenklatura* advance into private enterprise, using the power and connections that go with their official positions, proceeds apace." Ash notes the advantages of "compensating some members of the *nomenklatura* for their loss of political power, and dividing it between those who stand to lose and those who stand to gain. One might call this the '*nomenklatura* buyout' theory."



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

AP

Reactionary Polish nationalists thirst for blood: "Fighting Solidarity" cheers U.S. imperialist chief Bush in Gdansk last July (left). Warsaw university group hails Marshal Pilsudski, fascistic dictator of interwar Poland.

Crisis of Stalinist Rule

The Polish events reflect a broader crisis of Stalinism. In Hungary the ruling party is split, the majority now calling themselves social democrats, while a myriad of rightist opposition parties sprout up. And not far in the background is Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. When PZPR chief Mieczyslaw Rakowski tried to hold out for more ministerial portfolios, Walesa told him to "stop rocking the boat" and a 40-minute phone call from Gorbachev delivered the same message. On a more fundamental level, the Polish events are a logical outcome of the Gorbachev perestroika "reforms." We have warned that this program of "market socialism" emboldens counterrevolutionary elements, and in Poland they are now on the threshold of power. This will have a direct influence on the situation in the Soviet Union, particularly the Baltic states, where behind calls for "self-determination" forces of counterrevolution are mounting.

Counterrevolution in Poland or the Baltic would not be some "peaceful" and "evolutionary" process, as Brzezinski and others paint it, but a *bloody pogrom*. For as Polish Catholic nationalism gains the upper hand, virulent anti-Communism and anti-Semitism come to the fore. Walesa is an open admirer of Polish prewar fascistic dictator Pilsudski; he asked the Solidarność parliamentary fraction to open its first meeting by singing, "We, the First Brigade," the marching song of Pilsudski's legions. Just how deep these strains run is seen in the case of Bronislaw Geremek, Walesa's chief brain-truster, whom many considered the obvious candidate for prime minister. The London *Guardian* (18 August) noted that Geremek "has come under attack from the Roman Catholic right because of his early membership of the Communist Party and because he is a Jew."

Downing/Newsweek

Bush and Reagan see Gorbachev's "new thinking" as green light to reconquer East Europe for capitalist exploitation.

The virulent anti-Semitism of Poland's Catholic hierarchy has been exposed by the dispute over a Carmelite convent on the site of Auschwitz death camp. A few years ago, under pressure from international Jewish groups, church officials from France and Belgium as well as Poland agreed to move the convent to a center for Christian-Jewish dialogue to be built nearby. After a small group of American Jews protested the continued presence of the convent at Auschwitz last month, Polish Cardinal Glemp spoke at the national shrine of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa August 26, accusing Jews of "offend[ing] the feelings of all Poles." Glemp ranted about Jewish-controlled media spreading "anti-Polish feeling," and vituperated: "dear Jews, do not talk with us from the position of a people raised above all others." While the Polish hierarchy has reneged on the promise to move the convent, the French and Belgian prelates involved insist the agreement is still in force.

Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky in his seminal article on "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933), which he characterized as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, foresaw a process remarkably similar to what is happening in Poland today. Trotsky notes: "The bureaucracy is not a ruling class. But the further development of the bureaucratic regime can lead to the inception of a new ruling class: not organically, through degeneration, but through counterrevolution." The strangulation of the party, soviets and trade unions, he points out, atomizes the proletariat:

> "The first social shock, external or internal, may throw the atomized Soviet society into civil war. The workers, having lost control over the state and economy, may resort to mass strikes as weapons of self-defense. The discipline of the dictatorship would be broken. Under the onslaught of the workers and because of the pressure of economic difficulties, the trusts would be forced to disrupt the planned beginnings and enter into competition with one another. The dissolution of the regime would naturally find its violent and chaotic echo in the village and would inevitably be thrown over into the army. The socialist state would collapse, giving place to the capitalist regime or, more correctly, to capitalist chaos."

Yet this does not mean the situation is hopeless, Trotsky insisted. As the working class entered into action, the Stalinist apparatus would be suspended in midair:

> "A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade.... The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."

An opening to build a revolutionary proletarian party now exists in Poland, especially because the workers are struggling not just against the despised Stalinist regime but also against Walesa & Co.

Workers Strike Against Solidarność Orders

The present events in Poland go back to the outbreak of workers strikes last

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year. The Stalinists tried to negotiate their way out via a series of "Round Table" discussions which led to the legalization of Solidarność and the calling of elections for June 4. The June elections produced a total rout of the Stalinists. While virtually every one of the Solidarity candidates got through on the first round, almost all of the PZPR's "national list" was defeated, even though they ran unopposed, as voters crossed off their names from the ballot in disgust. Solidarność took 99 out of 100 seats in the upper house of parliament, and now holds a third of the seats in the Sejm. This arrangement was supposed to guarantee a PZPR-led government, but when the Stalinists' previously compliant satellites (the United Peasants Party and Democratic Party) went over to Solidarność, General Kiszczak gave up his attempt to form a cabinet.

Solidarność leaders "came home" to Gdansk on Sunday, August 20, as Mazowiecki and Walesa attended an ornate celebratory mass. In the churchyard, Walesa had to silence a group of hecklers who shouted, "We want bread, not a prime minister." The protest was led by "Fighting Solidarity," a split-off connected with the ultrarightist clerical-nationalist KPN. At the first congress of Solidarność in 1981, these were the people who led opposition to any positive reference to "socialism" in its program. When Bush came to Gdansk in July, "Fighting Solidarity" welcomed him with signs proclaiming, "A Good Communist is a Dead Communist." The Polish economic crisis is so sharp that it has fueled support for these violent anti-Communists who reject the "Round Table" agreement. At the same time, the Stalinist-led unions have also won support by protesting austerity policies, while Solidarność unions have grown slowly, with only about a fifth the membership they had in their heyday of 1981.

Solidarność' economic calculations are based on somehow getting massive aid from Western capitalism. When Bush visited Poland in July, Walesa repeatedly asked him for $10 billion to save his country from a "great, great upheaval." Yet the American president promised only $115 *million*, barely one percent of what Walesa asked for. Imperialist aid is crucial for Solidarność' plans: with all of the talk about restoring capitalism how can they do it without big infusions of capital? There's nobody in Poland with any capital to buy up state-owned industry, even at bargain-basement prices. Yet Washington and Wall Street are loaded up with debt—from the federal deficit, bankrupt S&Ls and Latin America—and those that have the cash, like Frankfurt and Tokyo bankers, are reluctant to pour it into the sinkhole of Poland.

And now Solidarność will have to take responsibility for the economic policies which spell misery for its working-class base. As an analyst from the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations put it:

> "As Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki is going to have two problems. First, he is going to have to stab his adversaries and then he is going to have to stab his supporters... he is going to have to shut down inefficient, overmanned state enterprises, such as the Gdansk shipyards, where Solidarity was born, or some mines and steel mills...."

The architect of Solidarność' economic plans is Harvard professor Jeffery Sachs, whose claim to fame was advising the Bolivian government on how to defeat hyperinflation in 1985. Sachs' solution: firing two-thirds of the tin miners, the key section of the Bolivian proletariat. This program could be explosive if tried in Poland, a bureaucratically deformed workers state where capitalism was abolished and the workers' interests are supposed to be paramount. As we pointed out in "Solidarność/Stalinist Pact Against the Workers" (*WV* No. 479, 9 June), "The workers are beginning to recognize that Walesa & Co. are *traitors* to their class."

WV Photo

Almost a decade ago, international Spartacist tendency exposed Solidarność as a Polish company union for the CIA and Wall Street: demonstration outside Solidarność office in New York, September 1981.

Panorama/DDR

Columbia University Press

Ksiazka i Wiedza

no credit

Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's"—Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa of the early Polish Communist Party.

Now that Solidarność leaders have explicitly avowed that their aim is to restore capitalism in Poland, it lays the objective basis for defenders of socialist property to seek unity with the proletarian base of Solidarność in genuine class opposition to the Stalinist bureaucrats and former leaders of Solidarność who aspire to form a neo-bourgeoisie on the backs of the workers. But as Lenin noted, politics is concentrated economics, and militant labor struggles won't go very far without forging an authentic Marxist party, for which Poland has ample traditions.

Internationalist Tradition of Polish Communism

The Western press depicts the entire Polish people as always and irrevocably ardently nationalist and piously Catholic. Communism is presented as a totally alien element in the Polish body politic, imposed solely by the Russian Red Army in 1945. For example, a historical sketch of postwar Poland in the *New York Times* (18 August) is titled "40 Years of Communism in Poland: Stalin's House on a Soft Foundation." The reality is just the reverse. It was Stalin and his followers and heirs who destroyed and discredited Communism in Poland.

For decades Poland had one of the oldest and strongest traditions of Marxist proletarian socialism of any European country. The *first* Marxist working-class party in the tsarist empire, the party Proletariat, was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s. Ludwik Warynski's Proletariat rejected the traditional Polish radical program of a national uprising and worked closely with the Russian populists for a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire. Warynski's *anti*-nationalist tradition was taken over in the next generation by the greatest Polish proletarian revolutionary leader of all, Rosa Luxemburg. The Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL), led by Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches, united the vanguard of the Polish proletariat and left-wing intelligentsia.

In the decade before World War I the mass of the Polish industrial working class adhered to the Polish Socialist Party-Left, a centrist formation which significantly did *not* agitate for the restoration of an independent Polish state. The nationalist wing of Polish socialism, led by Josef Pilsudski, was supported by only a *minority* of the Polish workers in this period. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the defeat of Germany by the Western powers in World War I led to the establishment of an independent Polish bourgeois state, with Pilsudski at its head, in late 1918. At the same time the Polish Communist Party was formed through a fusion of Luxemburg's SDKPiL and the Polish Socialist Party-Left.

Roman Werfel, who joined the Polish Communist Party in 1923, told of the CP's internationalist spirit in an interview with a pro-Solidarność journalist:

> "The most important thing for communists at the time was not the issue of frontiers, but that of an all-European socialist revolution, whose outbreak was perfectly conceivable. There seems to be an implication, in what you've just been saying, that a great nation, a nation worthy of note, is one which appropriates the greatest possible number of territories populated by foreign nations. But this view is false. It may be correct from the point of view of the exploiting classes, which profit from such territories, but certainly not from the point of view of the people; they get

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Poland...

(continued from page 13)

> some scraps from time to time, but later they pay for those conquests with sweat and blood."
>
> —quoted in Teresa Toranska, *Oni: Stalin's Polish Puppets* (1987)

In the early 1920s the Communist Party under the leadership of the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa) was stronger within the Polish working class than the Pilsudskiite social democrats. There was a saying in the Communist International: "The German party is the biggest; the Polish party is the best." In fact, the Polish party offered more resistance to Stalinization than any other large Communist party. In December 1923 its central committee sent a letter of protest to the Russian party which stated:

> "...for our party, nay for the whole Comintern, for the whole revolutionary proletariat the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism."
>
> —quoted in M.K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* (1976)

The Polish-American historian Dziewanowski observes: "A pro-Trotsky undercurrent continued to remain a factor of some importance until the party's dissolution [in 1938], particularly among the Jewish membership."

In the late 1920s the Communists led the opposition to Pilsudski's fascistic dictatorship, while the social democrats served as Pilsudski's shock troops. The growing White terror forced ever larger numbers of Polish Communists to take refuge in the Soviet Union. While many foreign Communists were killed in the Great Purges of the late '30s, Stalin's war against the Polish party was exceptional. Practically all Polish Communists in Soviet territory were either physically liquidated or sent to labor camps. The entire leadership—Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa, Unszlicht—was killed. In 1938 in an unprecedented act Stalin dissolved the Polish Communist Party as a "nest of Pilsudskiite-Trotskyites."

The destruction of Polish Communism begun by Pilsudski, carried forward by Stalin, was continued by Hitler. Many Communist cadre were killed during the Nazi occupation. No less important, the extermination of the Jews radically changed the political balance of forces in Polish society. Jews constituted 10 percent of the prewar population, proportionally greater than in any other country. As an oppressed and urbanized people, Jews played an important role in all Polish left-wing organizations. Thus the Nazi Holocaust destroyed a powerful counterweight to the clerical-nationalist forces of Polish reaction. Stalin and Hitler, along with Pilsudski, are the three godfathers of Solidarność.

Bitter Fruits of Bureaucratic Rule

Nonetheless, Communism was by no means an insignificant and despised force in Poland when the Soviet Red Army liberated the country at the end of World War II. Many young workers and intellectuals looked forward to the socialist reconstruction of their devastated country. Significantly, a number of prominent figures now in Solidarność were once ardent Communists. As a teenager in the early 1950s, Jacek Kuron, today a pro-Western social democrat, was a fanatical Stalinist who enjoyed publicly baiting Pilsudskiite reactionaries. Filmmaker Andrzej Wajda, currently a Solidarność senator, began by directing "socialist-realist" epics. Wajda's interesting film *Man of Marble*, made in the late '70s, depicts the socialist idealism of many young workers in the early postwar years.

That idealism was soon eroded by Stalinist police-state terror amid the economic privileges enjoyed by the bureaucracy. Yet the mass of Polish workers and intellectuals continued to believe in socialism. The crisis of "de-Stalinization" in 1956 brought Poland to the brink of a proletarian political revolution. It was headed off by the liberal-national Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka. Once Gomulka had consolidated his power, in part by conciliating the Catholic hierarchy, he suppressed both the workers councils and leftist intellectual circles which had arisen during the 1956 "Polish October."

AP

Silesian copper miners strike in May against IMF-dictated economic shock treatment being carried out by bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy and Solidarność.

As the economy stagnated in the 1960s, Gomulka's once-great popularity declined. In 1968 a faction within the bureaucracy around secret police chief Moczar sought to channel the growing popular discontent into traditional anti-Semitic Polish chauvinism. Under the rubric of "anti-Zionism," the few tens of thousands of Jews who had survived the Nazi Holocaust, many of them loyal Communist cadre, were driven out of the country. This reactionary and cynical campaign further alienated the intelligentsia from the "Communist" regime and strengthened the forces of clerical nationalism.

In 1970 the Baltic ports exploded when the Gomulka regime raised food prices a few weeks before Christmas. Led by the shipbuilders, thousands of workers, some singing the *Internationale*, attacked police and burned down the Party headquarters in Gdansk and Szczecin. Gomulka ordered in the army: over a hundred workers were killed. Once again Poland stood on the brink of a mass workers uprising. And once again Polish Stalinism presented to the workers a new face and a new deal. Gomulka was replaced by Edward Gierek, an ex-coal miner with a reputation as a liberal reformer. Gierek personally went to the Baltic ports and vowed his government would never use force to suppress workers' protests. He further promised an era of unparalleled economic prosperity. Walesa recounted that he, like most Polish workers, welcomed and believed Gierek's promises.

Gierek's "economic miracle" of the early '70s was financed by massive borrowing from Western banks. When in 1976 Gierek imposed an austerity program to pay back the loan sharks of Wall Street and Frankfurt, Polish workers reacted even more strongly because they felt betrayed. It was only after 1976 that the mass of the Polish proletariat and intelligentsia became totally disillusioned with the "real existing socialism" as practiced in their country. Gradually, they turned to the Vatican and Western capitalist governments for salvation. Solidarność arose out of the "dissident" circles of workers and intellectuals nurtured and protected by the church hierarchy, now directed by Polish Pope Karol Wojtyla.

Build a Bolshevik Party!

The formation of a Solidarność-led government in Poland has heightened the triumphalist mood in Western ruling circles that the end of Communism is at hand. The latest rage at Washington cocktail parties is the apocalyptic vision of State Department "theoretician" Francis Fukuyama who claims we are now witnessing "the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy" (*New York Times*, 27 August).

This kind of "the West has won the Cold War" triumphalism rests on two fatal illusions: that the people of East Europe, the Soviet Union and China are longing to transform their societies along the lines of "free world" capitalism; and that the Soviet government, under Gorbachev, will not or cannot prevent capitalist restoration in East Europe. The latter view is strongly espoused by Zbigniew Brzezinski, who combines the blustering arrogance of American Cold Warriors with the anti-Russian chauvinism and Great Power illusions of the Polish petty nobility.

Yet many of the social struggles which have convulsed the Communist world in the past year have been not *for* but *against* the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucracies to introduce elements of capitalism into the collectivized economy. The massive strikes of coal miners in Siberia and the Ukraine last month were directed against the effects of Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika. The upheaval in China was fueled by the resentment of working people over the gross corruption and inequalities generated by Deng's policy of "building socialism with capitalist methods." Even in Poland workers are now striking against the IMF-dictated economic shock treatment being carried out by the Solidarność-led government.

While Western imperialist ideologues imagine the masses in so-called Communist countries yearning for capitalism, they have also convinced themselves that the Soviet government has become a "paper tiger" which will no longer protect its postwar sphere of influence in East Europe. The talk in Washington is that the 1945 Yalta agreement has become null and void and East Europe is up for grabs. Plans are mooted about to bring Poland *and independent Baltic republics* into the IMF. But if unfolding counterrevolution menaced the Soviets along their vital Western borders and threatened to blow apart the multinational USSR, Moscow would have little choice but to respond militarily. Thus Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism, far from easing or ending the Cold War, has *increased* the danger of World War III.

Restoration of capitalism in East Europe would not introduce a new global order based on "liberal democracy"; it would mean bloody counterrevolution, nationalist pogroms and wars, which could lead to nuclear holocaust. The struggles now taking shape in East Europe will determine not only the near-term future of this region but possibly the fate of mankind. The bankruptcy and internal demoralization of Stalinism has opened the road to capitalist restoration. But it also brings to the fore the possibility for proletarian political revolution establishing workers (soviet) democracy. For the working class of East Europe and the Soviet Union to triumph, over both the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and the counterrevolutionary nationalists, requires the leadership of a genuine communist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

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Labor: Use Your Muscle...

(continued from page 16)

turn?" (*Washington Post*, 20 August).

All the '80s talk of the "death of labor" was cut short by the immensely popular and explosive strikes at Eastern Airlines and in the coal fields. When the Eastern strike began in March, the Machinists' call for flying pickets to hit railroads from Boston to Chicago electrified the labor movement. That mouthpiece of finance capital, the *Wall Street Journal* (3 March), called secondary picketing the unions' "atom bomb." But IAM chief William Winpisinger, this self-styled "seat-of-the-pants socialist," never had any intention of challenging the bosses' anti-strike injunctions—his threats of secondary strikes were pure bluff designed to pressure Bush to intervene and *call off the strike*.

The current strike by Pittston miners is a do-or-die battle for the UMW. The mine operators are intent on wiping out the industrywide contract. Miners know this is class war—50,000 UMW members wildcatted in solidarity with the Pittston strike across eleven states, defying federal marshals, coal company judges *and the UMW misleaders*. But union president Richard Trumka is disorganizing the Pittston workers' struggle by splitting them off from the rest of the union ("selective strikes") and pushing instead civil disobedience and useless "corporate campaign"-style appeals to bankers, paving the road to another defeat like the one he engineered at A.T. Massey in 1984-85.

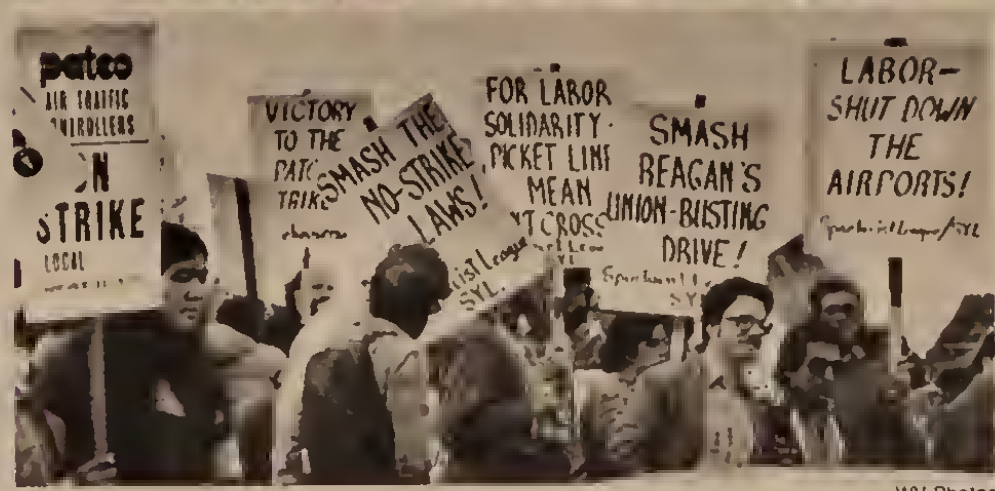
It is a truism in the labor movement today that "if we'd all gone out when Reagan fired PATCO, we wouldn't be in this fix today." But who let PATCO hang? Who dug this hole for labor? The same sellout bureaucracy that is sabotaging the Eastern and Pittston strikes today. For years they tried to buy social peace by skimming off some crumbs for a labor aristocracy of white workers, while blacks were "last hired, first fired" and AFL job-trusting went unchallenged. Then when the post-Vietnam recession hit, these "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" saluted General Motors and began *ripping up their own union contracts*, handing over billions to the bosses, and all the time herding labor to the polls to vote for the partner parties of American imperialism.

For Union Independence from the Bosses' State!

Today they are replaying the PATCO defeat, as Eastern strikers are hung out to dry. The labor bureaucracy bows before injunctions barring secondary strikes, and begs Congress to impose the no-strike machinery of the Railway Labor Act. In the coal fields, cops carry out thousands of arrests, courts order union leaders jailed and levy million-dollar fines on union treasuries—and the Trumka leadership of the UMW just eats it. They don't lift a finger for the courageous Kentucky miners imprisoned for 40 years for defending their union in the Massey strike.

From PATCO to Pittston, every strike has come up against the state—its cops, courts and capitalist politicians. The American labor bureaucracy can't fight the capitalist state because it was installed as willing lieutenants in U.S. imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet Union abroad and the purging of reds from the unions at home. Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky wrote of the unions in one of his last articles:

> "They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940)



WV Photos

From Detroit auto to PATCO, Spartacists say: Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win! To unleash their power, workers must sweep away sellout bureaucrats and company cops like IAM's William Winpisinger and UAW's Owen Bieber and Doug Fraser (below).

WV Photo

UPI Photos

Today as well, the only way to break the stranglehold of the AFL-CIO misleaders, who police the unions for the bosses, is to build a solid leadership with the program and determination to wage the class struggle through to victory.

But the self-styled alternatives to the present gang of loser bureaucrats are no less wedded to the capitalist state. The reformist "left" is currently trumpeting an outfit called New Directions, an "opposition" formation in the UAW which is backed by the social-democratic *Labor Notes* crowd. On the eve of the June UAW convention in Los Angeles, New Directions candidates won a number of early delegate elections, whereupon the UAW International raised a war chest of over $400,000 to defeat them. In May, Solidarity House mobilized a rare picket line—against a *Labor Notes* conference!

New Directions is nothing but a vehicle for out-of-office bureaucrats. It is the creation of Jerry Tucker, a UAW rep for 14 years, and brain-trusted by Victor Reuther, the former UAW international affairs director who carried out anti-Communist union-busting in Europe for the CIA. New Directions offers auto workers nothing but a warmed-over Reutherite program of redbaiting, rabid protectionism and reliance on the Democratic Party. Notably, their campaign literature is marked by a deafening silence on the fight against racism. Yet this is key in the UAW as in other key industrial unions, where black workers form the strategic core of support for militant class struggle.

Then there are the networks of solidarity committees which pose as a "progressive" alternative to the rabid "AFL-CIA" Cold Warriors around Lane Kirkland. They criticize the activities of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), notorious for backing anti-Communist coups in Latin America. These committees were initiated by union officials, largely affiliated with the DSA social democrats, around protests for Central American unionists seized and tortured by U.S.-backed death squad regimes. But while opposing the AIFLD's ultra-reactionary policies, they only want to realign it with the liberal Democrats.

Thus at the 1987 AFL-CIO convention, the liberal/reformist bloc compromised with Kirkland and voted for a resolution that opposed aid to the loser contras but attacked the Nicaraguan Revolution by opposing Soviet and Cuban military aid to the Sandinistas! At home, these same social democrats have been prominent in labor support rallies for Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern and Pittston strikes. Yet their "solidarity" rings hollow, consisting mainly of useless consumer boycotts or pleas to lobby Congress. When it comes to organizing hard strike action, they're nowhere to be seen. And when it's necessary to use labor's muscle to stop racist terrorists, the social-democratic "solidarity" networks, like the social-democratic out-bureaucrats of New Directions, prefer talkfests with liberal Democrats.

The key to victory for labor's cause, at home and abroad, is forging a class-struggle leadership. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and our supporters in the unions have waged this fight in a number of key battles. When the UAW tops were giving back billions to Chrysler, the SL called for sit-down strikes to save Dodge Main and stop mass layoffs. When Winpisinger & Co. left PATCO strikers to hang, we called on the unions to shut down the airports by pulling out all airline workers. And repeatedly, when the KKK lynchers tried to march in America's major cities, notably in Detroit (1980), Washington (1982) and Philadelphia (1988), united-front mobilizations initiated by the SL and Partisan Defense Committee brought out the labor/black power that stopped the fascists cold.

It is just this kind of militant workers' struggle, but on a mass scale, which built the powerful industrial unions in the U.S. And it was reds who took the lead then as well. The CIO was preceded by three citywide general strikes led by avowed communists in 1934 (San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo). The sit-down strikes, which the UAW tops like to claim as their own, were initiated by reds, while Reuther & Co. scrambled to keep on top. But the Stalinist Communist Party threw away its credentials as labor militants when it enforced Roosevelt's no-strike pledge during World War II, even organizing scabs to break miners strikes. This only made the anti-Communist witchhunters' job easier when the CP's services were no longer needed. And all along, the reformists, social-democratic or Stalinist, looked to the capitalist state and the Democrats.

Sixty years ago, in another period when the labor movement in the U.S. was in retreat—with craft union bureaucrats abandoning workers in mass production industries while trying to preserve their job trusts; when black workers were barred from unions by racist "whites only" provisions, or segregated in separate locals; when the Mine Workers, once the powerhouse of American labor, had been decimated—James P. Cannon, an early leader of the CP who went on to found the Trotskyist movement in this country, pointed to the key task confronting class-struggle militants in the unions:

> "The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its 'labor' wing. De Leon's classic definition of the reactionary labor leaders as 'lieutenants of the capitalist class' holds doubly good today. The distinctive features of these labor leaders in comparison to the social-reformist leaders of Europe consists in the fact that they are outspoken defenders of the whole capitalist regime and all of its institutions, without 'socialistic' pretense or class-struggle phraseology. Their program is a program of stark reaction. They repudiate the class struggle in words as well as deeds. They oppose any kind of independent political action. They support the whole military program of American imperialism and will indubitably be a powerful ally of the capitalists in lining up the workers for the coming war and demoralizing the struggle against it....
>
> "The struggle for a labor party, as part of the struggle for the development of a class movement of the American workers, requires an intransigent fight against the AFL leadership and the Socialist Party, who represent obstacles to this development."
>
> —"Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929)

Today as in the post-WWII McCarthy witchhunts and the post-WWI red scare, the domestic war on labor and blacks is directly linked to a global crusade against Communism. The socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 for the first time in history established workers rule. Ever since, the bourgeoisie and their labor flunkeys have been haunted by the spectre of Bolshevik revolution promising the end of capitalist class rule and the paltry privileges the labor bureaucracy derives from it. Working-class militants must fight for a workers party, ousting the current pro-Democratic union misleaders, to lead the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and its scourges of war, unemployment and racist oppression. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Key to Victory—A Class-Struggle Leadership

Labor: Use Your Muscle!

Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

Striking Pittston miners massed outside Moss No. 3 in Clinchfield, Virginia. Longshoremen, rail and steel workers must refuse to handle scab coal!

Last year saw the lowest total of major strikes since the government began keeping statistics over 40 years ago. This year the picture is very different. As the pro-business *U.S. News & World Report* (22 May) noted, "Strikes are breaking out all over." Eastern Airlines workers are engaged in a life-or-death fight against corporate raider Frank Lorenzo. In the coal fields, miners are waging class war against the coal bosses—the existence of their union is on the line. In August, phone workers struck profit-bloated regional Bell companies which were slashing vital medical plans. Across the country there have been big labor rallies; unionists have poured into the United Mine Workers' Camp Solidarity to show support for the Pittston strikers.

Fed up with Reaganite union-busting, their backs to the wall, the ranks of labor are ready to fight. They *are* fighting. But all of these strikes have been left to turn in the wind. Over and over, the union tops capitulate as soon as the first judge whispers the word "injunction." The labor fakers play by the bosses' rules, and it's not hard to figure out why. They know in their bones that in a wave of sit-down strikes, mass picketing, "hot-cargoing"—the militant tactics which built the big industrial unions—they would be quickly swept aside.

If ever there was a time for militant union solidarity *in action*, this is it. If steel workers *refused to handle scab coal*, if rail workers and longshoremen refused to ship it, Pittston would quickly be brought to its knees. If IAM airline mechanics and Teamster fuel haulers walked out in solidarity with the Eastern strikers, this would *shut down the airports* and whip Lorenzo's ass.

After a decade of wage slashing, massive scabherding and government strikebreaking, the working class is eager to *strike back*. There is an acute shortage of skilled labor, and the capitalist press worries about the enormous pressure to drive up wages. Yet the *New York Times* (4 August) brags about "The Wage Jump That Never Came" despite years of a tight labor market. In fact, real wages have *fallen more than 12 percent* in the last decade, as unionization has fallen to the lowest point in half a century: less than one worker in six belongs to a union. Meanwhile, the sell-out and giveback artists sitting atop the AFL-CIO are ripping up hard-won union gains left and right. A solid strike victory could turn the labor movement around after a decade of defeats, but that means a hard fight against the defenders of capitalism who have hog-tied the labor movement.

Meanwhile, millions of workers, including the bulk of doubly oppressed black, Hispanic and women workers, have never seen the inside of a union hall. From NYC to L.A., the sweatshop is thriving, filled with undocumented workers without legal rights. Rather than organizing the unorganized and fighting for full rights for immigrant workers, labor officialdom whips up a protectionist frenzy against Japanese, Mexican and all foreign workers in order to protect American bosses' profits. For the lowest paid, Bush vetoes any increase in the minimum wage, while Reagan-era cuts in housing, medical and welfare benefits keep mounting. In the ghettos and barrios, the lid is kept on the pressure cooker with racist cop terror, built through the bipartisan "war on drugs." On the picket line, scab-herding is a booming business. Scabs are rebaptized "replacement workers" and allowed by the courts to vote in union certification elections while strikers are barred.

In recent years, a series of bitter, hard-fought strikes have gone down to defeat: Phelps Dodge copper miners, Greyhound workers, Hormel meatpackers, International Paper workers. Others, like the Colt Industries strike or the NYC longshoremen's tug strike, drag on for years, as scabs roll past token picket lines. These strikes were defeated because the die-on-your-knees labor bureaucracy *knifed them in the back*. This generation of labor traitors has done the bosses' bidding for so long they don't know *how* to win strikes. An AFL-CIO lobbyist, lamenting the state of the Eastern strike, asks: "Where do we go? We had a solid strike. Where do we

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Lynch Mob Murder in Bensonhurst.....3

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 485 | 15 September 1989

For Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense Against Racist Terror!

New York at the Flashpoint

Sheppard/Daily News

Cops brutally beat black marcher on Brooklyn Bridge as protest over racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins headed toward City Hall. White racists (right) taunt black demonstrators in Bensonhurst.

Franco/NY Times

SEPTEMBER 12—They stood for hours in the blistering sun outside Glover Memorial Baptist Church in East New York for the funeral of Yusuf Hawkins, the 16-year-old black youth shot pointblank by a lynch mob in Bensonhurst. The overflow crowd of 2,000 was overwhelmingly black, ranging from teenagers to elderly churchgoers. A contingent of unionists included 1199 hospital workers and several busloads of NYNEX phone strikers wearing black armbands in memory of union steward Gerry Hogan, killed on the picket line by a scab's car.

The cops had the mourners penned up, with police sharpshooters menacingly stationed on surrounding rooftops. When the Hawkins family emerged from the church, the crowd formed up and marched behind the hearse; one woman called out to neighbors to come along because "It could be your son next." They buried Yusuf Hawkins in Evergreen cemetery on Bushwick Avenue, not far from the grave of another victim of a racist mob, Michael Griffith, chased into the path of a speeding car in Howard Beach in 1986.

Black activists had called for a "Day of Outrage" the next day, and 8,000 turned out at Grand Army Plaza, where they faced a crescent of NYPD motorcycle cops. They marched down Flatbush Avenue chanting "Yusuf! Yusuf!" But when they tried to march across the Brooklyn Bridge, cops swooped down at the entrance to the bridge, beating up protesters in the front lines of the march.

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No to the Democrats/Republicans! Build a Workers Party!

Bush's "Drug War" Targets Latin America

U.S. Narcs of the World

President George "Poppy" Bush says he wants an escalated "war on drugs," and now the country is being pushed toward a dangerous military mobilization. Already aircraft and scores of U.S. military "advisers" have been sent to Colombia; a presidential directive allows them to take part in patrols. Soon we may be watching pictures on TV of U.S. soldiers torching peasant huts, as in Vietnam. "Drug czar" William Bennett is talking about sending in American combat troops and strike forces. Democrats in Congress say Bush's plan doesn't go far enough and talk about shooting planes out of the sky. At home, Bush's program, as he said in his first prime-time TV address to the nation, is "more prisons, more jails, more courts, more prosecutors." And also more black and Hispanic youth gunned down and beaten to death by the cops as the racist rulers try to run America's ghettos and barrios like a police state.

As usual, Congress and the media snapped to attention for their commander in chief. TV, radio and the press daily blared out headline stories about the nation's "number one problem"; soon there came the inevitable polls showing Americans' "concern" in exact proportion to the size of the media barrage. Congress chimed in too: the house "opposition" Democrats' only complaint was that Bush's proposals aren't "tough" enough and expensive enough—they want to raise taxes to pay for it all. Sounding like a modern Scrooge, who suggested that the problems of the poor should be

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Helms/Compix

Customs service drug cops in Florida with Black Hawk attack helicopter. "Drug war" means more police terror.

WV Photo

Boris Yeltsin and the Vulgar Charm of the Bourgeoisie

Boris Yeltsin, the "radical" advocate of Soviet market "reforms," arrived here September 9 for an eight-day, eight-city speaking tour of the United States, at $25,000 a shot. Speaking at Columbia University on September 11, Yeltsin positively glowed about his instant love affair with Bush's racist, capitalist America. He'd been taught that "capitalism is in the process of rotting away," Yeltsin sneered, but "the first thing I have seen is that capitalism is flourishing."

Yeltsin gave a hearty thumbs up as he viewed the Statue of Liberty from a helicopter. The "poor and huddled masses" don't get to fly over in a helicopter, though—they are hunted down at the Mexican border by racist cops. Yeltsin marveled as he strolled through the "brass-and-glass atrium" of Trump Tower. Of course the homeless and people with AIDS who demonstrate for housing outside Trump's palace are driven off by police. Describing a chance meeting with a group of homeless people in midtown Manhattan, Yeltsin opined: "They were complaining the Government does not give them a place to live, but while they were protesting, they seemed quite good-natured" (*New York Times*, 11 September). Homeless but happy, huh, Boris? Try living in a devastated New York ghetto or a crime-ridden "shelter" for a couple of nights.

Yeltsin found America a veritable bosses' paradise—not surprising, given that he's being fêted by the likes of David Rockefeller. He's also itching to meet with Bush, explaining to the Columbia audience: "Perestroika has got to be saved and I think the United States could participate actively in this process." Like Bush and Rockefeller, Yeltsin insists that the Soviet Union needs "pluralism"—as Moscow party chief in 1987, this pluralist even entertained a delegation from the Great Russian fascists of Pamyat. But when he was challenged by one questioner at Columbia to meet striking American workers, Yeltsin gave a discreet thumbs down.

The Spartacist League had a literature table outside the Columbia meeting displaying a placard which read, in Russian and English, "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" alongside a picture of the two leaders of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule for the first time in history. Notwithstanding the subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin/Bukharin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"—an accommodation to imperialist capitalism on a world scale, from which Gorbachev's market "reforms" flow—we defend the Soviet Union against counterrevolution from within or without. As communists in capitalist America, we'd like to see the homeless *take over* Trump Tower; we seek to mobilize labor and the oppressed to fight racist terror. We take inspiration from the Russian Revolution, as we struggle for the day when the socialist revolution will triumph in this country. ■

WV Photo

Trotskyism continues the Bolshevik tradition. Spartacist table at Columbia University, September 11.

TROTSKY

For Workers Political Revolution in China!

LENIN

In seeking the road to oust the venal and corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, the Chinese workers can look back to their revolutionary past. Peng Shu-tse was a leader of the Chinese Communist Party in its revolutionary, Leninist period in the early 1920s; an opponent of the Stalin-mandated capitulation to the bourgeois Kuomintang of bloody Chiang Kai-shek; and a veteran leader of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, which was subjected to vicious repression under both Chiang and Mao. The key to the Chinese proletarian political revolution, whose program comrade Peng laid out in 1960, is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

...at present in China, as in Russia, the Eastern European countries, North Korea, and North Vietnam, it is impossible to carry out democratic reforms. The right road, and the only possible one, is political revolution. The following program for political revolution should be proposed by us:

1. End the special privileges of the bureaucracy. Down with the new aristocracy (including the "labor hero" or "model worker") and its rankings. Greater equality in wages for all forms of labor. Strict observance of the eight-hour day. Greater efforts to raise the living standard of all laborers.

2. Fight for freedom of choice in union and factory committees, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press.

3. In line with the interests and the will of the peasants, thorough reorganization of the communes....

5. Replace the "People's Congress" with worker, peasant, and soldier soviets, excluding not only bourgeois elements but the bureaucratic aristocracy, limiting the delegates in the soviets to workers, peasants, and soldiers.

6. Ban all parties and factions of the bourgeoisie. All parties that accept socialism must be granted legal recognition and the right to conduct political activities.

7. Abrogate the foreign policy of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence"; substitute the strategy of pushing forward the world revolution.

8. Together with the worker-peasant masses in the Soviet bloc, overthrow the system of Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship and restore or establish socialist democracy.

In fighting for the above program of political revolution, we Trotskyists, standing with the masses, resolutely and unconditionally defend the existing socialist property and planned economy against imperialism, particularly any intervention or invasion of China engineered by American imperialism.

Long live socialist democracy!

Long live the world revolution!

—Peng Shu-tse, "On the Nature of the Chinese Communist Party" (April 1960)

Knife-Wielding Scabs Attack Hispanic Strikers

HAYWARD, California—In a small, hard-fought strike, predominantly Hispanic women are battling to unionize a bakery in this East Bay town. After two months, and despite a brutal attack by knife-wielding scabs that sent three pickets to the hospital, the strike remains solid.

The strike began on July 11 when the owners of the New Life Bakery fired 14 workers and laid off 13 more in reprisal for their signing union cards authorizing Local 164 of the Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers to represent them. At that point 65 production workers, most of them female and Hispanic, went out on strike. Most workers at this sweatshop get the California minimum wage ($4.25 per hour) and nothing else—no vacation, sick leave, pension or medical benefits.

On August 8, sixteen men, led by the owner's two sons, charged out of the bakery into the picket line. Twelve women were on the picket line along with two men, Ignacio de la Fuente, Local 164 International representative, and Enrique Reyes, a striker. The goons slashed de la Fuente above the left eye and Reyes was knifed in the head and stomach, injuries requiring 18 stitches. The women were punched and 68-year-old Margarita Vargas was knocked to the ground and kicked. She was admitted to the hospital bleeding and in shock. The cops arrived, confiscated the scabs' knives—which were still bloody—but have refused to make any arrests.

The hated *migra* (Immigration and Naturalization Service) has also been used against the strikers. As soon as the picket line went up, a cop threatened to get strikers deported. The August issue of the Alameda County AFL-CIO's *East Bay Labor Journal* reported that a Guatemalan striker "vanished the first time he checked in for a regularly scheduled INS interview following the start of the strike."

On August 18, three hundred unionists turned out for a mass picket called by the Alameda Central Labor Council to protest the scab assault. The pickets were met by Hayward police with clubs and riot gear, as scores of other cops assembled nearby. But the Labor Council tops' only response was to plead that the cops were "overreacting," while telling strikers and their supporters to let the scabs enter. Now the bureaucrats' "strike support" consists of pleading with storeowners to take New Life organic cookies and pop tarts off their shelves!

Last April, the Hayward cops and their ex-cop mayor mobilized to give Klansman David Duke's "Populist Party" a platform at the city's library, a provocation which was called off at the last minute. Now, they think they can run roughshod over Hispanic women strikers. *But only because the powerful integrated labor movement of the Bay Area hasn't been brought out to show these racist labor-haters what workers power can do.* For mass picket lines to send the scabs and thugs packing! Teach these cockroach capitalists a lesson. Organize the unorganized! Win the New Life strike now!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 485 **15 September 1989**

China and the Left

The mass outpouring of defiance in Beijing and cities throughout China last spring heralded proletarian political revolution against the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy led by Deng Xiaoping. The imperialist press tried to paint the protests in Tiananmen Square as pro-Western, and equated the students' "goddess of democracy" with the Statue of Liberty. While the student protests surely contained confused and contradictory elements, their main thrust went in the *opposite* direction from that desired by imperialism. People who repeatedly sang the socialist anthem, the *Internationale*, even as they marched out of the square under the guns of Deng's tanks on June 4, were not seeking to restore capitalism. What terrified the bureaucracy was the dramatic mobilization of hundreds of thousands of *workers*, defending the students against martial law repression and showing their own outrage over the unemployment, inflation and gross inequality spawned by ten years of "building socialism with capitalist methods."

As the protesters sat in Tiananmen Square on the eve of the crackdown, many were acutely aware that their vague program of pressuring the bureaucracy for reforms, centering on greater political democracy and against corruption, was leading nowhere. The Beijing massacre starkly underlined the need for a clear *class* program for proletarian political revolution and *soviet* democracy. Yet much of the left internationally basically echoed the imperialist lies, either promoting illusions in bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Stalinist bureaucratic rule, or else denouncing the protests as pro-capitalist and whitewashing the Deng regime. As we wrote in the wake of the June 4 massacre (*WV* No. 480, 23 June): "*The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard.*"

No Glasnost for Gus

In the case of Gus Hall's Communist Party USA, the Beijing Spring provoked some "two-line struggle" at home. In the 25 May *People's Daily World* Hall asserted that "the working class has not joined in the actions." But *PDW* Moscow correspondent and former longtime editor of the West Coast *People's World* Carl Bloice reported from Beijing that as early as May 16 "hundreds of thousands of local residents...began pouring into the streets," that "public transit, taxi and trucking workers had already begun to hit the pavement. By May 19, many more workers had gone on strike, and large rallies were under way almost constantly in neighborhoods where mostly workers live." Insisting that "it was hard to find a demonstrator arguing for a multi-party system or opposing socialism," Bloice denounced the brutality of Deng's crackdown as "simply incomprehensible. Nothing I saw in Beijing could justify it" (*PDW*, 6 June).

But two days later—still "omitting" any working-class involvement—Hall justified the massacre: "The attempt of some students to turn it into a challenge for political power was behind the demands for some government and Party leaders to resign. Refusal to observe the martial law imposed to restore order directly challenged the government. On this basis, the Chinese Party leaders called it a 'counterrevolutionary rebellion'." Yet that same day, June 8, CP leader James Jackson spoke in New York, noting that the students were singing the *Internationale* and, according to an account in the 13 June *PDW*, he saw "no justification for the excessive use of force by the military. Such a confrontation of 'guns against ideals' could only result in 'tragic phenomena,' Jackson said."

While many younger CPUSA cadres seem to groove on glasnost, Hall prefers the staid old Kremlin lockstep instead of the new beat of Gorbachev's "openness" and has linked up with conservative Ligachevite bureaucrats in the CPSU. At the CP's "ideological conference" in Chicago over the weekend of July 14, Hall made it clear there was to be no glasnost here. He reportedly opened the conference by decreeing all talk of factional differences to be false, declaring there was a party consensus on China and so there was no need for a discussion on the subject. Spartacist supporters distributing our articles on China were told: "There's people here who might want to talk to you, but it's like the brain police around here." No doubt. A lot of CPers must find it hard to stomach Hall's whitewash of the Beijing bureaucracy after its years of virulent anti-Sovietism.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party was, if anything, more Stalinist than Hall in condemning the Chinese workers and students. Following the Tiananmen Square massacre, *Workers World* (15 June) cheered that the "socialist government" in China had "asserted its authority...and withstood a violent counter-revolutionary rebellion." The Marcyites retailed the lies emanating from the Forbidden City about a "pro-imperialist bourgeois movement" and violent "bandits" attacking "workers and peasants in uniform" before the government crackdown. The Marcyites even presented Bush as a character witness for Deng, taking "careful note" that Bush praised the Chinese army's "restraint." A curious response from Mr. Imperialism to the suppression of a "pro-imperialist movement," isn't it, Sam? The White House certainly sought to exploit the Beijing massacre for anti-Communist propaganda, but was leery of endangering its anti-Soviet *military alliance* with Deng's "socialist government."

The hallmark of Marcyism is its gung ho support for the suppression of workers' uprisings against Stalinist rule in the deformed/degenerated workers states—exemplified by Marcy's support to the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution—under the cover of promoting "global class war" against imperialism. But the Stalinist program is *global class collaboration*. And the Marcyites are no slouches when it comes to class collaboration in their part of the globe, snuggling into the hip pocket of "progressive" capitalist politicians like Jesse Jackson every chance they get. If these cynical Stalinoids ever had a shot at any real influence in Democratic Party circles, you can bet their quirky apologies for the Beijing bureaucrats would go straight into the shredder.

Reuters

Beijing, May 1989—Chinese workers defended student protesters and opposed Deng's pro-capitalist "reforms." WV called for proletarian political revolution.

For Workers Soviets in China!

Given the heterogeneity of the Chinese "Democracy Movement" and the vagueness of its demands, it is not surprising that pro-capitalist elements were to be found within it. But unlike the overseas students in the United States and West Europe, the Beijing protesters' demands were directed not toward "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution but at securing a Chinese version of glasnost: for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to demonstrate, and disclosing the private bank accounts of the top bureaucrats. Hours before the crackdown, student protesters took a vow to give up their lives in the cause of "pushing forward our nation's process of democratisation" and "to protect the Republic" (London *Guardian*, 26 June). The autonomous workers unions which began springing up, notably in Beijing and Shanghai, called for advancing "the economic and political needs of the working class" and "guarantees that the worker will be the real master of industry."

A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard in China would have fought to dispel illusions in Western-style "democracy" and sought to *polarize* the politically confused movement, counterposing to Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism and "market socialism" a program for centralized economic planning under *proletarian* democracy. Our tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), proclaimed:

> "What the Chinese working people urgently need is *genuine communism*, a genuinely Marxist and Leninist communist party to replace the bureaucratic regime with *workers and soldiers soviets* at the head of the poor peasantry. Instead of the nationalism of the Chinese Stalinists from Mao to Deng, which has led China into a counterrevolutionary military and diplomatic alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union and Vietnam, what's needed is *communist unity against imperialism*."
> —*WV* No. 478 (26 May)

This article was published under the watchwords: "Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin's Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!"

After decades of Stalinist perversion of communism, it is understandable that the Chinese workers and students did not formulate their demands in clearly defined class terms. But some self-anointed Trotskyists deliberately blurred the line between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. At a forum on China in New York City on July 11 United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel raised the call for "pluralist democracy" and linked it to "total and complete support" for the "democratic

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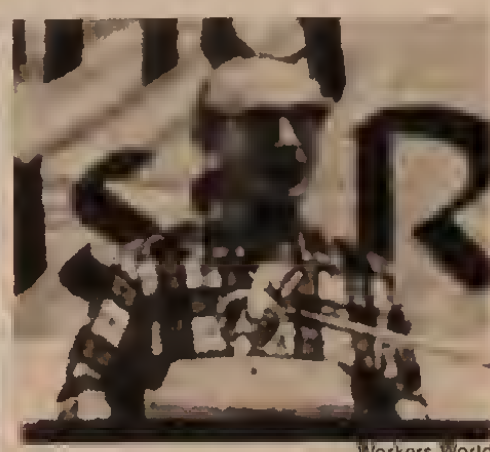
WV Photo



Workers World

WV Photo

CPUSA chairman Gus Hall (left) and Workers World Party honcho Sam Marcy (center) condemned Beijing protests as "pro-capitalist" and whitewashed Deng's crackdown. Fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel (right) promoted illusions in "pluralist" bourgeois democracy.

Hypocrisy and Gloating After the Killing of Huey Newton

Why Racist Rulers Targeted The Black Panther Party

Wide World

AP

Black Panther Party's advocacy of black armed self-defense terrified ruling class. Huey Newton with Bobby Seale (far left) in 1970. Police and FBI unleashed vendetta killing dozens, jailing hundreds: 1970 police raid on New Orleans Panther office (right) wounded seven.

OAKLAND—The murder of Huey P. Newton, co-founder and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, produced an outburst of racist gloating by the bourgeois media here as they covered up the bloody destruction of the Panthers at the hands of the cops and FBI. "Huey Newton's Fall —'Prime Minister to Bum'," headlined the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The Oakland *Tribune*'s "evenhanded" account labeled Newton alternatively "visionary" or "thug." The media played the theme that those who live by the gun die by the gun. Thus the *Tribune*'s Andy Rooney gleefully proclaimed: "Huey Newton Was His Own Victim."

Three thousand miles from the Panthers' home base of Oakland, the *New York Times* adopted a more ambiguous posture, while peddling the same deadly lies. Dripping with ruling-class hypocrisy, a 23 August obituary kept referring to "Dr. Newton," as if his signal achievement was to get a Ph.D. An editorial the next day on "The Black Panthers' Two Paths" refers to Newton as "one of a gallery of young 'revolutionaries'." They haughtily dismiss the young black militants who dared to stand up to the daily racist violence of the trigger-happy cops. And the racist rulers of this country trained their sights on that "gallery," as the FBI's bloody COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) gunned down 38 Panthers and imprisoned hundreds on trumped-up charges. It was this *state terrorism* that the whitewash *Times* delicately said "put the Panthers out of business."

At one time Huey Newton personified militant advocacy of armed black self-defense. The *Times* editorial states he was "eventually" let go for the killing of an Oakland cop in 1968 after a defense campaign which attracted tens of thousands of black and white radicals to "Free Huey" rallies. Newton was acquitted for this murder rap after three trials and after spending two years in jail. The *Times* editors never mention how the cops put several bullets in his stomach, and had to be held at bay in an emergency room of a hospital to prevent them from killing him on the spot.

And naturally they say nothing about how the feds fabricated evidence and perjured testimony in order to "exhaust and demoralize" the Panthers, as a memo of the FBI's San Diego field office put it, "even if actual prosecution is not successful as far as convictions are concerned." An instruction from Hoover's HQ advised FBI agents that since the "purpose...is to disrupt...it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge." From May 1967 to December 1969, the Panthers were hit with 768 arrests and almost $5 million in bail bonds (see Brian Glick, *War at Home* [1989]).

To his dying day the Oakland cops hounded the former Panther leader. "I rode with him, and police still followed him," recounted a friend of Newton's. "We were both almost 50 years old, but everywhere we'd go, there would be police behind us" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 August). When Newton was murdered on August 22 by a 25-year-old drug dealer, you can bet that they were whooping it up at the Oakland station houses and elsewhere.

AP

Armed Black Panthers demonstrated at California state capitol to protest gun control bill, 2 May 1967.

The *Times* claims that "with black berets atop wide afros, black leather jackets, shotguns and rifles," the Panther militants "looked like white America's worst nightmare come to life." Perhaps it was a shock at the time for many whites and blacks that a black organization had sprung up that made Martin Luther King look like Mother Teresa. But which part of "white America" experienced the Panthers as its "worst nightmare" to the point of killing them in their beds while they slept, shooting up their headquarters and unleashing the FBI murder machine to exterminate them? It was the rich capitalists and their political representatives in the halls of Congress, in the Pentagon, the CIA and FBI, who mobilized their repressive state apparatus to kill Panthers.

But it's not only the racist rulers who fear and hate militant black struggle against racist attacks. Commenting in the 23 August Oakland *Tribune* on the demise of the Panthers, "progressive" black columnist Brenda Payton pontificates that "there was a tragic flaw at the heart of the organization. It sprung out of a fundamental arrogance that would prove fatal." The Panthers, according to Payton, should have learned "the experiences of the black labor organizers of the '30s, black communists and the Southern community activists who laid the ground work for the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr." But while King and the social-democratic and CP labor organizers subordinated blacks' demands to the Democrats, the Panthers' militancy and efforts at independence from the racist bourgeois parties won the admiration of many who had fought during the civil rights movement to bury Jim Crow in the South.

Rise and Fall of the Panthers

The Black Panther Party represented the best of a generation of radical black militants who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class and its kill-crazy cops. They sought to strip away the deeply felt sense of powerlessness of the oppressed black masses, particularly in relation to the impunity of the cops in gunning down blacks on the streets of Oakland, and throughout America. Their original name was the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

The Panthers were a direct response to the failure of the liberal, pro-Democratic civil rights movement embodied in M.L. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to make any serious dent into the bedrock of black oppression when that movement went north in the mid-'60s. As early as Birmingham in 1963, masses of blacks had begun to junk King's "turn the other cheek" philosophy in battles against Bull Connor's cops and police dogs. Beginning with the series of ghetto explosions in the North against police brutality, dilapidated housing, inferior segregated schools and medical care (Harlem '64, Watts '65, Newark and Detroit '67), the most militant blacks embraced the call for "black power," seeking to find a way out of the racist hell of American capitalism.

Many of these militants were inspired by Malcolm X. Although he was not a Marxist basing himself upon working-class struggle, Malcolm advocated armed black self-defense against racist attacks, and opposed the deceitful, treacherous and venal Democratic and Republican politicians. When Mal-

colm X was assassinated in 1964, the bourgeoisie and their mercenary press like the *Times* gave a big hurrah.

The Panthers—heirs of Malcolm X—first gained national attention in 1967 when they showed up armed at the California state capitol in Sacramento. They came to protest the Mulford bill, which was referred to in the local press at the time as the anti-Panther bill. Before that it was legal in California to carry a loaded weapon in public as long as it wasn't concealed. The Mulford bill (named after a politician who resided in Piedmont, a wealthy white enclave in the Oakland Hills) was drafted to disarm the Panthers who had begun carrying guns and also law books to stay the hand of the racist cops. For daring to assert their democratic right to hear arms, the racist state arrested, beat, jailed scores, underscoring that it is the bourgeoisie which holds state power and asserts *its* "right" to monopolize the means of violence.

The *Times* says that the Nixon crowd took the Panthers' "fighting words" as the reason to wipe them out, while in the next breath implying that the black radicals provoked armed "confrontations" with the police. The white ruling class and its murderous thugs in blue implemented a savage campaign to destroy what then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover called the "greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S." A predawn raid by the Chicago police and FBI killed Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton (who was asleep in his bed) and 17-year-old Mark Clark. A few days later a police SWAT team launched a three-hour, predawn barrage against the L.A. Panthers headquarters, aiming to kill Geronimo Pratt in his bed. The racist American bourgeoisie fears armed black self-defense because it challenges the state's monopoly on the means of violence, raising the spectre of a general unraveling of entrenched bourgeois power.

Despite the genuine radicalism and personal courage of many militants, the Panthers never found the only road leading to the destruction of the racist bourgeois order. As self-declared "revolutionary nationalists," the Panthers shared with the predominantly white, student-centered New Left a *rejection* of the centrality and strategic social power of the integrated labor movement in the struggle against brutal racial oppression and imperialist war as well as capitalist exploitation. Instead they proclaimed the lumpenproletariat, especially streetwise ghetto youth, as the vanguard of the American revolution. As we wrote shortly after the Panthers underwent a violent and fatal split in 1971:

> "To avoid the Marxist contention that the organized working class is the key revolutionary element, the Panthers came up with the theory that black lumpens are the revolutionary vanguard, and that all employed workers, black and white, have been bought off by the ruling class."

We warned that "a political movement which isolates itself in a social milieu hostile to normal workaday society must become irresponsible, individualistic, and ultimately cynical and contemptuous of the mass of working people" ("End of the Black Power Era," *WV* No. 4, January 1972). In the end, the Panthers were destroyed not only by police terror from without but a murderous internal factionalism inflamed by COINTELPRO provocations.

A key role in the rightward degeneration and demise of the Black Panthers was played by the cynical operators of the Communist Party, especially its legal apparatus. Beginning in 1969, the Stalinists influenced the Panther leadership in launching a "united front against fascism," an attempt at political collaboration with the liberal establishment against the Republican right. A few years later Newton & Co. were talking about the relevance of the black church and black capitalism. In 1973 Bobby Seale ran for mayor as a Democrat, and in 1976 Newton joined the NAACP. Even today Oakland black Democratic mayor Lionel Wilson can praise the "good side" of the Panthers for the work they did in garnering crucial votes in his first election campaign.

In the late '60s-early '70s, the Panthers were so sacrosanct in radical circles that any criticism of them was met with shrill accusations of racism. In the face of the widespread hero worship of Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and other leaders, the Spartacist League polemicized against the Panthers' notion of lumpen vanguardism and argued that black nationalism, even in its most radical form, was a utopian dead end. We also denounced their physical gangsterism against other leftists and challenged their rightward plunge into the Democratic Party. At the same time, we staunchly defended Panther militants against state repression, then and now.

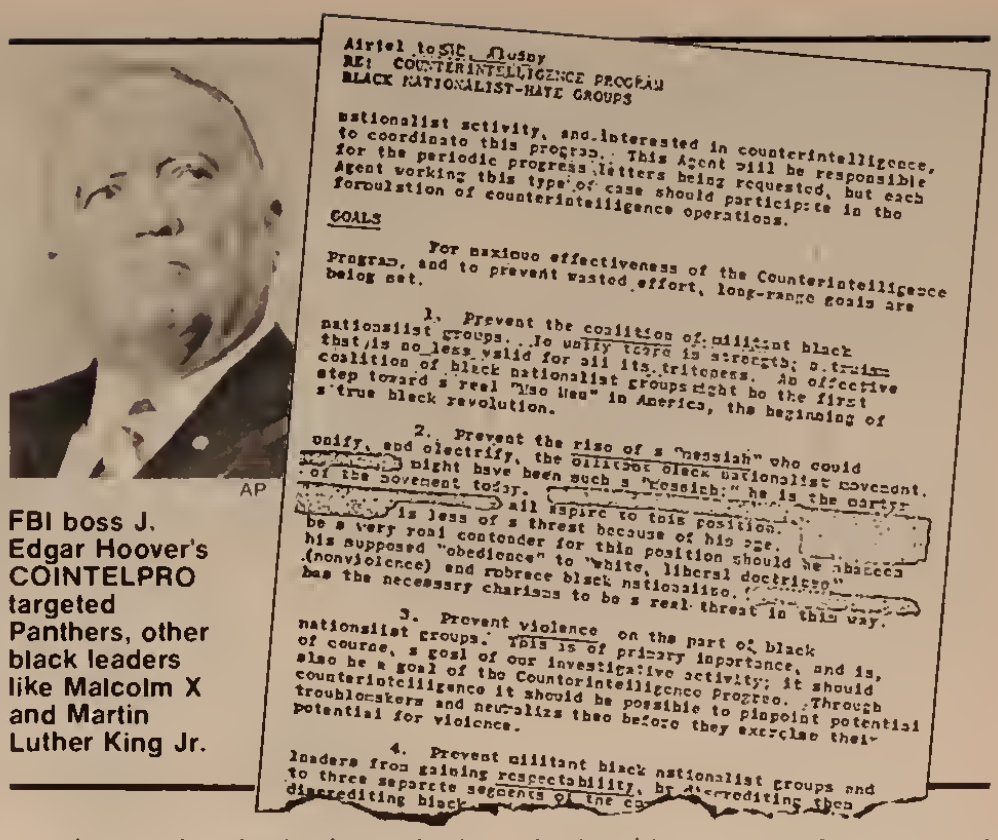
Doug Harris

SNCC-organized Lowndes County (Alabama) Black Panther Party in 1966 stood for independence from the Democrats and for self-defense against racist terror.

Free Geronimo Pratt and Other Former Panthers!

The 24 August *Times* editorial praises those former Panthers who have "metamorphosed into members of the black middle class and the establishment," such as Bobby Seale and Bobby Rush, who is a Chicago alderman. This is the correct path according to the Sulzhergers and today's misleaders of labor and blacks. They lament that "Huey Newton could never quite make the turn" from the "prison of the streets." Then he could have been added to the "gallery" of yesterday's black radicals who came in off the streets to join hands with the white ruling class and their apologists. In exchange for personal perks, they now line up blacks to "work within the system," by relying on the racist capitalist state and the Democratic Party of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of the internment of Japanese Americans, the party of Vietnam, of Bull Connor, Boss Daley and Ed Koch.

Meanwhile, their former comrades like Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba Moore, Ed Poindexter and David Rice, like Mumia Abu-Jamal who is on death row, have rotted in prison for years. It is no mere coincidence that those ex-radicals who have made their peace with racist capitalism have hardly uttered a word in defense of their former comrades, especially in regard to Geronimo Pratt, the foremost class-war prisoner in the U.S. today.



AP

FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO targeted Panthers, other black leaders like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. [illegible] might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. [illegible] all aspire to this position. [illegible] is less of a threat because of his age. [illegible] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrine" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. [illegible] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community, discrediting black [illegible]

Many blacks reacted to Newton's death with a sense of sorrow and admiration for what the Panthers stood for. Millions yearn today for a nationwide radical black organization militantly championing black freedom. Black sociologist C. Eric Lincoln observed sadly: "It's hard to discover what you might call a movement today. The sense of movement is certainly not as pronounced as it was 20 years ago or even 10 years ago. The movement has become...moribund" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 27 August).

Ultimately, Newton and the Panthers failed because black liberation is impossible without smashing the racist capitalist system. Today more than ever, in the face of the genocidal policies of the ruling class, race- and class-conscious black workers and youth must reject the pro-capitalist illusions and schemes of misleaders who counsel support to the Democrats, suicidal race confrontation and the despairing politics of separatism. It is a sign of the absence of any credible black leadership that admitted FBI informers like Al Sharpton, demagogues like Farrakhan and Sonny Carson, or black overseers like Jesse Jackson are presented as "leaders" of black people—they are *obstacles* to liberation.

To wage and win the fight for black freedom, the key is leadership—a *revolutionary party* willing to mobilize black, Hispanic and white workers in defense of doubly oppressed minorities and for the common class interests of all workers. The potential for powerful anti-racist class struggle has been shown in exemplary actions initiated by our small socialist organization to stop KKK provocations, bringing out thousands including black unionists and youth in America's major cities. To carry these self-defense struggles forward to lasting victory, we need a multiracial workers party, fighting to break the power of the racist system forever and achieve the integration of all races in an egalitarian, socialist society. ■

Smash Racial Oppression!

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense represented the high-water mark of black radicalism in recent American history. Despite the Panthers' macho image, a large number of young, radicalized black women were active in the organization, although they played little role in the leadership due to the party's pervasive male chauvinism. Tragically, a whole generation representing thousands of young black militants was isolated in the ghettos, cut off from the only road to black liberation: the road of integrated working-class struggle led by a multiracial Leninist-Trotskyist party.

Women and Revolution Forum

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BOSTON

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New York...

(continued from page 1)

and attacking pallbearers carrying two symbolic coffins of Yusuf Hawkins and former Black Panther leader Huey Newton, gunned down on an Oakland street the week before. The cops wanted to keep the black marchers from surrounding City Hall, or even setting foot in Manhattan. Like the racist mobs in Bensonhurst, who screeched epithets and held up watermelons in front of black demonstrators, the police prohibition of black marchers crossing Brooklyn Bridge carried the same racist message—that their "turf" is "off limits" to blacks.

As the mayoral race heated up to the September 12 Democratic primary, the real election in NYC, racist attacks mounted daily. On September 7, there was a second assault on minorities in Bensonhurst: two Chilean workers who had recently moved into the neighborhood were set upon by racist punks who beat them, screaming, "Get out, Spanish!" And on September 9 in the Hunts Point section of the Bronx, the cops methodically beat and kicked to death a black "unarmed mugging suspect," Henry Hughes. Horrified witnesses were held away at gunpoint when they tried to respond to the man's screams for help. "He was lying on the ground and they kept hitting him," said Maria Jiménez, who saw the murder from her fifth floor window. "I felt I should call the police, but this was the police," she said. Now the lying Medical Examiner's office is claiming that Hughes didn't die from the killer cops' blows, even as the police admit using nightsticks, kicks and Mace.

As the lynch mobs and racist cops rampage, blacks are increasingly isolated and prey to nationalist demagogues. If this course is not reversed, events are pointing toward race war. *The situation cries out for the integrated workers movement to mobilize in defense of blacks and other minorities whose lives are daily in danger!* With over 1.2 million members, NYC unions have the power. And repeatedly over the last several months we have seen the potential for militant class struggle in mass demonstrations of tens of thousands of hospital and telephone strikers—black, Hispanic and white. The ghettos and barrios of New York are seething with outrage, crying out for leadership. But instead of bringing out integrated, working-class power to teach the racists a lesson and make the streets of New York safe for everyone, this anger is being channeled into the dead end of bourgeois electoral politics.

WV Photo

Hamilton/Daily News

Massive cop presence tried to stop 8,000 black protesters in "Day of Outrage" from marching over Brooklyn Bridge to Manhattan, August 31. Paramedics (right) surround Yusuf Hawkins' body following lynch mob murder, August 23.

Mayoral Mayhem

As the Bensonhurst racist murder brought New York to the flashpoint, the charged mayoral election increasingly focused on the politics of race. The campaign was already plenty ugly, as only racist pig Ed Koch could make it. In the final weeks the Democratic race came down to a dead heat between Koch and his liberal black opponent, Manhattan borough president David Dinkins. Koch played to white racist reaction, while Dinkins appealed as a "unifier" who could heal the escalating racial tensions in this city. On September 12, Dinkins won a majority, with 94 percent of the black vote, 56 percent of Hispanics and 30 percent of the white vote as well. Even most of those who voted for Koch had something positive to say about Dinkins.

So there probably won't be a big backlash heading toward the general election where Dinkins runs against the Republican candidate Rudolph Giuliani, the former federal prosecutor. Given New York's pre-eminent economic position, you're not going to see "white flight" or a flight of capital from the city. The unions were key to the victory of the liberal Democrat Dinkins—this organization and power could be marshaled instead for a real class alternative: a *workers party*. Nothing will fundamentally change with a black capitalist mayor, but for now the city may be a little more civil, and at least there won't be an abrasive insulting voice at the top. The cops won't like it, and they could try to whip up a racist reaction, with bonapartist mobilizations of police power and "voting with their clubs" by brutally beating and victimizing blacks and Hispanics.

It says a lot about life in New York, a city battered by rudeness and hostile aggression, that Dinkins scores popularity points simply by acting polite. After Koch's pyrotechnics, for many people, boring is better. His calculated remark in the 1988 presidential primary that Jews "had to be crazy" to vote for Jesse Jackson backfired as Koch was condemned for whipping up a racist backlash. And Dinkins—a black machine pol, DSA social democrat and supporter of Israel—has significant support among liberal Jewish voters. All that, of course, was *before* the murder of Yusuf Hawkins. Koch played to the racist vote, lashing out *not* at the lynch mob, but against the black protesters who marched to Bensonhurst. At the Yusuf Hawkins funeral, the angry black crowd booed Koch, Cuomo and Rudolph Giuliani alike. The Zionists responded by complaining about the presence in the church of Black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan. And the *Daily News* blared, "The Heat Is On—Black, Jewish Voters the Key."

The Dinkins Democrats mobilized to pull out black voters heavily on September 12. And their election machine is based above all on the unions: his campaign is run out of the Local 1199 hospital workers' hall by Bill Lynch, an adviser to new 1199 president Dennis Rivera. Dinkins is as close as they have come to a popular-front candidate in years. Not only is he supported by the DSA labor bureaucrats, such as Stanley Hill in AFSCME DC 37 and Jan Pierce in the CWA, he's also got the backing of the Central Labor Council under Van Arsdale Jr. and even of the SDUSA Reaganite social democrats such as Sandra Feldman of the UFT. But a black Democrat in City Hall will not, and cannot, reverse the tide of racist terror and union-busting. The lynch mobs, scabherders and killer cops reflect the bipartisan war of the parties of American capitalism against minorities and labor.

Both the *New York Times*, in endorsing Koch instead of Dinkins, and *Newsday* in endorsing Dinkins said they were afraid he couldn't control labor. In a 3 September editorial, the *Times* was "astonished" that Dinkins, who had "already won substantial labor support," was now suggesting "rethinking the Taylor Law, a powerful deterrent to municipal strikes." Dinkins quickly backed off and responded that he wouldn't "give away the store to labor" (*El Diario*, 7 September). And you can bet that faced with the prospect of a transit strike that shuts down NYC or a citywide hospital strike, this "friend of labor" will use the machinery of the bourgeois state against it, just as liberal black Democrats Andrew Young in Atlanta and Coleman Young in Detroit have done. And the racist mobs and killer cops will not be stopped by a new mayor any more than they were by black police chief Benjamin Ward.

Only an independent mobilization of the working class uniting behind it the ghetto masses can stay the hand of the race-terrorists and labor-haters. We need a class-struggle workers party championing the cause of all the oppressed.

Bensonhurst Backlash

Beyond its utter wantonness, the murder of Yusuf Hawkins shocked New York by taking the lid off the seething cauldron of race-hate that Bensonhurst loudly displayed in the following days. Every racist stereotype was shouted out before TV cameras. Over and over, residents blamed 18-year-old Gina Feliciano for "provoking" the killers by dating black and Hispanic guys, while pointing to the despicable gang rape in Central Park to excuse racist murder. Collections were taken up to defend the lynch mob, the "cugeens" (New York Italian street vernacular for "corner boys"). Crowds of several hundred whites hurled abuse and spit on black marchers who dared to walk through the neighborhood. Reminiscent of anti-busing racist mobilizations in largely Irish South Boston during the '70s, they claimed they were defending the neighborhood against outsiders.

It's the mentality of racist backlash, a lashing out by poor white losers who feel threatened by any assertion of rights by minorities they consider "below" them. A feature article on Bensonhurst in the 5 September *Village Voice* profiled the racist punks hanging out on the corner of 81st Street and 18th Avenue. Here, most of the guys "spend their time pining after city jobs" while the "diehards . . . strive for a position in 'La Cosa Nostra'." A Brooklyn legal aid attorney who grew up there, Bob Massi, said, "The Italians who are there now have moved from other parts of the city. It's white flight—the last Italian neighborhood." He went on:

> "A generation ago we were working in construction and the skilled trades. We were printers, bricklayers, longshoremen. Those jobs are not so well-paid now. Those industries are gone. The kids are up against an economic brick wall. The world is a computer that has

Cummins/Newsday

DeLucia/NY Times

Break with the Democrats, build a workers party! Democratic mayoral candidate David Dinkins with Governor Cuomo (left). Koch's cossacks of PBA endorse their chief (right).

no unions and all they have left is the neighborhood."

In the language of the Reagan/Bush White House, they complain that civil rights legislation has produced "reverse discrimination" in favor of blacks.

Yet a recent study shows that traditional patterns of racial discrimination in favor of whites in city jobs have returned with a vengeance. In 1986, 80 percent of those in municipal agencies earning below $20,000 a year were blacks and Latinos, while 76 percent of those earning over $43,000 were white men. White males held 90 percent of all craft jobs, and even Koch administration figures show that, in 1987, 71 percent of new-hires in skilled craft jobs were white, 12 points *higher* than in 1977 (CCS Institute for Community Empowerment, *Employment Segmentation in New York City Municipal Agencies* [1989]). In fact, the old job-trusting construction and skilled trades are much the white preserves that they were. But with the decline in New York City's industrial base, the number of blue-collar skilled jobs has shrunk drastically. And increasingly the "white-collar" clerical and professional jobs require some college.

So the "boys of Bensonhurst" take out their frustration by "going over to the Village to beat up some yuppies," by a murderous assault on Yusuf Hawkins and his friends, by howling against the black marchers who assert their right to walk in "our streets." Whoever is the mayor, the capitalist government isn't about to squelch the racist mobs. Its police are heavily recruited from the same milieu that produced the Bensonhurst killers, and its cutbacks of jobs and social services spawn racist reaction. A powerful show of force by an integrated labor movement, however, could stop the racist mobilization in its tracks. And a class-struggle fight for jobs for all, through a shorter work-week with no loss in pay; for quality low-rent public housing; for rebuilding the decaying infrastructure of New York with a program of massive public works under union control—would go a long way to deflate the racist frenzy and isolate the hard-core cases.

Black New York Under Siege

If white working-class neighborhoods like Bensonhurst feel squeezed, blacks in hombed-out ghettos like East New York, where Yusuf Hawkins lived, are fighting for survival. With the scourge of drugs, AIDS and a resurgence of diseases of poverty like tuberculosis; with homicide the leading cause of death for young black men; with government plans to throw hundreds of thousands of ghetto mothers off welfare and throw their sons into prison camps—black people in America are facing a crisis approaching genocide. Government statistics show black income back down to 60 percent that of whites, and chronic black unemployment remains steadily double that of whites, even during periods of relative economic recovery. But these figures do not include the millions of black people driven out of the labor market permanently or who have never worked and have no prospects of a job. In New York today only *12 percent of black youth hold jobs*, and that's not because they're in school.

New York Times

Washington/NY Times

Life in New York, 1989: hotel queen Leona Helmsley (left) flaunts her millions, while poor and homeless scratch for survival by collecting cans.

With a generation of black youth under siege and lacking any direct experience of integrated struggle in the civil rights movement, nationalist demagogues are increasingly getting a hearing. Following the Hawkins murder, self-admitted FBI informer Al Sharpton, who was wired by the cops to spy on black leaders, has sought to become the spokesman for the family. While liberal-nationalist lawyers Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason have been discredited by the miserable Tawana Brawley hoax, an older generation of cultural nationalists has stepped into the vacuum. The August 31 "Day of Outrage" was led by Sonny Carson, who leads vigilante squads against Korean merchants; and by Jitu Weusi (Les Campbell), who played a major role in splitting the black community from the unions and whipping up anti-Semitism during the 1968 teachers strike.

WV Photo

Militant hospital strikers of Local 1199 rally August 14. Integrated labor movement is the social force that can defend minorities and defeat racist attacks.

Also prominent has been the sinister Louis Farrakhan, who brought a hundred of his Fruit of Islam marshals to the Yusuf Hawkins funeral. But as an article by black historian Playthell Benjamin in the *Village Voice* (15 August) notes, Farrakhan has been consciously shifting his appeal away from his ghetto base to the black middle class. Farrakhan understands, writes Benjamin, that "there's only so far he can go with a membership rooted in the lumpenproletariat and working poor." He has focused particularly on black college students at schools such as the University of Pennsylvania and UMass Amherst where they are under siege from New Right racists. Few are likely to actually join Farrakhan's repressive puritanical sect, Benjamin notes, but "The response of black students to this white reaction is a heightened sense of racial solidarity and a turn toward black nationalist politics."

One figure who was cheered at the Hawkins funeral was black director Spike Lee, whose film *Do The Right Thing* sharply focused attention this summer on relations between the races in New York City. Lee has identified himself strongly with Farrakhan and came to the Hawkins funeral in the Muslim dress of dark suit and bow tie. Enthusiastic youth surrounded him chanting, "Do the right thing, do the right thing." Lee spelled out what that meant for him in a *Daily News* (1 September) column, "The Right Thing: Self-Defense, Vote." To underscore that point, on the Sunday before the primary he stood with Dinkins as grand marshals of the African-American Day parade in Harlem. So the flip side of Lee's nationalist "fight the power" posturing is channeling black support into the Democratic Party, which administers official racism and cop terror in every major city of the U.S.

New York, New York, It's a Hell of a Town

On August 30, Yusuf Hawkins' funeral was the second story on local TV news. Top spot went to Leona Helmsley, who was found guilty of tax evasion in funneling millions of dollars from the Helmsley real estate empire into her Greenwich, Connecticut mansion. With the downfall of this hateful queen of greed, the crown will pass to Ivana Trump, whose husband is one of the real estate megamoguls who have financed Koch over the years, and reaped the benefits. After the murder of Yusuf Hawkins, Donald Trump appeared on an NBC special on race relations saying that if he could be born again, he'd like to come back as a "well-educated black," grotesquely claiming blacks "have an actual advantage" in society. Yet in NYC, college-educated blacks have a higher unemployment rate than white high school graduates! And nationally, the average black household has less than *one-fourth* the overall net worth of white households. Trump's racist arrogance is one measure of the widening gulf between rich and poor, white and black, which has brought New York City to the edge.

While Trump lives lavishly in his pink marble Towers, between 70,000 and 90,000 New Yorkers are living on the streets. Why? The media wants to blame it all on mental illness and drugs. But a new report, *Worlds Apart: Housing, Race/Ethnicity and Income in New York City, 1978-1987*, points out the simple fact that the homeless can't afford to pay the escalating rents. Housing affordable for the bottom fifth of the population—approximately 1.4 million people, whose real income has *fallen* by 11 percent in the last decade—is rapidly disappearing. The number of vacant low-rent apartments (under $300 per month) dropped by 72 percent while the number renting for $750 and up more than doubled. Evictions increase, families double up, individuals move into SRO hotels and shelters as a "transitional move"...to the street. Meanwhile, between 1972 and 1982, more than 192,000 people were thrown off welfare even though the amount of poverty in the city drastically increased. Today in New York two out of five poor families do not receive welfare or any form of public assistance. They become the homeless.

And the most impoverished by virtually every standard—unemployment, income, education, housing—are the Hispanic population, particularly Puerto Ricans. While the overall poverty rate in New York City in 1982 was 24 percent, for blacks it was 35 percent and for Hispanics 45 percent. A 1984 study on *The Changing Face of Poverty* noted that the real incomes of Puerto Ricans nationally fell by 22 percent during the 1970s, and even more precipitously in New York. The Hispanic population of New York City is now one-quarter of the total, equal in number to blacks. But unable to afford New York City, new immigrants from Central America and the Caribbean are being forced into the aging industrial suburbs of New Jersey. This is behind the escalation of murderous police terror against blacks and Hispanics that has led to explosions in Morristown, Perth Amboy and most recently Vineland, New Jersey.

Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense to Smash Racist Terror!

As racial tensions boil in New York, the most integrated social force in the city is organized labor. Transit workers, hospital workers, city employees, hotel and restaurant workers are all heavily minority and many unions now have black and Hispanic leaderships. And this workforce is growing in consciousness and willingness to struggle. In July and August alone there were three demonstrations of 10,000-30,000

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U.S. Narcs...

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solved by sending them to prisons and workhouses, Bush's answer is to lock up the victims. Gone are the days when politicians at least paid lip service to the social and economic roots of drug addiction—poverty, unemployment, racism. Today the ruling class has only one answer: the armed fist of the state.

Back in the '50s, the ideological excuse for domestic repression and foreign military adventures was the so-called "Communist threat." That ploy sank in the rice paddies of Vietnam. After Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" moral rearmament crusade, Ronald Reagan invented the "terrorist threat," which became the "Libyan threat" whenever he needed to bomb someone unpopular. Now Bush is pushing his "drug war." As James Ridgeway summed it up recently:

> "In the Bush era, dope is replacing communism as both the rationale for American hegemony abroad and for a crackdown against minorities and dissidents here at home. Where 'national security' and 'terrorism' once were enough to get an FBI investigation going against U.S. citizens, now it's all in the name of epidemiology."
>
> —"The Straight Dope," *Village Voice*, 12 September

Target: Black America

There are all sorts of code words—the "hard-core drug users," the "inner-city problem," etc.—to signal that the domestic targets of this campaign are black people and other minorities. On ABC-TV's *Nightline* (5 September) Ted Koppel—reporting from Lorton jail outside Washington, D.C. with a group of prisoners in a drug treatment program—noted that 75 percent of drug users are white, but "as I look around here, nothing but black faces.... Why so many blacks in prison on drug charges, relative to the number of whites who are using drugs on the outside?" He noted that "the casual user who lives in the white community, who has a $30,000-, $40,000-, $50,000-a-year job...doesn't have to go hold up a liquor store in order to get the money to buy it." One black prisoner, Lindberg Smith, fed up with the "Just say no" pontificating of the Reagan/Bush crowd, laid it on the line:

> "It's almost a crime, the way the government incarcerates and confines with no opportunities involved.... Then we look back at the things like the reversal of affirmative action, and we look back at things like vetoing the minimum wage proposal, and we wonder why people go out and sell drugs and things. And then you look at all the countries where people are poor, as well as here and South America or the Andean nations. Some people are selling drugs because they're hungry. When morality is confronted with hunger, then, you know, hunger wins out, because you cannot be moral and be hungry."

For "inner-city" blacks, drugs are an escape from a reality too horrible to face, especially on an empty stomach; for some it is a way to make a living. As the *Wall Street Journal* (8 September) headlined: "Earnings at Fast-Food Chains Pale Next to Opportunity of $1,200 a Day in Crack." For the middle and upper class, drugs are more often just a way to relax and have fun, whether it be the legal drug alcohol or illegal marijuana. For stock market high rollers the drug of choice is high-grade cocaine while ghetto users are strung out on crack, the drug of the desperate. Yet street crime could probably be cut in half overnight simply by decriminalizing drugs and handing them out free to addicts, as we advocate. But such a measure would fly in the face of bourgeois "morality"; more importantly, it would undermine the whole rationale for increased police repression.

Wallheiser/Tallahassee Democrat

"Drug war" targets black America. Left: eight-year-old looks on as mother and two brothers are arrested for "possession."

Right: SWAT team drug raid in Florida last year.

Starr/Picture Group

Even the British *Economist* (2 September) has enough bourgeois rationalism to recognize that "Prohibition does not work": "It turns an issue of personal choice and health into a crisis of criminality." These haughty spokesmen for finance capital want to legalize drugs *and tax them* (solve the budget deficit crisis). But as Russell Baker wrote in a recent column advocating legalized drugs, this solution is distasteful to "the substantial classes who write the laws" (*New York Times*, 6 September). "Instead we get the usual dynamic nonsolutions": "more extensions of police power, more muscle, more crackdown." The political strategy: "talk bang-bang, get re-elected."

Bush's plan provides a pretext for targeting the ghettos. A typical Chicago police raid shows the jackboot coming down:

> "In a scene of controlled pandemonium, 60 police officers surrounded a building in the Rockwell Gardens project by 8:30 am, arriving without notice.... Housing Authority employees...led a door-to-door investigation of all apartments and common areas in a search for drugs, weapons and illegal residents.
>
> "Meanwhile, other workers erected a steel-mesh barrier around the ground floor to create a controlled entryway and a manned security checkpoint.... All legitimate residents were lined up to get photo identification cards. Those residents who were not listed officially on the lease—mostly men—were not allowed back into the building."
>
> —*Newsday*, 5 September

Under Operation Cleansweep, hundreds of black residents have been unable to qualify for the Housing Authority's South Africa-style "passes," because their common-law marriages are not sanctified by the state. So they are thrown out among the homeless. Entire families have been evicted due to the alleged presence of drugs in their apartments. This is the kind of Gestapo-like tactics that Bush and drug czar Bennett want to implement around the country.

The Latin American Connection

The media claims that Bush's drug plan will "shift the focus" of the "war on drugs" from the foreign arena to the domestic scene. Actually this is a cover-up: part of the plan is classified, the part

New York...

(continued from page 7)

unionists, and on Labor Day more than 100,000 marched with large contingents of Eastern Airlines and NYNEX phone strikers. As NYC comptroller Jay Goldin noted, "This is the most grievance-related parade I've seen since the air traffic controllers were on strike in the early 1980s."

To talk about the possibilities of mobilizing labor in defense of minority rights today is not abstract, but very real. We pointed in our last issue to the call by TWU militants, following the 1982 murder of black transit worker Willie Turks in Gravesend, for this strategic union to organize hundreds of flatbed trucks filled with thousands of black, white and Hispanic union members to patrol the streets of South Brooklyn. An idea of the power that such a force of workers defense guards would have riding through the streets could be seen at the Caribbean Day festival as the big tractor-trailer rigs paraded down Eastern Parkway. Consider the impact of scores of these 18-wheelers rolling slowly up 81st Street and 18th Avenue in Bensonhurst, loaded this time not with steel bands but with hundreds of unionists from transit, hospital, city workers, all equipped to "have a baseball game," as the Bensonhurst street punks put it. The racist terror on the streets would stop short fast.

There is a history in New York to labor participation in protest over racist police brutality. In 1966, black and Hispanic outrage over cop riots in the ghettos forced liberal Republican mayor Lindsay to propose a civilian-controlled review board to hear complaints about the police. Police groups denounced even this sop and mobilized a white backlash that divided the city along racial lines. Nevertheless, even in that charged atmosphere more than 50 union leaders backed the review board, as a ballot proposal became a referendum on racism. A National Maritime Union official was busted by the cops while driving an NMU-sponsored sound truck urging support for the measure. The reformist review board proposal was defeated, but the campaign showed the potential for integrated, labor-centered action in the face of a racist offensive.

The recent history of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist terrorists shows that it can be done. In Philadelphia last November, the Partisan Defense Committee together with the Spartacist League initiated a union-based campaign that drew the support of over 300 labor and community groups and spiked a threatened march by KKK and skinheads at Independence Mall. Every one of the successful mobilizations—Detroit in 1979, San Francisco in 1980, Chicago and Washington in 1982, Philadelphia in 1988 and Atlanta this year—altogether bringing out upwards of 15,000 participants, has been built over the opposition of the Democratic Party machines, often headed by black mayors, who tried to sabotage or even ban militant, integrated action against the racist lynchers.

Meanwhile, the labor tops undercut the struggle against racist attacks and even defense of trade-union rights, wages and working conditions in order to boost Democrats into office: sentiment for strike action among 1199 members has been channeled into Dinkins support rallies. Class-conscious and anti-racist militants in New York should begin now organizing committees within the unions for a workers party to galvanize labor in struggle to champion the cause of minorities and all working people. That means cutting across racial divisions and a fight down the line against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and all those who would give support, open or backhanded, to the parties of capitalism. Examples of militant workers organizing along such lines are provided by the Committee for a Fighting TWU in New York's powerful, integrated transit union and the Labor/Black Leagues for Social Defense being organized in cities around the country. Such committees will lay the basis for a new, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement and a powerful workers party to lead the fight for socialist revolution. ■

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which deals with international affairs and intelligence, and it was approved by the White House National Security Council (NSC), the agency for the Iran/contra plot and other schemes. Americans were fed up with military adventures after the Vietnam War, but polls show that they might buy an intervention in Latin America if it was disguised as a "war on drugs." As noted by Mary Jo McConahay and Robin Kirk in the February/March issue of *Mother Jones*, the war on drugs "may be... the perfect counterinsurgency cover." They cite an article by Colonel John D. Waghelstein, former chief of U.S. advisers in El Salvador, writing in *Military Review*:

> "The United States is faced with one aspect of insurgency in Latin America that offers the greatest threat but one which may yet provide us with a weapon with which to regain the moral high ground we have appeared to have lost. There is an alliance between some drug traffickers and some insurgents...a melding in the American public's mind and in Congress of this connection would lead to the necessary support to counter the guerrilla/narcotics terrorists in this hemisphere."

The so-called "narco-guerrilla alliance" between left-wing insurgents and drug traffickers is a U.S. invention. But as Waghelstein notes, emphasizing such a connection would make it difficult for Congress to "stand in the way"—the problem Colonel North tried to get around. But then North was up to his nose in the drugs-for-guns business.

Now Colombia has become a prime test case in this new strategy. In the space of 48 hours last month, drug cartel assassins killed the police chief of Medellin, an important judge and the leading Liberal party candidate for president, Luis Carlos Galán. Colombian president Virgilio Barco decreed that drug kingpins will be arrested and extradited to the U.S. Police arrested over 11,000 people and seized hundreds of millions of dollars in drug cartel property, including a fleet of aircraft rivaling that of the national airline. But the heads of the Medellin and Cali drug cartels easily slipped through the alleged dragnet and only a lone accountant was arrested and extradited this week. Meanwhile, a communiqué from the "Extraditables" declared "total war" on the government, and a wave of bombings and shootings has engulfed Colombia.

Bush took advantage of the opportunity to rush in $65 million worth of U.S. military equipment, including "Huey" helicopters. Some 100 U.S. military "advisers" are going too. Bennett hinted that "we have to consider" direct military intervention, adding that his office was studying the formation of an international strike force. Other administration officials coyly added that the Colombian government "might have to move toward military rule" (*New York Times*, 9 September). "Controlled escalation" from trainers to advisers to combat troops, a military junta in the offing—it's sounding more and more like early Vietnam. But the Bush gang could shoot themselves in the foot with this harebrained scheme.

Colombia, with three mountain ranges, has one of the longest-running guerrilla wars in all of Latin America. Whole regions have been under insurgent control for decades. The drug cartels are in alliance with the military and right-wing landlords to crush left-wing opposition in the countryside and the city. Americas Watch director Juan E. Mendez noted:

> "The drug dealers have apparently determined to wipe out the left to insure perpetuation of the regressive social order that they want. They hope to replace or join the oligarchy that has ruled Colombia since its independence from Spain. They forge alliances with the police and the armed forces."
> —*New York Times*, 31 August

Mendez cites a typical massacre, in Segovia last November, where three carloads of armed men entered the town and blew away 43 people, including known political activists, then drove out "by the town's only road, which winds around a major Colombian military base; the troops looked the other way." In another incident, an army major "hired assassins to kill banana plantation workers in March 1988, housed the killers in the luxurious Medellin Intercontinental Hotel, and paid the bill with his Diners Club credit card, over $1,000" (Robin Kirk, "Behind the Cocaine Curtain: Dirty War Escalates in Colombia," in *Extra!*, September 1989).

There are some 140 death squads and 15,000 murders a year in Colombia—the leftist Union Patriótica alone has lost more than 1,000 members to right-wing violence since 1985. The killers are trained by foreign agents, particularly British and Israelis. (The Israelis often do the dirty work for the U.S. in Latin America and elsewhere. Colonel Yair Klein was recently exposed as one of the Israeli army reserve officers who provide training for assassins, from the contras in Honduras to the Colombian drug cartels.) General Miguel Maza Márquez, head of Colombia's secret police, who almost got blown away by a car bomb, was forced to admit that the landlord/drug cartels' assassins were "increasingly protected by high-ranking spheres of the armed forces" (*Cambio 16*, 19 June).

So what's going on is yet another White House/CIA/NSC scheme in league with drug-runners, gangsters, right-wing landlords and corrupt governments to crush left-wing insurgencies. For the moment, polls show a bare majority of Americans are buying it so long as it's camouflaged as a "war on drugs."

Noriega: CIA's Man

As part of the new escalation of U.S. military involvement in Latin America, the White House is waving a Big Stick in Panama in an attempt to oust strongman (and former $90,000-a-year CIA "asset") Manuel Noriega. Bush no doubt fears Noriega "knows too much" about the inner workings of the Iran/contra plot, among other things, and there are signs that they plan to "terminate" him, in Company language, "with extreme prejudice." Last month:

> "U.S. forces staged a spectacular joint land, air, and naval maneuver that appeared to be a rehearsal for kidnapping Noriega from his James Bond-style island hideout in Panama Bay. While troops waded ashore from landing craft along the lone causeway leading to Noriega's island, Blackhawk helicopters and tanks seized strategic control of the roadway as three A-37 Dragonfly combat jets buzzed the retreat. Over 1000 soldiers were involved in the exercise; the U.S. notified the Panamanian government half an hour before it began as a 'courtesy,' but insisted that under treaty obligations, no such notification was required."
> —Scott Wallace, "Panama Red," *Village Voice*, 6 September

Add to this the fact that a new CIA unit was established in April, the Counter Narcotics Center, which an expert at the Congressional Research Service says will likely be involved in "targeted strikes" against drug cartel "leaders," i.e., assassinations (Oakland *Tribune*, 2 August). And last spring the U.S. Army's top lawyer reviewed the 1976 presidential order banning assassinations, concluding that it did not apply when such actions were directed against "a terrorist or terrorist organizations." Noriega could be the first victim of this new "finding."

As we wrote last year (*WV* No. 453, 20 May 1988), "America's rulers are out to reassert, literally, their supposed right to be 'cops of the world'." It's up to the working class to put an end to their murderous rampage, through world proletarian revolution. ■

AP Photos

Washington's Big Stick: Provocative U.S. military maneuvers confronted by backers of Panamanian strongman, former CIA "asset" Gen. Noriega (right).

Virginia Beach...

(continued from page 12)

black youth that *they have no rights*.

Virginia Beach mayor Meyera Oberndorf dismisses allegations of racism as "poppycock," but she prepared to make the area "off limits" to blacks weeks before the students arrived. She gave local police broad powers to disperse "illegal assemblies" and asked Governor Baliles (who has mobilized state troopers and the National Guard to arrest over 3,000 striking Pittston coal miners and their supporters) to put a special unit on standby to round up black youth.

Local police arrested blacks for jaywalking or not wearing a shirt. Students with beer, regardless of their age, were ordered to pour it out, while young women had their pocketbooks snatched by the cops searching for drugs. Hotels prohibited students, who were charged exorbitant rates, from entering their rooms at certain hours of the day, outrageously denied them the right to bring guests back to their rooms and even forced them to wear ID bracelets to enter their own lodgings!

On Saturday night, hundreds of Guardsmen, state troopers and cops (who had removed their badges to hide their identities) charged the students along the beachfront, turning the entire area into a bloody battle zone. In the ensuing chaos, students met the police with chants of "Fight the Power!" Others who tried to escape in their cars were met with billy clubs smashing through their windshields. When there was no more room in the jails, scores of youth were rounded up and held in a fenced-in tennis court—whites on one side of the net, blacks on another.

Mary Cox, a Virginia attorney who came to the festival with her three young nieces, described the scene: "It was like Vietnam. They [the National Guard] were hiding behind mailboxes. One guy said to me, 'run' and I said, 'I'm running.' But he said, 'You're not running fast enough'." She was clubbed over the head.

After the cop riot, and unhindered by the forces of "law and order," bands of white-supremacist skinhead fascists roamed the streets. "Former" Klansman Richard Barrett (a leader of the "white power" Nationalist Movement who marched through Atlanta last January with an enormous cop entourage) turned up to rally white racists to "Just say 'no' to black power like Nancy Reagan said 'no' to drugs." In Virginia Beach, these fascist scum were the auxiliaries to the main source of violence directed against black people in this country—the blue-uniformed hired thugs of the *capitalist state*. Not coincidentally, the white flight from busing in Norfolk has ended up in Virginia Beach, and the whole Tidewater area has been plagued by Klan cross-burnings. The fight for school integration is inextricably linked to the fight against racist terror.

Now the government feigns concern. The FBI and the misnamed "Justice Department" have opened an inquiry into charges of "excessive" behavior by the police, inviting black students to stop in at FBI offices anywhere in the country to file complaints. To pretend that those who run the whole system of racist repression can investigate themselves is an insult to intelligence. The FBI runs half the Klan klaverns in the country! Their agents and informers are responsible for some of the most heinous racist crimes since slavery, like FBI/KKKer Gary Rowe, who was the triggerman in the 1965 assassination of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo.

At Howard University, angry students met to discuss what to do about the riot and proposed forming a new organization like the "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee" of the 1960s to press for black equality. The lessons of the civil rights movement must be drawn. That movement, limited to minimal legal gains over entrenched Jim Crow segregation, was subordinated to the racist Democratic Party. And getting black Democrats elected to office has simply changed the complexion of those directing the cop terror. In Atlanta last January, Democratic mayor Andrew Young unleashed his cops to join forces with an army of state cops and National Guard to defend the Klan against an integrated protest.

The road forward for black students is an alliance with the labor movement—from Pittston miners to the large black working class in the Tidewater area. This is where we will find those with the social power and class interest to change this society. The Spartacus Youth Clubs have been in the forefront of fighting for this strategy in struggles against the racist attacks that have swept the nation's campuses. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership, an independent *workers party* to mobilize the power of those who produce the wealth in this society, to fight on behalf of all the oppressed and for a *workers government*. We're fighting for an egalitarian socialist society that will open the road to black freedom. ■

Chinese Counterrevolutionary Front in Exile

While denouncing the Chinese bureaucracy's lies that the Beijing spring protests were the work of pro-capitalist "counterrevolutionaries," we warned that "the cult of 'pure democracy' could develop into an ideological basis for capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist subjugation." Now, in the wake of the Stalinist regime's bloody suppression of the protesting students and workers, these elements are coming out into the open.

On July 28, some 500 Chinese students living in the U.S. gathered in Chicago to form the All-America Chinese Students and Scholars Independent Union. The manifesto approved by the conference makes no mention of the anti-capitalist revolution of 1949, but rather proclaims property to be a "basic human right." Illinois Democratic Senator Paul Simon was on hand to call—to the hurrahs of conference organizers—for imperialist economic sanctions against China "like those used against the Polish government."

The keynote speaker was Wuer Kaixi, one of the organizers of the Tiananmen Square student protests and now a leader of the newly formed pro-capitalist Democratic Front of China. Wuer announced that he had met with officials of Polish Solidarność; it was also revealed that an attempt had been made to set up a meeting with representatives of the reactionary Taiwan regime. Wuer's declared aim is "to promote pluralism and democracy." The anti-working-class elitism of these aspiring capitalist exploiters was reflected in the fact that even the workers executed by the Deng regime in the wake of the crackdown got hardly a mention.

The brains and bucks behind the Democratic Front is the former head of the Stone Corporation (dubbed the IBM of China), Wan Runnan, whom the *San Francisco Chronicle* (10 August) described as "the button-down, precisely tailored corporate executive of China's largest privately managed company." According to Wan, "There is a role for everyone who supports our movement in this process, including Silicon Valley and other California businesses." Wan reassured U.S. capitalists that they will not be dealing with a bunch of hotheaded students: "Students will continue to play an important role, but the principal leadership will come from people like ourselves who have shown a solid ability for getting things done" (*New York Times*, 4 August).

Such is the rotten fruit of Deng's "market reforms." It is to the Chinese proletariat that we must look to oust the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy, through political revolution that defends and extends the anti-capitalist gains of the 1949 Revolution. That is the way to ensure that Wan and his ilk, who would turn China into a giant sweatshop, don't "get things done."

China...

(continued from page 3)

reform movements" in the Soviet Union. "Pluralism" is a Cold War II catch phrase for allowing *capitalist-restorationist* forces to vie for power. When these fake-Trotskyists say "political revolution," what it comes down to is social counterrevolution, fighting for *bourgeois* democracy in the deformed/degenerated workers states.

Thus the USec's October Review group in Hong Kong joins with business and church groups in a popular-front formation called the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (24 August), the Alliance has donated over $150,000 to the pro-capitalist Democratic Front of China, recently formed in Paris, whose leaders include businessman Wan Runnan and exiled student leader Wuer Kaixi. Mandel joins Wuer in seeking to "promote pluralism." For the USec the prime example of this is clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność. The Mandelite Fourth Internationalist Tendency in the U.S. insists that "an independent trade union along the lines of Poland's Solidarity" must be "an inevitable result of increased democratization in China" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, July-August 1989).

A second U.S. Mandelite group, Socialist Action, is pushing a petition appealing to the Deng regime to "Stop the Repression!" The petition says nothing about defending collectivized property relations and equates the Chinese protests with Polish Solidarność (even as Lech Walesa openly calls for a return to capitalism), declaring:

> "Chinese workers have sought to organize independent trade unions as their counterparts did in Poland.... This vast movement expresses the desires and the will of the Chinese nation for political democracy, social justice and the self-organization of the people in their own interests."
>
> —*Socialist Action*, July 1989

Museum of Revolutionary History, Beijing

no credit

Chinese Trotskyists Chen Tu-hsiu (left) and Peng Shu-tse fought for proletarian leadership in face of Kuomintang, Japanese imperialist and Mao-Stalinist repression.

Today the Mandelites issue classless appeals for freedom for all Chinese political prisoners and highlight the role of pro-capitalist dissidents like Bush's pal Fang Lizhi. But in 1953, Mandel & Co. *suppressed* an appeal by the Chinese *Trotskyists* led by Peng Shu-tse—maligning them as "refugees from a revolution"—for an international campaign to defend these proletarian revolutionaries against Maoist repression (see "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries," *WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975).

Northites on the "AFL-CIA" Road

The dubious political bandits of David North's Workers League (WL) seized on the Beijing massacre to demonstrate anew that they are inspired by Lane Kirkland rather than Leon Trotsky. As the "AFL-CIA" leader appealed to Bush to "toughen the American position" by imposing stiffer economic sanctions against China, the Northites piped in to demand that "the union movement in every country should organize a boycott of all shipping to China" (*Bulletin*, 23 June). In practice, such "workers' sanctions" organized by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy would be nothing more than backhanded support for imperialist economic blackmail, undermining the collectivist foundations of the Chinese deformed workers state and punishing the Chinese workers to boot.

From Polish Solidarność to Khomeini's Iran to the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan, North & Co. have hailed every anti-communist force on the borders of the Soviet Union. And now they trumpet that "Chinese Students Establish Independent Organization" in exile (*Bulletin*, 4 August), hardly discomfited by admitting that it is "dominated politically by proimperialist elements" (see "Chinese Counterrevolutionary Front in Exile" above).

Where Kirkland rails against the "terror" of the "communist ruling class," North rants that the "relentless drive to brutalize and humiliate the Chinese workers...resembles nothing so much as fascism" (*Bulletin*, 23 June). For years now, the WL has been itching for an opportunity to dispense with any fig leaf of Trotskyism in pursuit of its strident anti-Sovietism. The *Bulletin* (9 June) declares the Beijing massacre to be "the political culmination of a decade during which the Beijing Stalinists have worked systematically to restore capitalism to China." The way North describes it, the Stalinist ruling caste might as well be a capitalist class.

Where North denounces Stalinism as "counterrevolutionary through and through," Trotsky insisted that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a brittle, *contradictory* caste sitting atop a workers state. Under the impact of the events of this past spring in China the army was politically split and the bureaucracy both paralyzed and at war within itself. Proletarian political revolution would shatter the Stalinist bureaucracy, with some elements going over to the insurgent workers and others siding with counterrevolution. Only a government based on *workers, soldiers and poor peasants soviets*—as in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution—can save China from descending into anarchy, warlordism and bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

It is a measure of the influence of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" that Deng is hated in China almost exclusively for his crimes against the Chinese people. But one of his greatest crimes was to ally China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, an alliance sealed in blood with the 1979 invasion of heroic Vietnam. The Chinese proletariat has a valiant history of revolutionary struggle dating back to the 1920s. Under the leadership of an internationalist vanguard, it can again become a beacon for the impoverished and dispossessed throughout Asia and an inspiration to the powerful Japanese proletariat.

It is to the workers of China—who Gus Hall does not see and Sam Marcy maligns as pro-capitalist, who Ernest Mandel offers "pluralism" to and David North threatens with "sanctions"—that we Trotskyists direct our appeals: For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers! For the unity of China under the workers' leadership! For Lenin's communism—Forge a Trotskyist party! ■

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Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

against the FBI counterintelligence program known as COINTELPRO, complains that his civil rights are violated by the false and baseless charges of criminal activity in his prison file, unlawful and punitive transfer from San Quentin Prison to Folsom Prison, and punitive classification as a maximum security prisoner.

2. Defendants have falsely branded plaintiff a "cop killer," "escapee," "heroin user" and "child kidnapper" because of his political views and political associations. Defendants have unlawfully and punitively classified plaintiff as a maximum security prisoner. In violation of statutory law and regulation, defendants precipitously and brutally transferred plaintiff, barefoot, in chains and at gunpoint, after eight years at San Quentin prison to Folsom Prison in retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights.

3. The false charges, unlawful classification and punitive transfer place plaintiff's body and life in danger, cause him to be placed in segregated, administrative custody without cause and are intended to punish plaintiff and prevent and chill his exercise of First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and association. Defendant's actions have violated plaintiff's right not to be subjected to cruel and unusual punishment protected by the Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Defendant's actions have also violated plaintiff's right not to be deprived of liberty without due process under the Fourteenth Amendment and infringe on his Sixth Amendment right to counsel....

FACTS

15. Pratt has been incarcerated in prisons of the State of California since 1972. Pratt is, and is well known as, a former leader of the Black Panther Party. Pratt is a victim of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) conducted against the Black Panther Party and Pratt in particular.

16. During his more than 18 years in prison, Pratt has aggressively pursued legal action to demonstrate his innocence of the murder for which he was convicted in 1972. Pratt has sued to expose and challenge the COINTELPRO campaign to "neutralize" the Black Panthers and overturn his conviction which was obtained with the testimony of an FBI agent and suppression of government surveillance records which would substantiate Pratt's alibi defense to the charge.

17. Pratt obtained portions of his FBI file after requests and litigation pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. Among other items, these files record the facts that the FBI targeted Pratt for "neutralization" prior to his arrest and conviction, infiltrated Pratt's defense committee during his criminal trial, suppressed surveillance records that would have substantiated Pratt's alibi defense, and employed the chief prosecution witness as an informer against Pratt.

18. For eight years Pratt was held in solitary confinement because of his political beliefs and associations. Pratt successfully challenged the unconstitutional basis for keeping him in solitary confinement, "the hole," in federal court and thereby gained entry into the general prison population (*Pratt v. Rees* C-76-1069).

19. During the course of *Pratt v. Rees*, Pratt successfully exposed numerous false claims and accusations in his file including the statements that he was a two-time escapee, had been involved in a scheme to kidnap the children of guards at Folsom, and had attempted to kill Folsom guards with poison darts. During the proceedings, Pratt also learned that the FBI planned a "prison escape" for him using one of its agents. The allegations of criminal conduct were found to be groundless, but have not been removed from his file.

20. During the course of *Pratt v. Rees*, Pratt also exposed the fact that he had been falsely branded a "cop-killer" because of his political affiliations. These false allegations specifically naming Pratt had been included in training manuals for corrections officers.

21. In 1975 Pratt was again falsely branded as "assaultive" and "violent" and disciplined for allegedly assaulting a corrections guard. That guard, M.L. Imm, subsequently wrote a letter stating that Pratt had in fact prevented him from sustaining more serious injury. Imm did not say so at the time for fear of causing retaliation against Pratt. Despite the letter and exoneration in *Pratt v. Rees*, the allegations continue....

23. In 1981 and again in 1988 Amnesty International called for an investigation into Pratt's case based on a belief that he may have been denied a fair trial and because "the effect of COINTELPRO has been to destroy confidence in the *bona fides* of the FBI in all its dealings with Elmer Pratt."

24. Pratt's case has been a regular subject of media attention for many years. Pratt has given newspaper and television interviews, most notably in a 1987 edition of the CBS news program *60 Minutes*. Public demonstrations on his behalf have received regular media coverage.

25. In May of 1987 hundreds of individuals including California State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums wrote letters to the California Board of Prison Terms urging Pratt's release. Thousands petitioned that his conviction resulted from an FBI frame-up and demanded his freedom. The Parole Board, in a hearing taped by *60 Minutes*, denied Pratt parole, specifically citing the fact that he had supporters urging his release.

26. Pratt, a highly decorated veteran, is the co-founder and an active member of a Vietnam Vets organization at San Quentin described by Pratt's counselor as the "singular most positive self help program in [San Quentin]."

27. On August 17, 1989 defendants Brown, Y and Z, after a hearing in Pratt's absence, determined that he should not be granted parole despite the contrary recommendations of prison counselors and psychiatrists. Pratt's parole denial was reported in the local newspapers as well as a new false accusation made for the first time by the parole board and stated by Defendant Brown that Pratt is a heroin user.

28. False allegations have persisted in Pratt's prison file for years despite the fact that they have been demonstrated to be baseless. In 1988 Pratt was transported to New York to testify about COINTELPRO as a defense witness in a criminal trial. The documentation accompanying him falsely listed him as a "two-time escapee." To combat the danger of such a false charge, Pratt brought and settled suit in the Southern District of New York (88 Civ 2313(SWK) Southern District of New York) to have these false labels removed in order to protect himself from unwarranted suspicion and possible violence. Pratt's prison records document no escape history. In July 1989 Pratt travelled to San Juan, Puerto Rico, as a subpoenaed witness. On this occasion his file falsely branded him a "cop killer."

29. On August 22, 1989 former Chairman of the Black Panther Party Huey P. Newton was killed. For at least the next week, local and national news media carried daily articles and commentary about the Black Panther Party and its former members including those still in prison, including Pratt.

30. In or about August 1988, former Black Panther Party chairman Huey Newton was brought to San Quentin. On August 24, 1988, and for a short time thereafter, when his brief term was completed, Newton refused to leave unless Pratt was also released. This fact was reported in the local news media. Shortly thereafter, Defendant Vasquez thereafter informed Pratt that he was getting too big for San Quentin and that there were too many media coming to San Quentin. Defendant Vasquez said: "I think I'm going to transfer you, you get more publicity than I do and I am the Warden here."

31. On August 31, 1989 the *San Francisco Examiner* published a column by Warren Hinckle expressing the view that the refusal of the Parole Board to release Pratt was outrageous and irrational. On the same date as the Hinckle column, Pratt returned to San Quentin from the trip to San Juan, Puerto Rico.

32. The next day, September 1, 1989, Pratt was precipitously seized by five armed guards as he left the San Quentin visiting room, stripped of his shoes, chained to the seat of a van, and taken by the guards to Folsom. Three armed guards rode in the van and two more rode in an escort car. Pratt had received no notice of any kind whatsoever that he would be transferred.

33. At Folsom, Pratt was deposited in a totally barren cell and stripped of all clothing except underwear. Four hours later, a towel and a torn sheet were thrown in the cell. The next day Pratt received a red jump suit but was denied access to legal materials and has been held in total isolation since his arrival.

34. Pratt has had a custody designation of "medium B" for the last 11 years; he has been allowed to work outside prison walls and has had family and conjugal visits. Additionally, Pratt took medication to control his high blood pressure and participated in counseling for post traumatic stress disorder as a result of his service in Vietnam.

35. From 1972 until 1978, defendants or their predecessors kept Pratt in solitary confinement on the basis of his political beliefs and false allegations made against him. False allegations have continued to be made about Pratt and have continued to appear in his prison file for years despite the fact that these allegations were without foundation, documentation or any sort of confirmation....

CLAIMS

39. Defendants have endangered Pratt's life and have subjected Pratt to punitive and illegal mistreatment with the goal and objective to intimidate Pratt and to prevent and chill and punish him for the exercise of his First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and association....

42. Plaintiff requests a trial by jury. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Virginia Beach

Racist Police Riot Against Southern Black Students

Over the Labor Day weekend, 58 black South Africans were arrested for defying apartheid segregation by attempting to integrate a "whites only" beach in Durban. Back in the USA, the "free world" of formal racial equality, 1,235 people were charged with 1,346 offenses in a brutal police attack against a black fraternity and sorority "Greek-fest" celebration marking the end of summer in the resort city of Virginia Beach. Here there were no signs reading "whites only," no legal barrier prohibiting black students from enjoying the beach. So the black students came, about 100,000, thinking they had rights—and they met the raw racism and unbridled police terror that clamp down on black life in this society like a steel trap.

The Labor Day cop riot comes at the end of a summer of racist violence against black people nationally. A 16-year-old black youth, Yusuf Hawkins, was shot dead by a mob of Italian punks who lay in wait for the first black man they could get their hands on in Bensonhurst, a white enclave in Brooklyn. That same week, a black youth was gunned down by a cop in Vineland, New Jersey. Virginia Beach showed starkly that ghettoized youth in the mean streets of big cities are not the only intended victims; even relatively privileged black college students are marked.

AP

State police unleashed racist riot against black college students in Virginia Beach, September 3.

The official line in the bourgeois media was a naked lie. While anchormen read scripts about looters and unruly kids, the pictures showed hundreds of burly, riot-equipped cops stepping on the necks of black youth, galloping their horses into crowds of students, phalanxes of National Guardsmen sweeping the streets, with M-16s and ammo strapped across their chests. Reporters on the scene said that there was no looting until *after* the cops and troops rampaged against the students. The media and the politicians have latched onto the destruction of white property in order to divert attention from the real criminals—the cops, the troops, and the political bosses who deployed them to send a message to

continued on page 9

Geronimo Pratt in Danger

SAN FRANCISCO, September 12—Two weeks ago the government escalated its vicious war against former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt. On September 1, just two days after returning from San Juan, Puerto Rico, where he had gone to testify for the defense in the Hartford 15 trial about the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program, Pratt was transferred without notice to the highly dangerous Folsom Prison. Pratt was seized by five prison guards as he left the visiting area, immediately dragged from San Quentin like a slave to auction—barefoot and in chains—and driven to Folsom manacled to the seat of a van while four guards waved guns.

Early this morning Valerie West, counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, and Stuart Hanlon filed an emergency civil rights lawsuit in federal court in San Francisco against James Rowland, director of the California Department of Corrections, and the wardens of San Quentin and Folsom prisons, challenging the unlawful and punitive transfer in violation of Pratt's First, Sixth, Eighth and Fourteenth Amendment rights and California state law. For years the Corrections Department has carried knowing lies in Pratt's file, flagging him as a "cop-killer," "escape risk" and initiator of a make-believe plot to kidnap children of Folsom employees in 1974 when Pratt was held there in solitary. The most recent slander, emanating from last month's Parole Board hearing, describes Pratt as a heroin user.

These lies, which in Pratt's successful 1982 lawsuit for release from years of solitary confinement were found to be groundless and COINTELPRO fabrications, are still the basis for Pratt's continued placement in maximum security prisons. They now place his life in immediate danger, possibly to set him up for murder like Black Panther spokesman George Jackson, gunned down in the yard at San Quentin in 1971. The lawsuit filed today also seeks to compel prison officials to remove these life-threatening slanders from Pratt's record and change his security classification.

Less than two weeks before his transfer Pratt was denied parole for the *ninth* time at a hearing at which neither Pratt nor his lawyer were present. In July his appeal was again thrown out of court on an insignificant legal technicality. For 18 years Geronimo Pratt has been in jail for a crime he did not commit, victim of a racist government conspiracy against the Black Panther Party. And for 18 years he has fought to expose COINTELPRO's bloody crimes.

We print below excerpts from the legal complaint.

* * *

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

1. This is an action for declaratory and injunctive relief and damages on behalf of a well-known former Black Panther leader, ELMER "GERONIMO" PRATT. Plaintiff, known to defendants as a target of and prominent spokesman and aggressive litigant

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt, imprisoned over 18 years for a crime he did not commit, fights for his freedom.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 486 29 September 1989

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

South Africa: Blacks Defy Apartheid Elections

As South Africa's whites trekked to the polls on September 6 to vote for the racist candidate of their choice, the country's oppressed and disenfranchised black majority registered its vote—and its power—in the factories and streets. Mines, mills, shops and schools were shut down and buses, trains and taxis idled as some two to three million black workers—far more than the number of whites voting—staged a massive two-day stayaway strike to protest the apartheid elections. The London *Independent* (7 September) reported: "With 90 per cent of urban workers estimated to be on strike, Cape Town, like Johannesburg and Durban, was as deserted as on a Sunday, eloquently demonstrating the degree to which the country's economy depends on non-white labour...." Once again, the black proletariat has shown it has the power, standing at the head of all the oppressed, to *bring down* apartheid capitalism.

The general strike capped a six-week "defiance campaign" against the apartheid elections. Organized by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which includes the now-banned United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), this was the first sustained and most widespread wave of anti-apartheid protest since the brutal suppression of the township rebellions of 1984-85. The MDM protests directly defied the "state of emergency" imposed three years ago and a frenzy of murderous repression called out by National Party president F.W. de Klerk. And on election day there were protests in at least 20 cities.

AP/Wide World

September 15—Ten thousand at Johannesburg police headquarters protest state terror against blacks in racist elections.

Armored cars terrorized the townships, cops chased down demonstrators, and riot police charged into groups of schoolchildren peacefully demonstrating, whipping them with heavy leather *sjamboks*. In the days leading up to the elections, police stormed a cathedral to suppress an anti-apartheid rally and arrest liberal anti-apartheid leaders Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak. Cops invaded the offices of COSATU and the home of its general secretary, Jay Naidoo, arresting eleven trade unionists. On August 30, over 200 women were arrested while on their way

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Practicing for Racist Martial Law

Bush Flexes Military Muscle in St. Croix

Leave it to the Bush administration to use even a natural disaster to whip up hysteria for a military exercise in racist repression. At the direction of the former CIA director in the White House, 16 Air Force C-141 transports landed on St. Croix September 21 in the wake of Hurricane Hugo. They were bringing not water, not food, but...1,200 U.S. troops, "to suppress the violence." More accurately, they were sent there to protect property values of white real estate interests, on this island which is three-quarters black, while pandering to a racist media barrage. Officials in St. Croix, one of the Virgin Islands, complained that "the Bush administration was more interested in deploying troops than airlifting relief supplies." Something sinister is going on here.

The hurricane wreaked havoc from the Caribbean to the Carolinas this week, cutting a swath through Puerto Rico, including San Juan, and virtually destroying some smaller islands such as Montserrat and Culebra. A newsman who flew over St. Croix told *WV* that the devastation "looked like Hiroshima without the radioactivity." With no food, water, electricity or phones, people on St. Croix became desperate to get food and water. White merchants, panicked tourists and ham radio operators put out stories of roving bands of machete-wielding crazies and "rapists" escaping from prison to imperil white womanhood. Tabloid headlines screamed "Anarchy" and "Island of Fear." An NBC-TV report claimed a Coast Guard cutter had exchanged gunfire with "Rastafarians" on shore who had shouted "Leave the island to us!"

On St. Croix, the worst stories of "anarchy" that reporters could produce were scenes of National Guardsmen helping in the "looting" and giving away things. A witness was horrified seeing "50 people sitting on the street, trying on sneakers." The *Times* mentioned that

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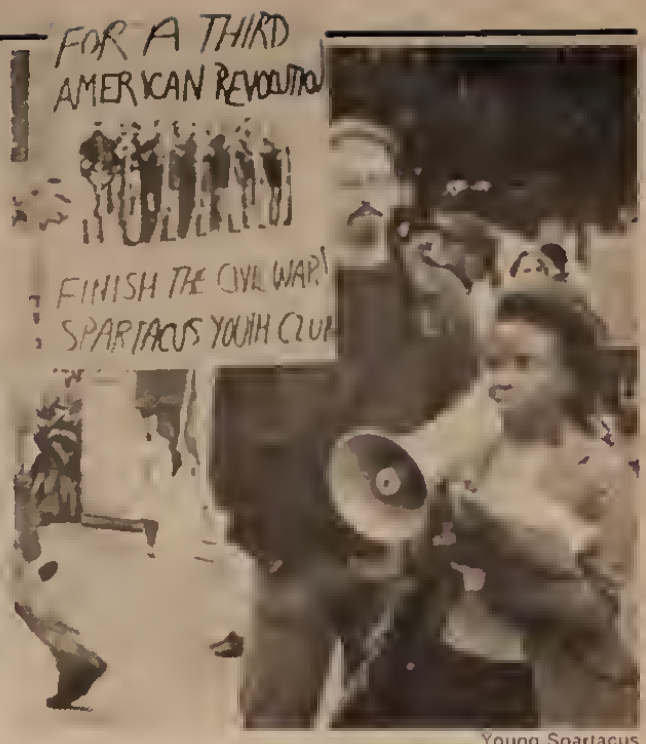
AP/Wide World

Ft. Bragg military police armed with M-16s in St. Croix.

Young Spartacus

Black Student Thrown Out of Class on Civil War

No Jim Crow at S.F. State!



Cindy Nolan speaks at defense rally September 18 at S.F. State.

Young Spartacus

Something very ugly is afoot at San Francisco State University. Under the robes of academia, professors are peddling open racist lies about the history of this country, the better to justify the inequalities of the present. Courses on the Civil War, the Second American Revolution which put an end to slavery, are introduced with KKK recruiting films like *Birth of a Nation* (originally titled *The Clansman*). Black students who challenge this crap are abused like "uppity Negroes" and kicked out of the classroom. One young woman decided to fight back, and now students—black, Latin, Asian, white, gay—are incensed and organizing to do something about it.

On September 11, Cindy Nolan, a black student and member of the Spartacus Youth Club, attended the first session of Professor Barbara Loomis' course on the Civil War. Cindy spotted D.W. Griffith's pro-slavery *Birth of a Nation* on the syllabus. The son of a Confederate soldier, D.W. Griffith was a vicious racist whose film vilified Reconstruction, glorified the Klan and fueled the revival of the terrorist KKK. The NAACP launched vigorous protests of the film and tried to block its release, but President Woodrow Wilson, who was pushing segregationist legislation, endorsed it at a private screening at the White House, as did Edward White, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and a "former" Klansman. Klansmen timed the burning of a cross on Stone Mountain with the movie's release in Atlanta and ran recruitment posters in local papers next to ads for the film. One Yankee filmgoer proclaimed, "It makes me want to go out and kill the first Negro I see," as "Ku-Klux fever" spread in the North as well.

The effect of pushing KKK propaganda in classrooms today while minority students are under attack on campuses across the country was played out in Loomis' class. Professor Loomis, with her "Gone With the Wind" syllabus, brooked no debate with Cindy, giving a green light to racists who then barraged Cindy with fighting words like "black slaves were lazy and goofed off a lot," that "poor whites were the real victims of slavery," that Chinese immigrant workers, who were victims of murderous racist pogroms and repression in California, were "treated well." Refusing to abide by Loomis' appeal for "self-imposed censorship," Cindy was told she "didn't belong," ordered to leave the room and dropped from the course.

The Spartacus Youth Club fought back—and in the process found many other students who had also been degraded and victimized at this school. One black woman told how she had been driven out of a class for objecting to the screening of *Birth of a Nation* on the *first day* of her history course! Another told how she was given an "incomplete" in a psychology course for challenging the professor's assertion that "black women have babies differently from white women." A lesbian woman complained of another psychology professor who made anti-homosexual remarks and claimed that blacks were oppressed "for genetic reasons." Many are eager to challenge "bigotry as usual" at SF State. On September 14, Cindy addressed an abortion rights rally on campus:

> "This class is supposed to be on the Civil War, it's supposed to be on the smashing of chattel slavery, and the only black in the class—me—is kicked out! So who's this class really for?... This racist incident comes in a wave of a whole growing tide of race-terror. You have a racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst, New York. He was in the 'wrong place,' he was a black and didn't have the 'right' to be there too, he 'didn't belong' in the neighborhood. He was murdered.
>
> "What the racists are trying to do in this country, and what the administration on this campus is doing to help, is turn back the hands of the clock. What they want is 'white only' pre-1954 segregation!... Any decent student, white or black, on this campus is a potential victim of this kind of racial harassment and the kind of anti-scientific things that these teachers are trying to put forth.
>
> "So we call on all decent, anti-racist students to come out on Monday... to have a militant demonstration against this racist expulsion, so that black students can get an education just as well as any other student on this campus! We want all of you to be there because all of you know a lot more about the history of the Civil War than this teacher does.... A white student asked me, 'But I'm white, why should I be there?' And I said, 'That's the whole point. What they're trying to do is keep whites against blacks and vice versa'."

Dozens of students signed up to help build a protest of this racist outrage. Students announced the demonstration on graffiti chalkboards in the bathrooms, and filled the boards with comments against racism on campus. You could hear a pin drop in the usually boisterous cafeteria when SYC members came through to announce the demo, and students as well as campus workers grabbed up leaflets. On the evening of September 18, as Barbara Loomis' shamefully segregated "History 424" reconvened, a very integrated demonstration of over 50 people chanted outside, "Protest Jim Crow 424! It's time to finish the Civil War!" and "From Bensonhurst to SF State, workers and students must fight race-hate!"

Twenty years ago, minority students took over San Francisco State University in the militant 1969 student strike. That spectre still haunts the administration today. (They tried "banning" the Spartacists five years ago, only to be defeated when we spoofed their totalitarian red hunt by going "underground" as "Xandra and the Red Avengers"!) Now director of student activities Russ Natson has declared the anti-racist protest "an illegal demonstration" and has revoked "official recognition" of the Spartacus Youth Club on the campus he patrols like an apartheid bantustan! The SYC swiftly responded with a petition campaign to "protest the exclusion of Cindy Nolan from History 424 and demand that the administration cease and desist its harassment of the Spartacus Youth Club." Six different student organizations took petitions and several have invited the SYC to address their meetings on how to fight back.

What's happening at San Francisco State is not an isolated phenomenon. On September 21, at San Francisco City College (a school with 70 percent minority enrollment) Black Student Union posters were defaced with Nazi swastikas, skulls and crossbones and racist death threats: "Niggers Beware. Hands off Whites. Or Die!" At the College of San Mateo, a "free speech" newspaper called *Monday Morning Blues* ran a slimesheet of slurs against Asians, signed by one "Jubal Early." Jubal Early was a lieutenant general in the Confederate Army! The American Civil War is as relevant to Asian immigrants as it is to blacks or anyone else fighting for equality in this country. As Cindy Nolan stated:

> "In 1989 a black woman is still denied access to a college class—because I dare to challenge those who would reverse the verdict of the Civil War. Today KKK race-terrorists—the 'ghosts of the Confederacy'—spew racist filth to mobilize for genocide. We have to stop them and the way to do it is by mobilizing the power of the integrated, organized labor movement to *finish the Civil War* with a third American revolution, a *socialist revolution* that will make good on the promise of racial equality." ■

East Germany and Political Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

In June 1953, East Germany was the scene of the first mass proletarian uprising against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. The workers' protests defended the collectivized foundations of the East German deformed workers state and called on their class brothers in the West to "clean out your crap in Bonn." Fighting against the pro-Stalinist revisionism of Michel Pablo and Ernest Mandel which destroyed the Fourth International, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party of James P. Cannon championed the East German workers uprising as a vindication of the perspective of proletarian political revolution, and called for the reunification of Germany on a socialist basis.

Briefly, what did the East German uprising reveal?

1. It showed that the working class was the initiating and decisive force in leading the people to revolt.

2. It disclosed the colossal power and potentialities of the workers' movement which united all currents of labor opinion in massive protest. Virtually the entire working class opposed itself to the regime and all its agencies, beginning with the SED.

3. The unpopular government was sprung into midair without any support amongst the people. Its main props, the party, the police and the top bureaucracy, crumbled and collapsed under the impact of the uprising.

4. The advanced workers broke in action with the government party, the SED.

5. They evinced determination to overthrow the regime, not to reform it. This repudiation and rejection was implicit in the demand for "a metal-workers government." The sum total of the other demands were incompatible with the continuance of the dictatorship.

6. The general mass political strike, sparked by immediate economic demands and directed against the government, became the means for mobilizing the masses and pitting them against the regime.

7. The Trotskyist program of the necessity of political revolution against Stalinism by a mass uprising was vindicated and adopted in action by the insurgent workers.

8. The unarmed and unsupported masses had to fall back. They felt the need for the formation of a revolutionary leadership and a party to organize the next stages and link it up with the struggles in the West and the buffer zone countries.

—"Against Pabloist Revisionism" (November 1953)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 486 **29 September 1989**

Black Political Prisoner on Death Row

Join the Fight to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Philadelphia Rally, October 14

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner. A Black Panther Party spokesman at the age of 14, a prominent journalist known as a supporter of Philadelphia's MOVE organization, former president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. For his political views and activities the racist capitalist courts have sentenced Abu-Jamal to die. The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal must be made a rallying cry in the fight against injustice and synonymous with the fight against the barbaric death penalty. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Death Penalty!

The "voice of the voiceless" is again being heard—Abu-Jamal's columns are now being published in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Atlanta Inquirer*, *Savannah Herald*, New York's *Big Red News*, *Bakersfield News Observer*, San Francisco's *Sun Reporter*, *San Francisco Metro Reporter*, *Jackson Advocate*, Alabama's *Greene County Democrat* and *Workers Vanguard*. From Paris to the San Francisco Bay Area over 9,000 people—union officials, civil rights organizations, death penalty abolitionists, religious leaders—have demanded of the Pennsylvania governor that Abu-Jamal not die.

Chicago's Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 and Cleveland's Communications Workers of America Local 4309 have written Governor Casey on Abu-Jamal's behalf. Congressmen Ron Dellums and John Lewis, Wisconsin state representative David Clarenbach and Massachusetts state representative Byron Rushing wrote Governor Casey, as did Chicago Aldermen Bobby Rush and Danny Davis, who said Mumia's "fight should become the fight of all those who seek justice and love mercy."

Among the many rallying to Mumia's support are television's Edward Asner and Sabrina LeBeauf of "The Cosby Show"; Pat Turner, widow of blues great "Big Joe" Turner; Rev. Daniel Berrigan; Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Jack Healey, executive director of Amnesty International; and Robert Bryan, chairperson of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.

Don't let them murder this courageous fighter for the oppressed. Take a stand against "legal" lynching. Mobilize your unions, community and civil rights organizations. Send your letters demanding Abu-Jamal not be executed to: Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Join us in Philadelphia to rally against the death penalty on October 14 (see ad). Take a stand with the PDC contingent at the March Against Executions in San Francisco on October 21.

We print below excerpted letters demanding Mumia not be executed.

JoNina M. Abron
Assistant Editor, The Black Scholar, *Oakland, California*

I am a former member of the Black Panther Party and a former editor of The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service. I know from firsthand experience the racist treatment to which African-Americans like Mr. Abu-Jamal are subjected when they take a strong stand against the many injustices suffered by black people.

Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress, Oakland, California

Having reviewed the basic facts of the case, the failure to call witnesses, the jury selection, Mr. Abu-Jamal's injuries at the time of the incident, and the circumstances leading up to and following the shooting, I am deeply troubled by the conviction and sentence. While it remains for the Court to determine the substantive and procedural fairness of the trial, I appeal to you in your capacity as governor to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal.

Beyond the fact that I believe that utilization of the death penalty is unbecoming of a modern, civilized society, I believe that the circumstances of this case compel a rejection of this most ultimate sanction. I join with many others in urging you to commute this sentence, and to spare the life of one who seems perhaps to have met his accusers on the spoiled ground of political entanglement.

Rev. Graylan S. Ellis-Hagler
Northeast Coordinator, Church of the United Community, Roxbury, Massachusetts

Under no circumstance should the State put themselves in a place to judge who lives and who dies. The act of judgment resulting in death should only rest with God and not any state. Also, as we look across the country, one easily realizes that who serves on Death Row and faces death at the hands of the State are almost always poor people and usually people-of-color. Which automatically says to us, that the use of Capital Punishment is both classist and racist.

Pat Farren
Editor, Peacework, *Publication of American Friends Service Committee, Cambridge, Massachusetts*

To have a man on death row essentially for political reasons, because his outspoken views were offensive to those in power and because the color of his skin made him appear expendable, is absolutely outrageous. This adds up to the premeditated murder of a political prisoner: beyond the basic immorality of capital punishment and the fact that there is deep doubt about the circumstances of the crime, the fact that Mumia Abu-Jamal is being punished for his race and for his politics is a triple level of immorality.

James W. Ryder
President, ILWU Local 6, San Francisco, California

It is true that I, personally, and my Local and International Unions deplore the death penalty, but in this particular case, it is most compelling that you reject the death penalty and commute the sentence of Mr. Abu-Jamal. His life should not be sacrificed as part of a larger political battleground.

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Abolish the Death Penalty!

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!

Jackson/Times Picayune

Sponsors/Speakers

William Babcock, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Prison Society

Charles Brover, Co-Chairman, Partisan Defense Committee

Sister Falaka Fattah, President, House of UMOJA Boystown*

Muriel Feelings, Director, Pan-African Studies Community Education Program of Temple University (PASCEP)

Wadiya Jamal, Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal, MOVE supporter

Harold Jamison of the New York *Amsterdam News**

I Abdul Jon, Mumia Abu-Jamal supporter, MOVE supporter

Raymond Martinez, Jr., Vice President, Philadelphia Chapter, Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668*

David P. Richardson, Jr., President, National Black Caucus of State Legislators,* Pennsylvania State Representative

Sonia Sanchez, Poet

Pamela S. Tucker, President and Co-Founder, Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty*

Charles Valenta, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034*

Lois A. Williamson, Executive Director, Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE)*

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, October 14, 3:00 p.m.

Temple University, Gladfelter Hall, Room 107

Hosted by Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP)

12th and Berks Streets

Refreshments Available

For information contact **State Representative David Richardson**, 6345 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215) 849-6592
Partisan Defense Committee, Suite 92, 1530 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 222-7880

Anti-Communist Frenzy Over East German "Dropouts"

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 63, September/October 1989, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.*

The biggest mass outflow from East Germany since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961 has precipitated a sharp confrontation between capitalist West Germany and the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state. Since Hungary opened its border with Austria in early September for East Germans heading for West Germany, the number coming this route presently totals 17,000. In addition, more than 50,000 citizens of the German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany) have legally emigrated to the Federal Repuhlic (West Germany) so far in 1989. The West German media is having an anti-Communist field day whipping up the mass flight "psychosis." East Germans listening to the bombastic, minute-by-minute reports on West German TV said that they sounded like "victory reports in wartime."

Der Spiegel

East Germans line up at West German embassy in Budapest, Hungary. West German magazine Der Spiegel gloats, "Is the DDR Exploding?"

In addition to an expected 100,000-plus East Germans, the Federal Republic is bringing in *half a million* ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) this year from the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, etc. The same imperialist state that has expelled Turkish "guest workers" by the tens of thousands is now conducting a campaign to "Aryanize" its workforce along the lines: "Foreigners out, émigrés in, and German women should give birth."

But those that are enticed by the propaganda barrage to "flee" to the West don't always find the experience pleasant. Currently the influx of tens of thousands of skilled workers is being used by the bosses to undercut wage demands by West German unions in upcoming negotiations. Moreover, many who are used to having cheap housing, guaranteed employment and free medical care just don't fit into the competitive "elbow-society" of capitalist West Germany. An estimated 20 percent of the homeless are former DDR "refugees." Meanwhile, chauvinist hostility against them is growing among West German *Spiessbürger* (philistines) anxious to defend their standard of living.

When East Berlin denounced the West's "trade in human beings," Bonn cried foul. But the next day a DM 500 million ($250 million) bank credit to Hungary was announced, secured by a West German government guarantee. The first "breakout," on August 19, was organized by the ultrarightist Pan European Movement of Count Otto von Habsburg. Nothing "spontaneous" about it—a special train was standing by in Vienna to whisk the "refugees" to camps in West Germany. And the "exodus" of September 10 was minutely prepared: the West German Auto Club set up fuel dumps along the Austrian *Autobahn* of the gas-oil mixture needed for older East German "Trabant" autos. The bourgeois press (as well as the Greens' unofficial house organ *taz*) predicted that East Germany was "disappearing," and sniggered that the last one out (DDR chief Erich Honecker, of course) would have to turn out the light.

To get a sense of proportion, even the conservative London *Economist* (16 September) noted that the total number of East Germans likely to enter West Germany this year "is proportionately smaller than the number of people who abandoned the Republic of Ireland last year. Nobody assumes the collapse of Ireland." Out of a total DDR population of 17 million, there were 1.8 million East German visitors to the West last year, a total of 3.3 million visits to West Germany (some visited more than once). Except for 40,000, they all went back. The standard of living in the DDR is by far the highest in the Soviet bloc, and certainly higher than Britain or Italy (in fact, unemployed Italian workers are now applying for jobs in the DDR).

So why *do* these thwarted "dropouts" from a materially comfortable no-win society leave? By and large it's not for economic reasons: many know of mass unemployment in West Germany (almost two million jobless according to official figures) from Western TV. While the emigrants are not particularly political, there was a sense that there would be no "opening" in East Germany for the foreseeable future. Gorbachev's glasnost is *verboten* in Honecker's *Vopo* (People's Police) state. The hardline Stalinists who lead the DDR were one of the few governments in the world to applaud Deng's bloody massacre in Beijing. And now there was an opportunity, with the opening of the Hungarian border, coupled with *Torschlusspanik*, a panic over the gate slamming shut. But rather than a hemorrhaging, the pressures building up in the DDR steam boiler could produce an explosion.

Contrary to the expectations of *Der Spiegel* et al., that upheaval is by no means destined to be counterrevolutionary. More than 40 years of Stalinist misrule has not extinguished a deeply egalitarian consciousness in the DDR. The *International Herald Tribune* (15 September) reported that in random interviews with young, well-educated East Germans visiting Budapest, many shared the sentiment of a 27-year-old chemical engineer who said, "We're educated in such a way that we believe socialism makes everybody equal. Here in Hungary, I see that people are not equal. Here, I think it depends on the money." The social foundations of the East German deformed workers state were laid as the Red Army smashed the Nazi Third Reich. As a result, East Germany experienced a more profound social upheaval than did Hungary or Poland.

Der Spiegel

West Germany's doors close to non-German refugees seeking political asylum (above). Tamils, Kurds are routinely deported, tens of thousands of Turkish workers have been expelled.

Bonn's Drang nach Osten

The chauvinist hysteria in the West over the East German emigrants, extending from the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) to the Social Democrats (SPD) and Greens, reflects the ominous rise of German nationalism. Bonn claims a "protective right" for "ethnic Germans" throughout the Soviet bloc—no matter if they don't speak a word of German, so long as they aren't Jewish. (There have been numerous cases of *Volksdeutsche* who petitioned for West German citizenship but were turned down because they were Jews.) This ominously recalls Hitler's "protection" of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia in 1938.

Along the same lines, the 50th anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Poland was "commemorated" in West Germany with the right wing in Bonn reasserting that the Federal Republic laid claim to the "1937 borders of the German Reich." No wonder the Poles got nervous: even Solidarność—funded for years with D-marks from the West German DGB unions (and CIA dollars)—was squirming. U.S. chief Bush may find the prospect of a capitalist unification of Germany tantalizing but it sends cold shivers up the spines of his European allies, whose memories of the last Reich are not that short.

The imperialists are using the DDR émigrés as a wedge for breaking up the Warsaw Pact by exploiting contradictions among the East European bureaucracies. The meaning of Budapest's aggressive act of abrogating its treaty with the DDR was made clear when the president of the Hungarian parliament spoke of withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact and becoming neutral, like Finland or Austria (*Washington Post*, 19 September). Simultaneously, Washington announced that Hungary would be granted "most favored nation" trade status. In Warsaw, where the new government is headed by a Catholic prime minister who openly vows to restore capitalism, Bonn has indicated that future D-mark investment in the moribund Polish economy is conditional on flying out East Germans occupying the West German embassy.

The crisis in East Germany reflects above all developments in the Soviet Union. Until now the East German Stalinists have tried to follow the Kremlin's every zig and zag, for good reason. Facing the economically far stronger West Germany, they needed the military backing of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. But with relative success based on central planning, the DDR has little reason to follow Moscow's market-oriented perestroika. (They tried

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Centrists Swing Wildly Over Baltics, Poland

The Men on the Flying Trapeze

As thousands of Jewish slave laborers left the Vilna Ghetto in Lithuania for their work detail on the morning of 6 August 1943, they were surrounded by Estonian Nazi troops. The Jewish men and women knew what this meant—deportation to death, the Final Solution. Many resisted—they were bloodily mowed down. The rest were loaded onto freight cars for transport to concentration camps in Estonia. A month later, Vilna, the historic center of Jewish culture in East Europe, was "*Judenrein*"—"cleansed" of Jews. As the final *Aktion* was being carried out in early September, Estonian patrols stood outside the ghetto gates to get those who tried to escape. After the Soviet army drove the Wehrmacht out of the Baltic region in 1944, many of these local Nazis escaped to the woods, where as the "Forest Brothers" they continued to carry out terror against Communists and Jews until the early 1950s.

Now we read that these sadistic beasts were "freedom fighters" who were part of "The Armed Struggle Against Stalinism in Estonia." And where is this apologia for Estonian Nazis to be found? Not in the pages of some neo-Nazi "revisionist" history, but in a "*left-wing*" publication, *International Viewpoint* (18 September), the organ of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), represented in this country mainly by "Socialist Action." Mandel's outfit reprints *without criticism* this piece by one Herbert Lindmae, originally published in the monthly paper of the Estonian People's Front. In its editorial introduction *International Viewpoint* recommends Lindmae's article as an answer to the Soviet press which "continues to cry scandal about any defense of the 'Forest Brothers'." Scandal? The "Forest Brothers" were anti-Soviet Nazi terrorists!

Swinging from another pole in the fake-Trotskyist milieu are the confused centrists of the British Workers Power group, which has simultaneously come out for the Stalinist position of the inviolability of the borders of the Soviet Union while supporting the *anti*-democratic demands of the Baltic nationalists. And after years of tailing pro-capitalist Solidarność in Poland, now that Solidarność has formed a cabinet intent on carrying out its program of restoring capitalism, Workers Power sagely advises the Polish workers: "No return to capitalism!" Like Nancy Reagan telling ghetto kids to "just say no to drugs"! But when Solidarność was preparing a counterrevolutionary coup in the fall of 1981, Workers Power called for a "military united front" with Walesa & Co.

Stone/SF Examiner

Socialist Action leader Nat Weinstein (left) joins with anti-Communists in December 1981 rally for counterrevolutionary Solidarność. Workers Power honcho Mark Hoskisson (far right) showing "solidarity" with Reagan's favorite "union."

Spartacist Britain

Ernest Mandel's USec Salutes Estonian Nazis

Any Red Army veteran of the war against Nazi Germany, any survivor of the extermination camps and of the *Einsatzgruppen* death squads would boil in outrage if they saw *International Viewpoint*'s disgusting glorification of their tormentors. A 1982 *History of the Waffen SS* by Hugh Page Taylor, sympathetic to the Baltic nationalists, noted: "The German advance through southern Estonia was greatly assisted by the efforts of Estonian guerrillas, those men who had started to go into hiding as 'Brothers of the Forest' during the latter stages of the Russian occupation." A recent piece in the *New Yorker* (18 September), which conveys a sense of the virulent anti-Slav racism permeating the current Estonian nationalist movement, interviews one Forest Brother who proudly recalls his participation in the siege of Leningrad. For 900 bitter days, at the cost of a million lives, the people of Leningrad heroically held out *and triumphed*—and today Mandel salutes their Nazi attackers!

Where many Baltic nationalists try to sweep the issue of Nazi collaboration under the rug, Lindmae positively crows: "In the expulsion of the Red Army from the mainland and islands of Estonia, Forest Brothers' self-defense units participated along with the German armed forces." He takes pride in the fact that by May 1943 "there were already 22,849 Estonians in Hitler's armed forces." For Lindmae, the Estonians in Hitler's armed forces were engaging in a "national liberation" struggle:

> "The armed struggle against Stalinism was fundamentally a struggle of the Estonian people for liberation.... The fact that during the war people involved in it fought on the side of fascist Germany is strictly the fault of Stalinism.... It was hoped that the Germans would reestablish Estonian independence or that it would be re-established when Germany lost the war to the Western Allies."

Here is the true longing of anti-Communist Estonian nationalism: to have been an "independent" puppet of either Nazi Germany or U.S. imperialism—"re-established" over the mass graves of Jews and Communists.

The Estonian Nazis played their full part in Hitler's crusade against "Judeo-Bolshevism," as Arno J. Mayer points out in *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (1988): "Significantly, some of the first and for a time the worst outrages against the Jews were committed not by the new-model Einsatzgruppen but by latter-day local pogromists in the new 'liberated' territories—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia [Byelorussia], the Ukraine...." The Estonian Nazis had a particular place of "honor" in Hitler's satellite legions: unlike the others, they were deemed to be full equals in the German-Nordic Aryan "New Order."

Early in the war, Estonians formed the 658th and "Narva" volunteer battalions and 17 border guard battalions; in 1943 the Estonian SS Volunteer Brigade was formed as part of the Waffen SS. Estonia was the main center for Nazi concentration camps in the Baltic. Of Estonia's tiny prewar Jewish population of some 4,000, the 1,000 not fortunate enough to make it to Soviet Russia had all been wiped out by the end of 1941. At the Tartu camp, whose Estonian commandant Karl Linnas was finally extradited from the U.S. in 1987, 12,000 people were slaughtered, most of them Communists. When the Red Army was about to liberate the camp at Klooga, Estonia in 1944, a band of 30 Estonian fascists killed as many Jews as they could get their hands on.

The current Baltic nationalist movement is being portrayed by the Western media and most self-styled leftists as a noble struggle for democracy and freedom, symbolized by young girls in folk costumes carrying candles and flags of the pre-1940 "independent republics." We have warned that this movement is

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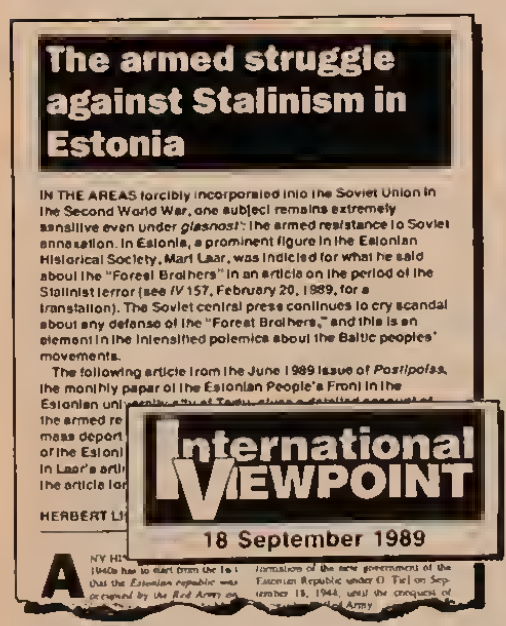
Ernest Mandel's USec Salutes Estonian Nazis



The armed struggle against Stalinism in Estonia

IN THE AREAS forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in the Second World War, one subject remains extremely sensitive even under *glasnost*: the armed resistance to Soviet annexation. In Estonia, a prominent figure in the Estonian Historical Society, Mart Laar, was indicted for what he said about the "Forest Brothers" in an article on the period of the Stalinist terror (see *IV* 157, February 20, 1989, for a translation). The Soviet central press continues to cry scandal about any defense of the "Forest Brothers," and this is an element in the intensified polemics about the Baltic peoples' movements.

The following article from the June 1989 issue of *Postipoiss*, the monthly paper of the Estonian People's Front in the Estonian uni

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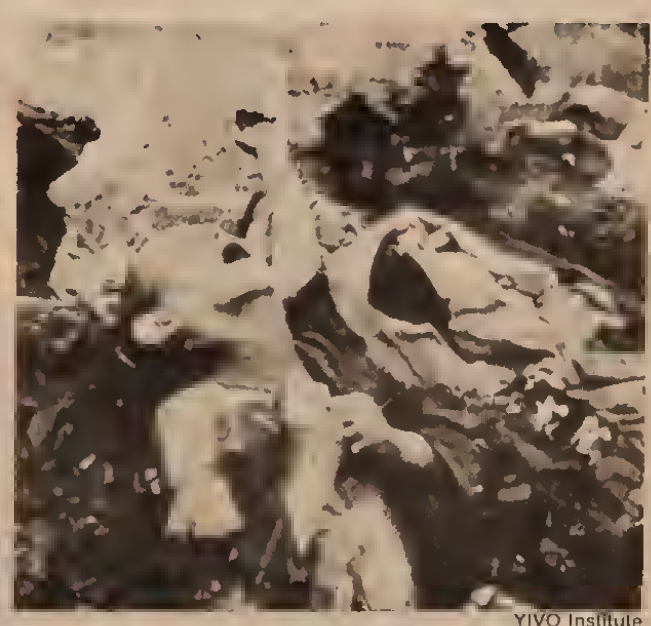
International VIEWPOINT

18 September 1989

R. James Bender Publishing



YIVO Institute

United Secretariat's International Viewpoint defends Estonian "Forest Brothers," claiming these Nazi collaborators were waging "liberation" struggle. Center: Three Estonian officers of Waffen SS 20th Division. Alfons Rebane (left in photo) led "Forest Brothers" unit against Red Army, then joined Nazi forces. Right: Klooga death camp in Estonia, where 3,000 people, half of them Jews from the Vilna Ghetto in Lithuania, were exterminated.

Young Spartacus

The following is the second and final part of an edited speech given in Paris on July 22 by Joseph Seymour, member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S. The talk was part of an educational by the Ligue Trotskyste de France on the bicentennial of the French Revolution. Part One is printed in Workers Vanguard *No. 484 (1 September).*

From Jacobinism to Bolshevism

IN DEFENSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Pierpont Morgan Library

Uprising of 2 June 1793 brought Jacobins to power. Eighty thousand National Guards surrounded Convention, demanding purging of right-wing Girondins.

The Jacobin regime, which came into being through the *journée* of 2 June 1793, and was overthrown with the fall of Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor, July 1794, represented both the climax of the French Revolution and one of the most extraordinary moments in the history of the Western world. Ever since, almost all of the passionate debates and conflicts around the French Revolution have centered on precisely this brief period. For 200 years reactionaries and liberals have denounced the Jacobin terror as a great crime against humanity carried out in the name of red revolution. At the same time, the young Marx believed that the Jacobin regime represented the political rule of the proletariat. In this misconception he was expressing the views of many of the participants of the Revolution itself.

After the monarchy was overthrown the Parisian plebeian masses became increasingly radical, especially because their living standards were eroded by the

PART TWO OF TWO

inflation generated by the war. Increasingly the *sans-culottes* raised economic demands which went against the interests of both the bourgeoisie and sections of the upper petty bourgeoisie. They demanded price controls, laws against hoarding and speculation, and these questions widened the split within the revolutionary bourgeoisie ruling on the basis of the Convention. The right wing of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, the Girondins, opposed these demands in the name of economic *laissez-faire*. The left wing, the Montagnards—what we call the Jacobins now—were willing to meet these demands halfway. Thus the Girondins denounced the Montagnards—the Robespierrists—as practically communists. The Girondin leader Brissot referred to the Montagnards: "The troublemakers are those who want to level everything down—property, human comfort, the price of goods, and the various services that are performed for society."

This was a demagogic falsification, because the Montagnards were not social levelers. In February of 1793 the poor people of Paris broke into many shops, taking sugar and soap and paying at prices far below the going market rate. This action was denounced, not only by the Girondins but also by the Montagnard leaders Robespierre and Marat, for disturbing the unity of the French *patrie*, because for them the shopkeepers and merchants were also part of the *patrie*.

But such opposition risked alienating the *sans-culottes* and driving them to a leadership to the left of the Jacobins, that is, militants like Jacques Roux and Pierre Varlet whom later historians termed the *Enragés*. Thus Robespierre and his colleagues decided to conciliate, co-opt and utilize the *sans-culotte* radicalism rather than simply opposing it. And indeed the Montagnard leadership took power through the *journée* of June 2, when 80,000 National Guardsmen surrounded the Convention and demanded the purging of the Girondin leaders.

Marx was mistaken to believe that this marked the beginning of the political rule of the proletariat, the artisan proletariat. What actually happened was that the proletariat imposed upon France a government of a revolutionary minority of the bourgeoisie. But in Marx's mistaken conception there was an important germ of historical truth—that is, the *journée* of June 2 was the distant ancestor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because this inspired the uprising of the Paris proletariat in the June Days of the Revolution of 1848, an uprising which Marx termed the first attempt to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the June Days of 1848 were a major factor inspiring the uprisings which created the Paris Commune a generation later.

It is very significant that even today the liberal François Furet sees the original sin of Jacobinism in that they came to power through the violation of parliamentary sovereignty. Thus Furet and Denis Richet write in their book *The French Revolution*: "The whole bourgeois revolution, even in its most democratic convictions, rested on a belief in the virtue of the parliamentary system.... The revolt of 2 June had struck a grave blow at parliamentary ideals." This is one of the few occasions in which I find myself in agreement with Furet, because 125 years later the reverberations of this *journée* were heard when the Bolsheviks disbanded the Constituent Assembly in the name of soviet power.

But the original *journée* created only an unstable regime of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, resting on classes with fundamentally different and conflicting economic interests. While all of the dramatic events of the French Revolution occurred in the cities, predominantly Paris, the key to the Revolution is really what happened in the countryside. As long as the peasants were still struggling to abolish the system of feudal exploitation, the French Revolution moved leftward. However, one of the first acts of the Jacobin-dominated Convention was to order the abolition of all feudal rents without any indemnification. Moreover, they ordered the title deeds burned.

Once the peasantry felt secure as small property owners, their economic interests obviously conflicted with those of the urban lower classes. They wanted high food prices, the urban lower classes wanted low food prices. Thus during much of the Jacobin regime the revolutionary army had as its task to collect grain from the peasantry at prices below the natural market rate. This did not make the Robespierre regime very popular in the countryside.

Orbis-Bulloz

Maximilien Robespierre

Mansell-Bulloz

Georges Danton

At the same time, the question of economic controls also split the *sans-culottes* along class lines. Obviously all of the Parisian lower classes could agree that the price of grain should be lower. But the so-called "general maximum," the controls on all major prices and wages, opened up conflicting interests between the small property owners—the shopkeepers and the master artisans—and the wage earners such as journeymen and day laborers. In the fall of 1793 there were violent conflicts between the market women of Les Halles, who resented the price controls, and the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, which was part of the *Enragé* current and wanted more severe and better-enforced price controls. The Jacobin leadership used this as a pretext for suppressing the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women.

The class contradictions of its political base account for the internal contradictions of Jacobin ideology. In practically every speech and every piece of writing by Robespierre and Saint-Just on the question of property, one sentence contradicts the previous sentence and the following sentence. For example, here's Robespierre in the spring of 1793: "I can hardly believe that it took a revolution to teach the world that extreme disparities in wealth lie at the root of many ills and crimes." That sounds pretty good. However he goes on: "...but we are not the less convinced that the realization of an equality of fortunes is a visionary's dream.... It is far more a question of lending dignity to poverty than of making war on wealth." Well, even Chirac and Raymond Barre could agree with that! Robespierre states that he upholds the right of property, but then he qualifies it: "It may not be so exercised as to prejudice the security, or the liberty, or the existence, or the property of our fellow men." This is an entirely utopian qualification.

Of course the contradictions of the Jacobin, or revolutionary, bourgeoisie did not only exist in the realm of ideas. They existed in the realm of real politics, and under the pressures of conflicting social forces the Jacobin bourgeoisie began to rip apart into bitterly hostile factions. On the right you had the so-called *Indulgents* led by Danton, who wanted to negotiate a compromise with the forces of counterrevolution—both the foreign royalists and the domestic counterrevolutionaries—and to pursue an economic policy favorable to the peasantry and the bourgeoisie. On the left you had the so-called *Exagérés* led by Hébert and Chaumette, who wanted an economic policy more favorable to the *sans-culottes*. Robespierre and Saint-Just tried to occupy the center. And in the spring of 1794 the Robespierre center physically destroyed the left and right Jacobin factions, executing their leaders. This fatally narrowed the social and political base of the entire Jacobin regime, and laid the basis for Robespierre's overthrow a few months later.

Mary Evans

The execution of Louis XVI, January 1793.

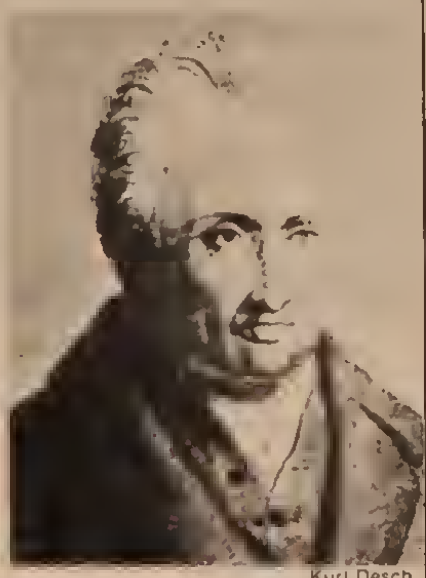
At the Grave of Philippe Buonarroti

THE JACOBIN COMMUNIST TRADITION

We print below a translation of the remarks by Jean Thimbault, speaking for the Ligue Trotskyste de France at a gathering at the tomb of Philippe Buonarroti in Montmartre Cemetery in Paris on July 22.

First I would like to begin by quoting the inscription that the disciples of Philippe Buonarroti wanted to place on his tombstone, his graveyard monument, in 1837: "Philippe Buonarroti, born in Pisa (Tuscany) on 11 November 1761, granted French citizenship by a decree of the Convention on 27 May 1793, died in Paris on 16 September 1837. 'My life, stormy, troubled, full of sacrifices and sorrows, marked by an ardent effort for the happiness of others, this is what you have been called upon to judge'." That was Buonarroti's defense argument to the High Court of Vendôme on 21 Floréal, Year V [April 1797], after the coup d'état of 9 Thermidor. The inscription goes on: "Sentenced to deportation, deprived of his civil rights in jail and exile, prey to the cruelest persecution, he nonetheless persisted in his work. Nothing could shake his courage. He lived for humanity."

It was a little more than 150 years ago that Philippe Buonarroti died—the former revolutionary Jacobin cadre, former communist leader of the Conspiracy of Equals alongside Gracchus Babeuf. He was 75. When he was buried, more than 1,500 people followed the funeral procession. A copy of his book, *Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality*, a real bible for European revolutionaries of the time, was buried with him to symbolize, according to the burial certificate, a desire to shield it from the desecration of man and pass it on to a far-distant posterity. On his tomb, before which we are now standing, a worker placed a wreath with these words: "Buonarroti, great citizen, friend of equality, the people award you this wreath. History and posterity will uphold this acclaim."


Kurt Desch

Philippe Buonarroti carried forward Babeuf's heritage.

BUONARROTI'S HISTORY
OF
BABEUF'S CONSPIRACY
FOR
EQUALITY;
WITH
THE AUTHOR'S REFLECTIONS
ON THE
Causes & Character of the French Revolution,
AND HIS ESTIMATE OF THE
LEADING MEN AND EVENTS OF THAT EPOCH.
ALSO, HIS VIEWS OF
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT,
COMMUNITY OF PROPERTY,
AND
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY.
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, AND ILLUSTRATED BY ORIGINAL NOTES, ETC.
By BRONTERRE.

On the occasion of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, we Trotskyists, members of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), are indeed here to pay homage to Buonarroti and all the Babouvist fighters who were the first to try to institute communism through revolutionary action. From this point of view, we are their heirs.

Buonarroti was born in 1761 in Italy, more exactly in Pisa. He was a descendant, it is said, of Michelangelo. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, he went to Corsica, which was then French, in order to devote himself totally to the revolutionary struggle. In particular, he served as national commissar to the tribunal at Corte. He participated in the attempt at a revolutionary invasion of then-feudal Sardinia. In Paris, he linked up with the Jacobin milieu. It even seems that he was a frequent visitor to the house where Robespierre lived, owned by the Duplays, who themselves later participated in the Conspiracy of Equals. The revolutionary government entrusted him with several missions and on 9 Thermidor he was governor of the principality of Oneglia, a small territory east of Menton, which the revolution had split off from the Kingdom of Piedmont.

Thrown into prison, Buonarroti joined the former Robespierrists and former Hébertists in the jails of Thermidor, where they drew up a balance sheet of the revolution from which they had expected, in the language of

continued on page 10

Before discussing Thermidor and its aftermath I want to discuss the question of the so-called Terror, because for 200 years this has been the main focus of attack by both reactionaries and liberals against the French Revolution. Approximately 16,000 people were executed, maybe another 20,000 people were killed without a trial. It's unfortunate that the popular image of the Terror focuses on Paris—the executions of Marie-Antoinette, Danton, Hébert and Chaumette—because the Terror in Paris was atypical of the Terror as a whole and moreover constituted only a small fraction of the people who were executed or killed—much less than 10 percent.

Over 70 percent of the people who were executed, and far more of the people who were killed without trial, were killed in only *two regions* of France—both the regions of *full-scale civil war*: the Vendée and the Gironde in western France; and Lyon and the lower Rhône valley. In half the departments of France there was no Terror; practically no one was killed. Over 80 percent of the people who were sentenced to death were caught fighting the revolutionary government arms in hand. So the Terror was simply the revolutionary side in a civil war in which neither side gave any quarter or took prisoners.

We Americans fought an even bloodier Civil War than that of the French Revolution. During that Civil War the Union general William Sherman ravaged the state of Georgia and burned down the houses of the slaveowners. For this he was accused of being a barbarian, a modern Attila the Hun. Sherman replied: "If the people raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer that war is war, and not popularity-seeking. If they want peace, they and their relatives must stop the war."

I want to emphasize that the Jacobin Terror had nothing to do with totalitarian thought control or Stalin's Russia. If you read the letters and the diaries of the soldiers in the revolutionary army, they are continually complaining that royalists and counterrevolutionists are insulting them, that the waitresses who serve them are openly declaring their sympathy with the counterrevolution without any fear of reprisal.

There's another important question, and that is a question of scale. The last major war of *ancien régime* Europe before the French Revolution was the Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763. In this war Frederick the Great's Prussia faced a European coalition of Austria, Russia, France and other European powers. During this war 100,000 Prussians were killed, not only soldiers but also civilians. Since the Prussian army was a very efficient killing machine, they killed about 200,000 non-Prussian Germans, Russians and others. The war ended in a stalemate. The treaty ending it simply reaffirmed the prewar boundaries of all the contending parties. In other words, a generation before the

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French Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

French Revolution 300,000 people were killed—ten times the number of the Jacobin Terror—for absolutely nothing, for no political or social gain at all. Yet today Frederick the Great is universally honored, including by the East German Stalinists, while Robespierre is vilified as a bloodthirsty monster.

In any six hours of any of Napoleon's major battles—Eylau, Austerlitz, Borodino—more people were killed than were executed in the entire so-called Reign of Terror. During World War I, 2,700 French soldiers were executed by the French government for refusing to fight, for desertion and for mutiny. That was more than were executed in Paris under the Jacobins. In other words, the government of Pétain, Foch and Clemenceau executed more French soldiers than the government of Robespierre did in Paris during the entire period of the Terror. Yet this crime of the French bourgeoisie is today practically unknown. So all of the hue and cry against the Terror has nothing to do with considerations of humanity, and is entirely motivated by hostility to radical social revolution.

The French bourgeoisie was prepared to accept the exceptional reign of Robespierre—the Jacobin dictatorship—only as long as it was necessary to defeat the forces of counterrevolution.

no credit

Downfall of Robespierre at the Hôtel de Ville, 9th of Thermidor (27 July 1794).

Gernsheim Collection, U of Texas

Napoleon column toppled during Paris Commune of 1871, termed by Marx the first dictatorship of the proletariat.

In June 1794 the French revolutionary armies won a decisive victory over the Habsburgs at Fleurus in Belgium. A month later, on July 27 (9 Thermidor according to the revolutionary calendar), all of the various factions of the revolutionary bourgeoisie got together and overthrew Robespierre.

The Heritage of Babeuf

At first Thermidor was apparently welcomed by most sections of French society, including the *sans-culottes*. And here Babeuf's reaction is extremely interesting. Babeuf himself had been loosely associated with the left Jacobins like Chaumette, prosecutor of the Paris Commune. However, he was in prison in the provinces during the last several months of the Jacobin regime. He was released from prison a few days before Robespierre's fall, and initially was a very ardent supporter and propagandist for the Thermidoreans, whom he saw as opening up a new period of political liberty and democracy.

However, after a few months it became clear that the abolition of economic controls was reducing the Paris proletariat to extreme misery, that the *sans-culotte* militants were being persecuted, and that the Thermidorean bourgeoisie was suppressing the democracy of the Paris sections far more thoroughly and ruthlessly than Robespierre had done. And thus Babeuf changed his position and recognized that Thermidor had been bourgeois reaction clothed in the language of liberal principles. But he did more than that. He also recognized it was not enough to try to turn the calendar back to before Thermidor.

He recognized that the fundamental division was no longer between the aristocracy and the patriots, between the royalists and the republicans—that the fundamental division was between the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited. It was not enough to attempt to reinstate the various economic controls of the Year II. Thus a reign of equality was possible only under what he called *le bonheur commun* (the collective well-being)—that is, a form of rudimentary, distributive communism in which everyone would work, putting their goods into a common warehouse from which they would then be distributed equally among all citizens.

Babeuf's change of attitude toward the Robespierre regime was not simply an individual reaction. With the deepening of the Thermidorean reaction, many of the *sans-culotte* militants began to look back on the Robespierre regime as a kind of golden age when bread was cheap and a poor man could speak his mind. Babeuf, Buonarroti and their colleagues therefore associated their program of communism with the old Robespierre regime.

This provoked a very interesting debate within the Babouvist movement. One of its organizers, Joseph Bodson, an old Hébertist, objected to associating *le bonheur commun* with Robespierre who, he argued, had destroyed many good revolutionaries. Babeuf replied in a letter which demonstrates very considerable political insight, and it also gives us an insight why even today Robespierre is such a vilified figure in official bourgeois opinion:

> "Robespierrism is in all the Republic, in all the judicious and farseeing class and naturally in all the people. The reason for this is simple, Robespierrism is democracy, and these two words are perfectly identical: thus in reviving Robespierrism you are sure to revive democracy."
>
> —quoted in R.B. Rose, *Gracchus Babeuf* (1978)

Thus just a few years after his downfall Robespierre had become a *symbol* of radical democracy and equality transcending the actual experience of the Jacobin regime.

Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals was easily suppressed by the Thermidorean bourgeoisie, and within a few years it was largely a forgotten incident. Yet it had a world-historic importance which in some ways is equal to any of the other achievements of the French Revolution. Thus Trotsky in the founding manifesto of the Communist International states that "we Communists, united in the Third International, consider ourselves the direct continuators of the heroic endeavors and martyrdom of a long line of revolutionary generations from Babeuf—to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg." And the communists of Marx and Engels' generation saw in Babeuf the continuator of the principles of the French Revolution. Thus Engels wrote in 1845, "Babeuf's conspiracy for equality revealed the final consequences of the democracy of '93—insofar as these were at all possible at that time."

The French Revolution and Bourgeois Reaction

How was it that an extreme left-wing extension of Jacobinism, a movement which had almost no impact in its own time, came to be seen by future generations as the legitimate continuator of the Great French Revolution? The answer is that the Jacobin bourgeoisie of 1793 for the most part became the Bonapartist bourgeoisie a decade later, that almost all of the Jacobin cadre who remained politically active became integrated into the Bonapartist bureaucracy. The others simply dropped out of politics.

The principles of revolutionary democracy embodied in the Jacobin constitution of 1793 were carried forward only by a small number of extreme-left radicals such as Buonarroti. Buonarroti made a living teaching Italian and music. When in 1821, at the height of the Metternichian reaction, he praised the Republic of '93 to one of his music students, the young man looked at him as if he were out of his mind and said: who today could hope to restore this kind of government? Buonarroti's history of Babeuf's Conspiracy, published in 1828, was also an ardent defense of the Robespierrist regime. Indeed the old Jacobin claimed that if Robespierre had continued to rule France, he would have gradually introduced communist institutions.

When a new revolutionary period, a new revolutionary movement, came into existence after the Revolution of 1830, the term "Jacobin" had come to mean something far more radical and something far more proletarian than the politics of the Committee of Public Safety of the Year II. In other words, the term "Jacobin" was simply a synonym for "red." Behind both the idealization of the Jacobin Republic by the communists and working-class radicals of that period, and the demonization of the Jacobin Republic by the ruling classes of that period, there was an important historical truth.

During that period a democratic republic was incompatible with the political rule of the bourgeoisie as a class. It was assumed by reactionaries, by liberals and by radicals that a sovereign parliament based on universal male suffrage would lead directly to civil war, as in fact it did in France in 1848. That is, a democratic republic was seen as necessarily a red republic, and it's significant that the Communist Manifesto was first published in English in the Chartist newspaper *The Red Republican*. In his own way Blanqui captured this when he said somewhat later: There are only two real parties in France—the communists and the priests. So that on the eve of 1848 Marx and Engels believed that a democratic revolution, the establishment of a democratic constitution like the Jacobin constitution of 1793, would lead quickly toward the rule of the proletariat and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie—directly in

Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne

Roots of the French Revolution go back to the massacre of Protestant Huguenots by the royalist government on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. Destruction of French Protestantism retarded capitalist development under the ancien régime. Preservation of royal absolutism and aristocratic order called forth the most radical of all bourgeois-democratic revolutions two centuries later.

Beard

THE RED REPUBLICAN.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9 1850

German Communism.

MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS.

Marx's Communist Manifesto was first published in English in the Chartist Red Republican.

England, where a majority of the population were proletarians, and indirectly in France and Germany, where a majority were rural and urban petty bourgeois.

The actual course of the Revolutions of 1848 proved very different from Marx and Engels' conceptions, as they themselves later recognized. In France under universal suffrage the peasant masses voted in a reactionary government which first provoked and then crushed the Paris working class in the so-called June Days. The fear of social revolution drove the French bourgeoisie toward Bonapartism and the German bourgeoisie toward a compromise with the monarchical reaction. Thus it was only a generation later, after the debacle of the Franco-Prussian War, after the crushing of the Commune, that there was established a bourgeois-democratic republic. (Incidentally, 17,000 people were killed in Paris *in one week* after the suppression of the Communards—without trial, without anything. Talk about terror!)

It was only in this period that the French bourgeoisie began to celebrate the French Revolution as the birth of its power. It was the Radical Party historians of the early Third Republic like Avenel, Spulier and Aulard who first identified the French Revolution and Jacobinism with French nationalism and liberal principles. In the 1870s Avenel criticized the conservative German historian Sybel for saying that the French Revolution fostered communism. No, said the French Radical, communism is an invention of you Germans like Karl Marx.

This exchange is indicative of the different attitudes on both sides of the Rhine. Outside of France the Revolution was still identified with social radicalism and leveling. Within France a significant section of the bourgeoisie was trying to *dis*sociate the Revolution from its Babouvist heritage. So that it was only in the early years of the Third Republic that the term "Jacobin" came to be identified with French nationalism, especially anti-German nationalism. On the eve of World War I, the French reactionary Poincaré praised Clemenceau as "in the highest degree national fibre, he is a patriot like the Jacobins of 1793." But a bourgeois tendency like Clemenceau's Radicals was necessarily *unique* to France.

After the Revolution of 1848 the European bourgeoisie—centrally the German—became *counter*revolutionary. There were no bourgeois forces who praised the French Revolution in Bismarck's Germany, or late Habsburg Austria, or late Bourbon Spain—not to speak of tsarist Russia. Quite the contrary. In the 1890s, a century after the French Revolution, a Prussian Junker stood up in the Reichstag and declared that the King of Prussia must be able to order any lieutenant to take ten men and shoot the Reichstag. This speech was greeted with wild applause by the Reichstag deputies of the right.

U.S. Army

French Marshal Pétain (left), head of collaborationist Vichy regime, and Hitler united in hatred for heritage of French Revolution and Russian Bolshevik Revolution.

The Spectre of Bolshevism

Thus the radical democratic heritage of the French Revolution was taken over almost exclusively by the international workers movement in this period. Analogies with the French Revolution were especially common in tsarist Russia among both the Marxists and the Populists, who appeared to be facing an *ancien régime* very similar to late Bourbon France. In 1900 Georgi Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, wrote to one of his comrades, "you know I am beginning to lean toward Jacobinism."

The Bolshevik Revolution reawakened in the world bourgeoisie an understanding that the French Revolution had also carried with it a radical egalitarian tradition, that the French Revolution really was a revolution. Remember that not a single European monarch was executed between 1793 and 1918, when the Russian tsar and his family were killed. That fact alone identified the French and Bolshevik Revolutions in the minds of both the rulers of Europe and the popular masses.

The anti-Bolshevik hysteria reawakened all the old hostility of European reaction to the French Revolution, which is seen as the original sin giving birth to this terrible event. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, for example, denounced the French Revolution as a catastrophe for Europe. But of course the French bourgeoisie, while continuing to pay lip service to the Revolution, also played a key role in the anti-Bolshevik campaign. French military cadre—including the young Charles de Gaulle—aided Polish forces in turning back the Red Army from Warsaw in 1920.

The isolation of Bolshevik Russia, its encirclement by hostile and stronger capitalist states, produced within Russia a bureaucratic degeneration that Trotsky regarded as analogous to Thermidor. That is, the revolutionary leaders were overthrown by a group of nationalist and conservative bureaucrats, but the social achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution—the expropriation and collectivization of property—remained. And this is of course the basis for the hostility of world capitalism to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to this day.

The coming to power of the Nazis in Germany constituted a terrible danger to the Soviet Union. The Stalinists responded to that danger by seeking an alliance with the so-called "democratic imperialists," especially in France and England. This was called the "popular front against fascism." The French Stalinists attempted to glorify French imperialism with the mantle of Jacobinism. To use our analogy, one can describe the Popular Front in France as the attempt of the French supporters of the Russian Thermidor to ally with the heirs of the French Thermidorean bourgeoisie against the heirs of Babeuf.

But in helping to prevent a proletarian revolution in France in the mid-1930s and in actually suppressing a proletarian revolution in Spain, the Stalinists only encouraged, emboldened and strengthened European fascism. The Popular Front paved the way both for the Vichy regime and for Operation Barbarossa, the Nazi German invasion of Soviet Russia. Continuing our analogy, one can describe the Vichy regime as an alliance of the French heirs of the Thermidorean bourgeoisie along with the heirs of the French émigrés with the descendants of the Prince of Brunswick.

And one can describe the Battle of Stalingrad as a titanic struggle between the Russian heirs of the French Revolution, albeit in its Bonapartist form, and the enemies of the French Revolution. And one likes to think on this 200th anniversary of the French Revolution that the ghosts of Robespierre and Hébert and Jacques Roux and Babeuf will all join us in celebrating not only the storming of the Bastille and the victory at Valmy, but will also join us in celebrating the victory at Stalingrad, for that, too, is in a sense their victory.

In 1792 the French bourgeois *constitutionnel* Adrien Duport declared that the French Revolution was over. Eight years later Napoleon, with rather greater justification, declared that the French Revolution was over. Two hundred years later the liberal ideologue François Furet declares that the French Revolution is over. Well, as a historical event, the French Revolution certainly is over—it achieved the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution more radically and more completely than any other. But for precisely that reason it has become something more than a long-concluded revolution—it has become a symbol of the struggle of the oppressed and exploited for a just and egalitarian society. And that is why the French Revolution is still being fought, and it will continue to be fought until liberty, equality and fraternity become a reality in a communist world. ■

Foreign Languages Publishing, Moscow

G.V. Plekhanov, father of Russian Marxism, was inspired by Jacobin intransigence.

Georgi Zelma

Battle of Stalingrad: titanic battle between Soviet heirs of the French Revolution and its enemies, embodied by German Nazis.

Buonarroti...

(continued from page 7)

the times, collective well-being [*le bonheur commun*], the emancipation of mankind, the realization of the principles of fraternity, liberty, equality, which had been the principles of the Enlightenment, the principles of the French Revolution since 1789. The balance sheet drawn up by the left Jacobin tendency gathered around Gracchus Babeuf concluded that these lofty emancipatory principles could not be achieved in the framework of private ownership of the means of production. For the Babouvists, realizing "equality" in particular—which is central to the French Revolution—required, and I quote, "suppressing private property," "establishing common management," establishing "common property and labor" set up by a provisional dictatorship of what we would call a revolutionary party.

The communism of Babeuf is obviously not that of Marx. The communism of Marx seeks a limitless development of human capacities based on achieving abundance. The communism of Babeuf is essentially a communism of distribution which seeks a frugal equality in the realm of consumption. But how could it have been otherwise in the conditions of the time, when small-scale ownership and small-scale, preindustrial artisan or peasant production predominated, when the working class as we know it did not exist. From this vantage point, the Babouvist program was utopian. But it was nonetheless a *revolutionary* communism. In the 18th century, even in the 17th century, communist theories existed, but they were only utopian systems. With Babouvism, with the Conspiracy of Equals, communism entered into the history of social and political struggles. It was, as Marx and Engels later wrote, "*the first appearance* of a communist party with a real activity *in the framework of the bourgeois revolution*."

As you know, the Conspiracy of Equals failed. Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to death and executed by the Thermidoreans. Buonarroti and others were deported. But there is one fact that remains extraordinary to this day—namely that for nearly 40 years Buonarroti fought for the universal revolutionary principles of '89, for a communist program and organization, during the [Napoleonic] Empire, during the [post-1815] Bourbon Restoration, when reaction reigned and grew stronger, at a time when virtually all the Jacobin cadre, even the Babouvists, capitulated to Bonapartism. Buonarroti—totally isolated, going against the stream—continued indefatigably to organize popular societies, secret societies to spread democratic, revolutionary and communist propaganda from his place of exile, whether in Switzerland or Belgium.

This is not the place to go into Buonarroti's activity in detail, but I want to insist on how crucial this activity was in transmitting communism to new generations of revolutionaries, and I want especially to stress its importance in connection with Marxism. Most of Marx and Engels' collaborators in the 1840s were directly or indirectly influenced, in varying degrees, by Buonarroti and some of them had even been recruited by him. In Belgium, Lucien Jottrand, president of the Democratic Association of which Marx was vice president, had been recruited by Buonarroti. In England during this period, one of Marx's main collaborators was Harney, the left Chartist leader who was the protégé of [James Bronterre] O'Brien, the famous Chartist leader who was a follower of Babouvism and had translated Buonarroti's book, *Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality*, into English and corresponded with him toward the end of Buonarroti's life. The German founder of the League of Exiles was also linked to Buonarroti. This League, after being transformed into the League of the Just, later gave rise to the Communist League, which adopted the slogan "Proletarians of the world, unite!" and which Marx and Engels joined in 1847. Marx had read Buonarroti's *Conspiracy for Equality* and even considered translating it.

A. Mondadori

LE COMITÈ INSURRECTEUR DE SALUT PUBLIC, AU PEUPLE.

Acte d'Insurrection.

ÉGALITÉ, LIBERTÉ, BONHEUR COMMUN.

Des Démocrates Français, considérant que l'oppression et la misère du Peuple sont à leur comble, que cet état de tyrannie et de malheur est du fait du gouvernement actuel;

Considérant que les nombreux forfaits des gouvernans ont excité contre eux les plaintes journalières et toujours inutiles des gouvernés;

Considérant que la constitution du Peuple, jurée en 1795, fut remise par lui *sous la garde*

The Conspiracy of Equals, led by Gracchus Babeuf (left), called for insurrection against Thermidorean reaction, 1795.

After 1830, with the development of Chartism and also the July Revolution in France, the figure of Buonarroti infused the nascent European workers movement. In varying degrees, he influenced a whole new generation of revolutionaries, Blanqui and others, all those who were the revolutionary leaders of the first half of the 19th century.

One of Buonarroti's disciples gave a striking description of him that I want to quote and that bears witness to the justified admiration of an entire revolutionary generation. It is by Prati, who was an Italian revolutionary in exile. I quote: "Neither the success of his adversaries, nor the glory of Napoleon, nor the combined efforts of the Holy Alliance, nor the betrayal of many of his friends, nor the slanders of his enemies, nor exile, nor poverty—nothing ever shook his courage or slackened his efforts. When I knew him, he was a man of 70, with silvery, wavy hair framing a face that radiated Promethean energy, that seemed to defy the powers of this world, and incite the world, near or far, to break the chains of despotism."

He was known familiarly to all these young men as the "Old Man of the Mountain." The Mountain [*Montagne*] here obviously refers to Jacobinism. Buonarroti was seen as, and is, the living and active link between a past revolution, the French Revolution, and the coming revolution, the communist revolution, whose cadre are being formed and forged. The unremitting and intransigent fight of Buonarroti, like Babeuf's martyrdom in the cause of communism, was far from futile. Their Conspiracy, which emerged from the womb of the French Revolution, is also at the origin of the communist, Trotskyist, contemporary revolutionary movement. ■

St. Croix...

(continued from page 1)

"Some looters were hungry people picking over groceries that were about to rot anyway." Most telling of all, "Four days after the hurricane struck, no relief supplies had arrived. There was no running water, little food, no electricity, no telephone service. The hospital, badly damaged, was closed." But Washington sent...cops.

This mini-invasion was a police operation, not a relief effort. It was the first time in 21 years that American troops were called out against disturbances on U.S. territory. "Top generals met in the underground operations center at the Pentagon to work out details of the troop movement," reported the New York *Daily News* (21 September). The troops were six companies of MPs; in addition, Bush dispatched 100 federal marshals and FBI agents. Yet the black Democratic elected governor of the islands, Alexander Farrelly, told Associated Press "there is no near state of anarchy" and denied he had called for U.S. troops. Bush wants to look like he's "standing tall," so since he can't get rid of Noriega, he "cracks down" on Rastafarians in St. Croix!

Rampant government racism was apparent on the mainland too, where supposedly "normal" relief operations were under way. In Charleston, South Carolina, residents of poor black neighborhoods were unable to stock up before the storm. Now, with electricity still out, there are virtually no stores open. So "looting" has occurred. The Red Cross even removed its food truck, even though hundreds of people were lined up for hours waiting for it; a cop cited fear of "mobs." "They're thinking more about downtown Charleston stores...than about people who are going hungry," said one woman (*Atlanta Journal & Constitution*, 24 September). National Guardsmen joined local cops in patrolling the streets, while Charleston police chief Reuben Greenberg told his men: "Don't arrest anybody. Beat 'em." One cop admitted, "We're beating the...out of them."

FEMA and Military Coup

What the White House wanted in the Virgin Islands was an offshore practice run for martial law. Spearheading the plan is the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which used to concentrate on flood relief but under the Reagan administration was secretly transformed into a sinister agency for introducing military rule during a fabricated "emergency." The authorization was provided by National Security Decision Directive No. 52, signed by Reagan on 6 April 1984. One of the Iran/contra scandal revelations was that Colonel North had drawn up a secret "contingency plan" according to the wishes of his commander in chief. As Alfonso Chardy reported:

> "The secret plan called for suspension of the Constitution, turning control of the government over to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), appointment of military commanders to run state and local governments, and the declaration of martial law in the event of such a crisis as nuclear war, violent and widespread internal dissent or national opposition to a U.S. military invasion abroad."
>
> —*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 July 1987

Now with Hurricane Hugo, Bush saw a chance to try out his martial law plans. Two days before the troops arrived, FEMA agents landed on St. Croix on an Air Force C-141 carrying "radio equipment." They probably figured the Virgin Islands are small enough and distant enough from the mainland that they could get away with it without significant political blowback.

St. Croix is also a microcosm of the racial tensions in the U.S. Median income for white households ($17,281) is nearly twice that of blacks ($9,908) in the Virgin Islands. The building boom by white condo developers has further fueled resentment by the majority black, poor population which has been left out. Unemployment is estimated at 30 percent, and blacks are often made to feel unwelcome in the tourist town of Christiansted. Keeping black people down is a big money question in real estate. As the editor of the St. Croix *Avis*, the only black paper in the islands, Charles Fisher, said: "This is a class fight. The rich guys come down from New York or wherever and build a hotel, but they can't be bothered to build us a hurricane shelter or a playground" (*New York Times*, 26 September).

A medical worker in New York told *WV* that when news of Bush dispatching troops reached Caribbean workers at Harlem Hospital, there was spontaneous anger and denunciations of the occupation because it was "just like Grenada." Once again American troops would be imposing "law and order" on defenseless black islanders. But the Virgin Islands, unlike Grenada, have a black proletariat with significant social power. Out of a total islands population of 110,000, over 8,500 are unionized by the United Steelworkers of America alone, principally at the giant Hess Oil refinery. Add in their families, as well as unionized hotel/restaurant and government workers, and the power of organized labor is clear. These workers come from all over the Caribbean, and have ties to their union brothers and sisters on the mainland as well.

The Bush administration's operation in St. Croix is a threat to blacks and labor at home. The labor movement must demand U.S. troops out! Elementary justice would require that the people who live and work on the Virgin Islands be able to decide their own fate. But it is clear that this is not possible so long as an imperialist ruling class rules in Washington. ■

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 3)

James F. Gay
NAACP, Norfolk, Virginia

Specifically, this country must never allow the death penalty to be utilized as a means of curtailing free speech and expressions of political beliefs. To do so, would reduce us to the level of many totalitarian governments which we condemn.

In the name of humanity and for the advancement of civilization, we ask that you not permit this act of murder in the name of the state. If it is wrong to kill, then it is also wrong for the state to kill. We are sure that your conscience will guide you in the way of righteousness and that you will not allow this barbaric act to occur.

Rev. George E. Riddick
Vice President at Large, Operation Push, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

We are writing requesting that the death sentence imposed against Mumia Abu-Jamal be reversed immediately. First, because we do not believe he is guilty of the crime he is alleged to have committed. There is nothing in the background of this man to suggest that he would contrive to undertake a deliberate and calculated crime of murder. Second, the death penalty itself entertains the worst that is in our criminal justice system and has been shown to have little effect as a deterrent against crime.

A talented and gifted journalist who defended unpopular and controversial causes should not be for that reason vulnerable to charges that lead to incarceration and to criminal conviction on charges of murder. ■

E. Germany...

(continued from page 4)

"decentralization" in the mid-'60s and abandoned it as unworkable.) Noted historian Jürgen Kuczynski and former secret service chief Markus Wolf represent a still small minority that may want to follow Gorbachev's glasnost.

As the German Democratic Republic approaches the 40th anniversary of its founding, October 7, its leaders are feeling isolated and threatened. The Berlin Wall, a bureaucratic defensive measure erected to stem an earlier exodus of skilled workers, is no longer effective. The ruling SED's (Socialist Unity Party) Stalinist program of building a "socialist nation" in half a country is ever more divorced from reality. And with the 77-year-old DDR leader lying in the hospital, with no heir apparent, a leadership crisis comes on top of the social crisis. Yet their course of pursuing "peaceful coexistence" with Western imperialism and competing on the terrain of German nationalism with Bonn revanchists encourages counterrevolutionary forces. As the Federal Republic seeks to subordinate and ultimately gobble up the "other Germany" as part of its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East), we Trotskyists unconditionally defend the DDR against counterrevolution, from within or without.

Der Spiegel

17 June 1953—East German workers rose against Stalinist regime, calling on West German workers to "sweep out your crap in Bonn." Ulbricht regime was saved only by Soviet tanks.

Der Spiegel

Berlin Wall: bureaucratic defense measure to stem drain of East German skilled workers instigated by Western media.

DDR: Consumerism Instead of Communism

The tens of thousands who have left for the West pose a grave threat to East Germany's economy. The writer Stefan Heym, a loyal critic of the East Berlin regime, says this is a "phenomenon that threatens to destroy the DDR" (*Der Spiegel*, 14 August). The émigrés are on the whole young, highly trained, and their loss already hurts in areas such as hospitals, schools and skilled trades. This is added to the already acute labor shortage in East Germany, which has brought in more than 100,000 Vietnamese and African workers as well as tens of thousands of Poles.

To keep the lid on, the East German regime has assiduously encouraged Western-style consumerism, complete with "summer close-out sales" for everything from food processors to stereo sets (at high prices, to soak up surplus marks). Nor is the outflow due to increased repression. The *Vopo* cops are quite as arbitrary as Prussian police officials could be, and the *Stasis* (state security police) have recently broken up demonstrations by pro-"democracy" dissidents and would-be émigrés in Leipzig with their usual efficiency. But if anything, as former East German protest singer Wolf Biermann commented, "it has become looser because of all the trips to the West that are now permitted" (*taz*, 21 August). Until 1963, dancing the twist was forbidden in the DDR as an example of Western decadence; this last summer the hit film was *Dirty Dancing*.

But the all-pervasive bureaucracy is seen as "anchored in cement." The official media are stultifying. In the 1950s, in "Operation Ox Head" the FDJ (Free German Youth) climbed up on roofs to turn TV antennas around so they couldn't receive West German television. Now the DDR has laid cable into Dresden so that the only East German city which couldn't get TV from "*drüben*" (over there) now has clear reception. Intended as an escape valve, it boomeranged as Western TV instigated mass "escape."

Economically, while the centralized *Kombinate*, huge conglomerate enterprises, are relatively successful, there are endless infuriating bureaucratic snafus and no way to remedy them. Doctors can't operate for lack of oxygen supplies. Now East Germany has a halfway decent car, the new Wartburg, but still can't build a decent engine. And then there's nowhere to drive it. One of the biggest complaints of the westward-heading youth is sheer boredom. Even the FDJ paper *Junge Welt* bitterly asked how it is possible to make East Germany "into a home...from which you don't let yourself be lured simply by a show window full of bananas or glitzy travel brochures" (quoted in *Die Wahrheit*, 14 September).

The alienation of many East German youth cannot be overcome simply through more and better consumer goods and greater freedom for a Western-style youth culture in the DDR. But the Stalinist bureaucracy cannot inspire among young German workers and intellectuals the socialist idealism which animated their forebears, from Karl Marx's Communist League to the militants of the Communist Party in Weimar Germany. Honecker & Co. offer East German youth nothing more than a defense of the postwar status quo vis-à-vis Western imperialism. An authentically communist, internationalist vision of the future would win over many of today's disaffected East German youth.

For Revolutionary Reunification!

In German imperialism's division of labor, the Social Democrats have the special task of carrying out a counterrevolutionary political mobilization in the DDR. As we wrote in *"Market Socialism" in East Europe* (*Spartakist* pamphlet, July 1989):

> "In recent years the Brandt wing of the SPD, along with its Green fellow travelers, has been the main expression of resurgent German nationalism in pseudo-leftist and pacifistic colors. The slogan of a neutral, demilitarized and reunified Germany—independent of both Washington and Moscow—is a thinly disguised call for 'democratic' counterrevolution in East Germany."

The East German SED Stalinists and their West German cohorts claimed that the August 1987 SPD/SED "common declaration" would mean "peace in our time." The SPD tops, however, have seen in the flood of East German émigrés a big chance to break through politically in the DDR. But they upped the voltage so much that East Berlin canceled the visit of a high-level parliamentary delegation this week. So now the SPD is turning its attention to a new crop of East German dissidents in the orbit of the Lutheran church (New Forum, Democratic Departure, Democracy Now).

WV Photo

East Berlin store window: DDR regime encourages consumerism to soak up surplus currency and buy off social discontent.

How long will the powerful East German working class remain quiet? *Le Monde* (14 September) quotes a high-ranking Soviet official as saying that the DDR was "on the eve of great changes, almost a prerevolutionary situation." And former Soviet ambassador to West Germany Valentin Falin reportedly said that by next spring the Kremlin expects "mass demonstrations which would be hard to control" in the DDR. Many bourgeois commentators and petty-bourgeois leftists consider this impossible, and speak of the historic "docility" of the German working class, which supposedly obeyed the Kaiser, then Hitler and then the Stalinists. But, in fact, the German proletariat has been the strongest and most class-conscious in Europe, and has fought heroic battles when it had the opportunity.

Germany's position in the heart of Europe is a key factor in its present (and past) division. This makes it the natural theater for continent-wide war, but also places the German proletariat in a strategic position. In 1953, the East German workers were the first in East Europe to rebel against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. This occurred when the hardline Ulbricht regime in East Berlin found itself out of step with the post-Stalin thaw in Moscow. Beginning with the construction workers in Stalinallee on June 16, strikes, demonstrations and workers assemblies spread throughout East Germany. The bureaucracy was paralyzed and polarized, with part of the lower and middle party cadre going over to the side of the workers uprising. Ulbricht was saved only by Soviet tanks. Today once again there are tensions between East Berlin and Moscow. And as Siberian and Silesian miners strike against the ravages of "market reforms," the East German workers can make common cause with their class comrades.

The revolutionary unity of German and Soviet workers is indispensable for the victory of the proletarian political revolution, ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy in the DDR and throughout the Soviet bloc, establishing the rule of workers soviets. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! The key is forging an internationalist Bolshevik leadership, which can also lead the workers in the imperialist West in socialist revolution against capitalism. The Stalinists, who despair of social revolution in the West, hand the national question in class-divided Germany over to the fascists. Today, when both Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" and the DDR's regimented regime are in crisis, the internationalist program of Trotskyism stands out in sharp relief, fighting for revolutionary reunification of Germany in a socialist united states of Europe. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

to present a petition to the British consulate in Cape Town. On election day alone, 29 demonstrators were killed in the apartheid butchers' bloody crackdown.

Black anger has been fueled by a flood of executions and death sentences meted out by the white-supremacist regime in recent months, many on the basis of the Hitlerite "common purpose doctrine" under which anyone present at the scene of killings of police agents and informers is deemed guilty of murder. In late May, the Upington 14 were condemned to death for being part of a large crowd which killed a black policeman in 1985. Two weeks later, four blacks were hanged in Pretoria, including the first woman to be executed in two years. Twelve others from the Ciskei bantustan ("tribal homeland") were sentenced to hang for a 1987 "necklacing" (executing informers and other apartheid collaborators by placing burning tires around their necks). Now, in the Delmas III trial, 12 Pretoria anti-apartheid activists charged with being "ANC terrorists" face possible death sentences.

The outcome of the election reflected increasing polarization within the white minority, as the National Party emerged with its narrowest majority in 41 years. The "Nats" lost ground on both flanks, though the ultrarightist Conservative Party gained less than expected while the "liberal" Democratic Party increased its vote substantially. While successfully appealing to Indians and "coloureds" (of mixed race) to boycott elections for their segregated sham parliamentary chambers, the anti-apartheid MDM implicitly called on whites to vote for the Democratic Party. The DP was recently formed out of a merger of two smaller parties with the Progressive Federal Party, voice of the giant mining conglomerate Anglo American Corporation.

"Peace" with the Apartheid Regime

The election was seen as a referendum among whites on de Klerk's five-year "action plan," which claims to offer reform of the apartheid system while firmly maintaining white control. De Klerk took over as acting president in August after finally forcing P.W. Botha, the longtime head of the apartheid state, to resign. Botha provoked a storm of outrage from ultrarightists when he had tea with jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela on July 5, the first time a government official openly met with a representative of the banned organization. Then the *Weekly Mail* revealed that foreign minister Pik Botha and other leading National Party officials had been meeting with Mandela regularly for almost three years. Immediately after taking over from Botha, de Klerk flew off to discuss the ANC's new "peace plan" with Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda as a show of his "moderate" credentials.

Work in Progress

Many of South Africa's black unionists see need to smash apartheid system of capitalist exploitation.

For years, the ANC has sought to pressure Washington and London to force the apartheid regime to the conference table, while the imperialists have insisted that the ANC first accede to Pretoria's conditions (i.e., "renouncing violence"). Under Gorbachev, the Moscow bureaucracy has begun placing intense pressure on the ANC to give in to negotiations without any preconditions. In April, the first public Soviet diplomatic mission to South Africa in 33 years arrived in Johannesburg. Yuri Yukalov, head of the Soviet foreign ministry Department of African Countries, insists: "South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue" (*New York Times*, 16 March).

Yukalov cited the Angola/Namibia "peace process" as an example of successful negotiation in which "all sides stood to gain" (*Weekly Mail*, 23 March). The sort of "dialogue" Pretoria has in mind can be seen from the first result of the Namibia "peace process," as the apartheid butchers slaughtered 300 SWAPO supporters who tried to cross the border from Angola under the terms of the agreement. Meanwhile, as Cuban troops are shipped home, Angolan peasants continue to be massacred by the U.S./South Africa-backed UNITA terrorists, who immediately violated the UN-negotiated "cease-fire" agreement.

In the buildup to the September 6 elections, the ANC unveiled its "peace plan" at a summit of "front line states" held August 10 in Lusaka, Zambia. For the nationalist ANC, the "defiance campaign," like its sporadic guerrilla forays into South Africa and its appeals for imperialist disinvestment, are aimed at pressuring the apartheid rulers. As the *Weekly Mail* (11 August) noted: "It is understood that the ANC sees the defiance campaign as a key vehicle for pursuing a peaceful end to apartheid in conjunction with negotiations on the basis of equality." The ANC plan, subsequently endorsed by the Organization of African Unity meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe on August 21, is modeled on the Namibia settlement. It envisages a transitional government—with the existing apartheid regime—and "free and fair" elections for a constituent assembly which would then draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Reuters

South Africa's de Klerk held discussions with Zambian president Kaunda on ANC "peace plan," then ordered crackdown on defiance campaign against apartheid elections.

Despite occasional talk of revolution, particularly at the height of the township rebellions four years ago, the ANC has long pursued a strategy aimed at "power-sharing" with apartheid capitalism. The ANC disavows "wholesale nationalization," calling instead for a "mixed" (i.e., capitalist) economy, and the growth of a black capitalist class. Imperialist investment would be encouraged, noted an ANC representative, "on terms acceptable to the foreign investors." But while COSATU supports the ANC's Freedom Charter, the combative and increasingly organized black proletariat is far from sanguine about this program for a "democratic, nonracial" capitalist South Africa.

COSATU has grown two and a half times larger since its formation in 1985, while strike activity in the first half of this year is almost triple what it was for the same period a year ago. Particularly with the banning of the United Democratic Front and AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation), COSATU has emerged as the strongest organization of the black proletariat in South Africa's history, and the voice of broad sections of the oppressed masses. A number of unions within COSATU, particularly the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), headed by the recently freed Moses Mayekiso, and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWUSA), advocate "socialism" as the goal of their struggle. At the latest COSATU congress in July, a focus of discussion was ACTWUSA's call for a "workers charter" to guarantee elementary trade-union rights. One unionist commented, "They want to ensure that when apartheid goes, they will still be the workers' watchdogs, not the pet poodles of the nationalist movement—as in Zimbabwe."

The road to liberating the toilers of South Africa is not, however, through maintaining a strong trade-union movement under a petty-bourgeois nationalist ANC regime which it is assumed will replace white-supremacist rule. What's needed is the establishment of a black-centered workers government through smashing apartheid capitalism. This poses the formation of a racially integrated workers party, drawn primarily from class-conscious militants in the predominantly black trade unions. This is the only road forward if the protestations of "socialism" and "workers power" by left-wing militants in COSATU are not to be simply a means of pressuring the ANC. We are not talking about a reformist labor party as in Britain, but rather forging a revolutionary workers party such as Lenin built in tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik Party which in October 1917 led the first victorious workers revolution in history.

Furthermore, South Africa is *not* like Zimbabwe or Zambia where petty-bourgeois African nationalists displaced the white colonial regimes within the framework of continuing imperialist economic dominance and exploitation. Apartheid as a system of white caste domination will not be ended without uprooting the entire system of capitalism in South Africa, which cannot exist without the superexploitation of black labor. This necessarily means starvation wages and the denial of democratic rights to the black majority. For the moment, Pretoria is dead set against any negotiated settlement with the ANC. But even were some future South African government to reach an agreement with the ANC—under the pressure of the Western imperialist powers—it could not "negotiate" the end of apartheid, but only do away with the more odious and obvious manifestations of apartheid.

South Africa's racial capitalism is both the generating force for the extraction of superprofits and at the heart of its inability to advance as an industrial country in the world economy. With the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and then gold on the Rand at the turn of the century, the character of the economy changed from overwhelmingly agrarian to extractive. Mining of the low-grade ore was labor-intensive, requiring a large reserve of unskilled and therefore relatively uneducated labor. Apartheid evolved out of and was dictated to a large extent by these conditions. The ANC seeks an accommodation with "progressive sectors" of the apartheid ruling class, like Anglo American's Gavin Relly. But the black miners who toil and die in

Spartacist Forums

Stalinism in Crisis

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

- **Return to Lenin's Communism! For Workers Soviets! Oust the Bureaucrats!**
- **Poland on the Brink—Defend Deformed and Degenerated Workers States Against Imperialist Attack and Domestic Counterrevolution!**

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(Both speakers have recently returned from a tour of Eastern Europe)

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Black Workers Strike Against "Divestment" Union-Busting

Strikes of black South African workers against the hellish conditions of apartheid rule increased dramatically in 1989, vividly demonstrating the social and economic power of organized black labor. But two key strikes this year have focused world attention on workers' opposition to divestment. In May, workers at nine Mobil Oil installations struck against the company's plan to "divest" by selling out to Gencor, a South African mining conglomerate notorious for union-busting. The Chemical Workers Industrial Union called the action to protest Mobil's refusal to negotiate the terms of the sale, but later agreed to call off the strike in return for a cash settlement of one month's pay (about 2,000 rand) per worker.

In July, 1,200 workers at Goodyear Rubber, represented by the National Union of Metalworkers, struck over the company's sale to the South African company Consol. The strike demands of separation pay of 5,000 rand per worker, guaranteed conditions of employment, maintenance of existing labor agreements, payout of pension benefits, and writing off housing loans, reflect widespread anger over divestment's victimization of the black working class. Goodyear's response, on August 8, was to fire all the strikers, and go ahead with the divestment deal.

For years, liberal and reformist anti-apartheid activists, taking their lead from the ANC, have held as an article of faith that to be against apartheid means to be for divestment and economic sanctions. In 1985-86 big student protests swept U.S. campuses, demanding that university administrations sell off their financial holdings in corporations operating in South Africa. The Spartacist League alone stood up and told the truth: divestment is *at best* an empty moral gesture, and if foreign companies did withdraw productive assets from South Africa this would hurt black workers and weaken the black union movement.

Four years ago, it was cheap to advocate divestment, since there hadn't been any. But since then, 136 companies—half of all the U.S. firms with direct investments in South Africa—have sold out to South African businessmen. This was not primarily the result of pressure from divestment activists. On the contrary—divestment is simply good business for corporations, though not for black workers who have to live with the results.

With the apartheid state's economy in its worst shape since 1985, foreign investors do not want to touch South Africa. Although sanctions and divestment have had limited overall impact on the economy, the cutoff of foreign loans from banks worried about the future of the white-supremacist regime is draining up to $2 billion annually in repayments from an economy stretched to the limit. So with profits very low, and interest rates up to 20 percent, U.S. and other foreign capitalists can sell their assets for interest-bearing notes and make a killing while divesting.

NYC demo against South Africa executions, June 1983: Spartacists call for class struggle to overthrow apartheid capitalism, not liberal "divestment" schemes.

Thus the primary demands of the reformist anti-apartheid movement have been fulfilled, as much as they can be, yet apartheid remains intact, while black unions are forced to try to negotiate the terms of divestment. The assumption of the divestment/sanctions movement, which includes such so-called "socialists" as the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialist Organization, really is that South African capitalism can be fundamentally reformed through the pressure of other capitalist powers, especially the "democratic" United States. It's obscene to imagine that racist American imperialism—which put its own citizens in concentration camps while A-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which carpetbombed Indochina, and props up every "moderately authoritarian" butcher dictator on earth—can be pressured into pressuring their South African allies to dismantle apartheid.

The continued flight of capital can only further depress the South African economy. Except in a period when the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid system is immediately posed, isolation from the world market is likely to result in massive dislocation and deprivation of black workers, weakening their ability to struggle. The wealth of South Africa must go not to the capitalists—American, European or Afrikaner—but to the workers who created it. The only kind of "divestment" that will benefit the exploited and oppressed will be proletarian revolution, and the expropriation of these riches by a black-centered workers government as part of a socialist federation of southern Africa. Here in the U.S., real solidarity with the courageous black masses of South Africa means a revolutionary fight to bring down the most rapacious imperialism of all. ■

Relly's gold and diamond mines *know* that their lives will not fundamentally change unless Relly and his class are put out of business permanently.

Forge a Trotskyist Vanguard in South Africa!

For the Stalinist South African Communist Party, the debate over the "workers charter" evoked the terrifying spectre of Trotskyist "ultraleftism": "Those who champion...the cause of 'workerism' against so-called 'populism' betray...a bias toward Trotskyism" ("What Is Trotskyism?", *African Communist*, Fourth Quarter 1988). The SACP revealed the extent of leftist opposition to the bourgeois-democratic Freedom Charter by reporting in their subsequent issue that they had received a slew of letters disputing the article's conclusions. (They cynically decided "not to publish" any of them!) But even the wretchedly tailist SACP, which has been submerged inside the pro-capitalist ANC for decades, acknowledges the socialist aspirations of the South African proletariat with its stagist slogan, "For a Democratic Victory and Advance to Socialism."

Apartheid butchers slaughtered 300 SWAPO supporters returning to Namibia under "peace process" and threw their bodies into mass grave.

Yet there are self-styled "socialists" who explicitly oppose the struggle for socialism in South Africa. Jack Barnes' American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) insists that the South African revolution will have one stage only—democratic capitalism. "We could say," says Barnes in a 1985 report (reprinted in *New International*, Fall 1985), that:

> "Yes, the key tasks of the revolution in South Africa are clearly national and democratic in character. Yes, it would be completely ultraleft for South African revolutionists to wage the struggle around a socialist program. But, given the development of modern capitalist industry and mining, and the size of the Black working class, won't the overthrow of the imperialist apartheid state actually establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and open what we might call the democratic stage of the socialist revolution?"

But even such a hackneyed Stalinist apologia for betrayal in the name of revolution in stages is too "ultraleft" for Barnes, who in 1982 explicitly denounced the SWP's distant Trotskyist past. He replies to his hypothetical question:

> "The answer is, 'No.' What is on the agenda in South Africa is a bourgeois-democratic revolution, not the democratic stage of the socialist revolution."

Barnes insists to the black workers: This far and no further!

The SWP's "democratic" program is flatly counterposed not only to the class interests of the black proletariat but to the struggle for democratic rights. South Africa is a quintessential example of the validity of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution: in this country the black working class is patently the decisive force in the struggle against apartheid. Trotsky explained:

> "The theory of the permanent revolution...pointed out that the democratic tasks of the backward bourgeois nations led directly, in our epoch, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the dictatorship of the proletariat puts socialist tasks on the order of the day."
>
> —Introduction to *The Permanent Revolution* (1930)

The black proletariat of South Africa has already amply demonstrated its capacity to fulfill its historic mission. What it lacks is a revolutionary leadership worthy of its courage and aspirations. Forward to a Trotskyist party, section of a reforged Fourth International! For a black-centered workers government! Smash apartheid! For workers revolution! ■

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Centrists...

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aimed at a counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism, that these flags stand for fascistic dictatorship, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. Last month we reported that Estonian nationalists in the city of Kohtla recently openly commemorated a gang of World War II Nazi collaborators, the ERNA group organized in Finland with German support, by erecting a memorial on the site of a former Nazi monument (see "Stop Baltic Counterrevolution!" *WV* No. 484, 1 September).

Now Lindmae dots the i's and crosses the t's—and the Mandelites shamelessly trumpet his fascist glorification. His article ends with the demand that the Soviet government rehabilitate these Baltic Nazi collaborators! He complains that the law passed by the Supreme Soviet early this year annulling the verdicts of Stalin's frame-up trials "does not apply to traitors to the fatherland and punishment battalions formed during the Great Fatherland War [World War II], to Nazi criminals, members of nationalist bands, their satellites and so on." And he concludes: "Such persons must also be considered rehabilitated."

Lindmae has a fig leaf in the final paragraph condemning "summary executions" and participation in "mass repression outside the borders of the Estonian Republic"—he's well aware of how the Estonian Nazis had to go to Latvia and Lithuania to get in on the mass extermination of Jews. But this is a call for the rehabilitation of practically all fascist murderers, armed anti-Communist squads and nationalist bands who fought alongside the Nazi invaders and then joined the SS murder machine. What's going to appear in *International Viewpoint* next? A call for the rehabilitation of General Vlasov, a defector from the Red Army whose "Russian Liberation Army" fought under the Wehrmacht in the name of "anti-Bolshevism"?

Mandel's USec is shamelessly opportunist, wildly impressionistic and given to extreme zigzags in line. But this is an incitement. Even the anti-Communist bourgeois press wouldn't touch such a blatant salute to pogromist counterrevolutionary terrorists. Although they claim to be Trotskyist and in some sense to defend the Soviet Union, the Mandelites' embracing of Baltic fascism in the name of "anti-Stalinism" has a prehistory. Tailing Eurocommunism in the mid-'70s, Mandel & Co. championed pro-Western Soviet "dissidents" like Andrei Sakharov, who called for imperialist economic warfare against the USSR. And they then glorified the clerical-nationalists of Polish Solidarność, whose great hero figure is Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of Poland in the 1920s and '30s.

A few years later the Australian USec section, the Socialist Workers Party, established close political collaboration with an émigré group associated with the Croatian Ustasha. When Nazi Germany invaded the Balkans in 1941, it established in Croatia a puppet fascist state. The Ustashi bands were so bloodthirsty in slaughtering Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and many Croats that even some German officers sought to restrain them. The anti-Nazi Yugoslav partisans led by the hard-bitten Stalinist Tito, and drawn largely from the peasantry, liberated the country from the Croatian fascists as well as Serbian monarchists. Postwar Yugoslavia was established on the basis of an anti-capitalist social revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed, and in a nationally very uneven country. Since World War II émigré Ustashi groups have waged a terrorist campaign against Yugoslavia, especially its diplomatic representatives.

The SWP's support for and collaboration with Croatian fascists was quite a scandal on the Australian left. The Ustasha affair was sufficiently embarrassing for Mandel's center in Europe to take its Australian comrades to task over it. But now there is an anti-Soviet "mass movement" in the Baltics, and with their longstanding support to any and every opposition to the Soviet government the USec is openly defending the fascist fringe of Baltic nationalism. Where Mandel & Co. hail the Nazi "Forest Brothers," we salute the real Estonian freedom fighters, who were the soldiers of the Red Army's Estonian 8th Rifle Corps, which included 250 Jews. In June 1944 these Estonians helped liberate their homeland from the Nazi butchers and the "Forest Brother" collaborators.

Der Spiegel

Gdansk, 1980: Lech Walesa oversees Catholic priests hearing workers' confessions. This is the clerical-nationalist "fighting strength of the early days of Solidarity" that Workers Power celebrates.

Workers Power Lost in East Europe Without a Compass

While the Mandelites embrace Baltic Nazis in the name of "national liberation" and "independence," the left-centrist Workers Power group mimics Stalin's opposition to any national secession from the Soviet Union. In reprinting excerpts from the 26 August statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the threat of civil war in the Baltics (*WV* No. 484, 1 September), we stressed that the statement "leaves out the critical element, insisted upon by Lenin, that all nations not seeking counterrevolutionary social change were promised the right to fully administratively disaffiliate from the rest of the Soviet Union." Workers Power says nothing about the danger of capitalist counterrevolution in the Baltics today but simply declares, "we oppose calls for independence in the sense of secession from the Soviet Union" (*Workers Power*, September 1989).

At the same time as it falls into line behind the old tsarist doctrine of "Russia—One and Indivisible," Workers Power capitulates to some of the worst nationalist excrescences of the Baltic movements, supporting the demand for "recognition of non-Russian languages as official languages." The very idea of an "official language"—which was attacked by Lenin even before 1917—is inherently anti-democratic. Ever since 1944, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian have been used in their respective republics' governments, schools, media, etc., along with Russian. Now the Baltic nationalists demand that *their* languages be made the *sole* "official" languages of the republics, thus degrading millions of Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian and other inhabitants to second-class citizenship.

The large and largely proletarian Russian-speaking population has resisted this anti-democratic measure, mainly through the "Internationalist Movement." But here is one mass movement Workers Power explicitly refuses to support, slanderously dismissing the mass protest strikes organized by Inter-Movement against the reactionary language laws with the canard that the "KGB-organised 'Intermovement' is coordinating a chauvinist campaign." In its strikes, Inter-Movement has raised the demand for "equal rights for all nations." In speaking with the *New Yorker* writer, its spokesmen were a Georgian, a Jew and a Russian who had lived in Estonia virtually their entire lives. Even Boris Kagarlitsky, a leader of the Moscow People's Front, reported after visiting Estonia that "the program of the Inter-Movement looked much more democratic than the [Estonian] People's Front program" (*International Viewpoint*, 20 February).

The same issue of *Workers Power* emblazons on its back page: "Poland: No Return to Capitalism!" Today it's hard to continue ducking the issue when Walesa declares the new government intends to take Poland "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism" (see "Poland on the Brink," *WV* No. 484, 1 September). But back in 1981 when Solidarność consolidated around a pro-capitalist program, at a time when Solidarność was hatching its coup plans (revealed on the infamous "Radom tapes"), a Workers Power leader declared, "if Solidarity is armed under its present leadership we will be for a military united front with that leadership against the Soviet invasion." Around the same time, WP admitted that Walesa was "tied particularly closely to the Catholic hierarchy" which is "ultimately fighting for capitalist restoration" (*Workers Power*, January 1982).

Their excuse for tailing behind the Polish "mass movement" for counterrevolution was familiar: "It is not the responsibility of the Polish workers that the brutal Stalinist regimes have handed to the forces of reaction the possibility to initiate struggle for elementary working-class demands" (*Workers Power*, October 1981). Now that Solidarność is in a position to carry out its "struggle" for a return to capitalism, these centrists are squirming. They want to harken back to "the fighting strength of the early days of Solidarity the trade union." Right, the days when Walesa was appealing to Reagan while waving around CIA money, when Solidarność strikers were kneeling before the priests in the Lenin Shipyard and their leader was openly taking his marching orders from the Polish pope in Rome.

As Walesa & Co. became ever more shrill in their counterrevolutionary agitation, Workers Power hopped from one to another "left wing" in Solidarność. Most recently it was the small Polish Socialist Party (Democratic Revolution), heralded as a potential "nucleus for forging an independent Polish internationalist workers' party" (*Workers Power*, May 1989). During this period the PPS-RD was in a political bloc with "Fighting Solidarność"—animated by the rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Semitic KPN—which greeted George Bush's arrival in Gdansk last summer with signs proclaiming "A Good Communist Is a Dead Communist." Some nucleus for "an independent Polish internationalist workers' party"! Now it seems the PPS-RD—which just opened up a very visible public office in London—has disappeared into one of those "blank spaces" in Workers Power's history.

Trotsky defined centrism as "crystallized confusion." Polemicizing against the American SWP's Shachtman/Burnham bloc which opposed defense of the Soviet Union in 1939-40, Trotsky addressed their plaint that they failed to "foresee" Stalin's occupation of eastern Poland: "If our ill-starred politicians failed to foresee 'this' it is only because they fail to think a single question through to the end" (*In Defense of Marxism*). For Workers Power, this is congenital. They "fail to foresee" the danger of counterrevolution in the deformed workers states because they wear the blinders of Stalinophobia. Despite their nominal Soviet-defensism, they carry the baggage of their origins in Tony Cliff's "third camp" outfit, which blew out of the Trotskyist movement in the early 1950s over Cliff's refusal to defend North Korea against U.S. imperialism.

Behind the wild vacillations of the centrists over events in East Europe and the Soviet Union lies their lack of a programmatic anchor. They spurn the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution against counterrevolution and instead tail every "mass movement" that comes along. They tailed the mullah-led movement in Iran, and ended up with Khomeiniite reaction; they tail reactionary "anti-Stalinists" of every stripe in Poland, and end up with a pro-capitalist, anti-working-class government in Warsaw. What differentiates Bolshevism from centrism is precisely the capacity to "swim against the stream" when the masses are being misled against the historic interests of the proletariat. There would have been no October Revolution if Lenin's party had submerged itself in the sea of social-chauvinism that inundated the Russian workers at the start of World War I. But Lenin persevered, and three years later the Bolsheviks achieved state power.

Today the opportunities are opening up for political revolution in the deformed/degenerated workers states. Solidarność—in league with Jaruzelski—intends to administer a "short, sharp shock" of capitalist austerity to the Polish workers as the opening shot of dismantling the historic gains of the collectivized economy. What is posed is a real struggle by the Polish workers in both the Stalinist and Solidarność unions, necessarily beginning around immediate economic demands for survival but raising implicitly the perspective of a working-class struggle for political power. For the first time in decades, the Soviet workers—including in the Baltics—have begun to assert themselves as an independent social force. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, for Trotskyist parties, to whose construction the slick centrists are an *obstacle* as they trot eagerly behind the illusions and false consciousness of the masses. ■

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Pittston Miners...

(continued from page 16)

the deadline came union lawyers told the judge that they "were having a hard time persuading a small number inside the plant to leave."

With 5,000 strikers and supporters massed outside, it wasn't the threats of a coal company judge that ended the sitdown late Wednesday night. It was the miners' own union bureaucrats. UMW vice president Cecil Roberts, who led the miners out of Moss No. 3, shouted, "We stood the state on its head," as the 98 sitdowners melted into a sea of camouflage. But as one miner said: "We came, we saw, we conquered, we left."

In the 1938 *Transitional Program* Leon Trotsky pointed to the revolutionary implications of the workers' seizure of capitalist property:

> "*Sit-down strikes*...go beyond the limits of 'normal' capitalist procedure. Independently of the demands of the strikers, the temporary seizure of factories deals a blow to the idol, capitalist property. Every sit-down strike poses in a practical manner the question of who is the boss of the factory: the capitalist or the workers?"

In the hands of the UMW tops, the sitdown at Moss No. 3 was never intended to challenge Pittston's "right" to destroy the lives of 1,700 striking miners and their families. And at the first threat by Pittston's black-robed judges, the bureaucracy pulled the sitdowners out. But miners who felt the power of the occupation at Moss No. 3 may not be so easy to pull out in the future.

Bring Out Labor's Muscle to Win the Strike

After a dozen years of union-busting, from Jimmy Carter's use of Taft-Hartley against the miners in 1978 through the years of Reagan reaction to the greed of corporate raiders like Frank Lorenzo, workers want to fight. When miners' pickets appeared at power plants and steel mills in western Pennsylvania, workers walked. Eastern pilots fought the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) tops for a national pilots' shutdown.

And this anger, reflected in the outpouring of labor solidarity for the Pittston strike and earlier demonstrations and picket lines at Eastern, has prompted "militant" phrasemongering from some very unlikely quarters: the New Jersey AFL-CIO Industrial Union Council and the Lorain, Ohio Central Labor Council passed resolutions calling for a "one-day general strike." George Leitz, Transport Workers Union (TWU) president, blusters that "Organized labor is already talking about a nationwide strike. If that's what it takes to get some attention, so be it" (*People's Daily World*, 31 August). AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland responds: "I have no aversion to a general strike. I would never say never" (*Newsday*, 3 September). Like hell! He would run to his pals at the CIA to try and stop it.

Predictably, the "socialist" water boys for the trade-union bureaucracy have churned out adoring stories on the labor traitors' newfound "militancy." The Socialist Workers Party gives glowing press to the stunt where Kirkland and a dozen International union chiefs took a grandstand arrest in Virginia, Kirkland's first ever for union activity. The Communist Party's *People's Daily World* obscenely quotes Kirkland telling *miners* the old refrain: "Which side are you on?" (In a 3 August *PDW* column, however, CP chairman Gus Hall blasts Kirkland as the leader of a "right wing" cabal, collaborating with the FBI and the capitalists against "militant left elements." Sounds like Hall can't figure out which side Kirkland's on.) Sam Marcy and Workers World's *United Labor Action* (July-August 1989) grovels as it "asks": "Will the top AFL-CIO officials heed this call for a nationwide one-day work stoppage?" The dubious Workers League pleads with Kirkland to "call a general strike."

These reformists' cynicism is boundless. The sordid record of the labor traitors in the Eastern and Pittston strikes is well known: Leitz has kept thousands of TWU airline ground service workers on the job, as TWU flight attendants at Eastern are left to twist in the wind. Kirkland appeared before ALPA's executive board in August to denounce the Eastern pilots' demand for a national pilots' action. And in a letter earlier this summer, AFL-CIO headquarters ordered state and local labor councils *not* to support the UMW if it meant violating "legal obligations imposed by the court" or "existing labor agreements"—in other words: *cross the miners' picket lines.*

Coming from the bureaucracy and their fake-socialist press agents, the "general strike" talk is a cover for their sabotage of the Pittston and Eastern strikes. What is needed is to *bring out labor's muscle* to smash the union-busting offensive. Miners in a dozen states already showed what is needed when they wildcatted, fighting Trumka and the judges who forced them back to work. This is class war, and to win requires a leadership which will take on the state's injunctions, dispatch the flying pickets and call on railroad workers, waterfront and steel workers to "hot cargo" scab coal. Everyone who is in this fight—working miners, pensioners, the Daughters of Mother Jones auxiliary—should send delegates to Camp Solidarity to elect a strike committee and decide how to win this one.

The labor bureaucracy's alliance with the Democratic Party is the roadblock standing in the way of successful labor struggle. Virginia coal miners, fed up with getting the shaft from Democrat Baliles, are casting write-in votes for John L. Lewis and Mother Jones in November. Class-struggle militants, from Pittston to Eastern, must fight to break the bureaucracy's stranglehold on the unions through the battle for a revolutionary workers party that can lead all the oppressed. ■

Detroit Union Convoy Rolls Into Coal Country

We print below a report from a trade unionist in Detroit who took part in the September 8 caravan which traveled 1,300 miles round-trip to show solidarity with the Pittston strike.

We had 215 cars, vans, trucks and motor homes—590 people in all. That many cars is about three miles on the expressway, more than a couple of miles when we were closed up. Great logistics job—CB radio controlled, wrecker, doctor and nurses, lawyers, portable toilets, food, gas pumpers, traffic controllers. It was an 18-hour trip.

The last 30 miles or so to Camp Solidarity were without local police traffic control. We closed up by radio and ran in at the highest possible speed, running the lights. No breakdowns or accidents. Local residents and UMW supporters turned out to wave us through from front porches and intersections. Close to Castlewood, Lebanon and St. Paul we got an enthusiastic reception from working people, glares from upper-class types.

Camp Solidarity is in a lovely location. It is very well run—security is in good shape, discipline in evidence everywhere. It's disquieting that a rail spur is running coal through the back of the camp site. Pittston has a massive security operation running, and one can see some of it when the coal is moving. A helicopter and light plane came low over the camp. The old-timers I spoke to are not speaking ill of Trumka or the District leadership, but do talk about using effective traditional methods and tactics for conducting a strike.

The morale is very high. I think the civil disobedience tactics, whatever their ultimate worth, have helped in this respect, especially with the women and young people. Everybody's *doing something*. There is also a feel to the place that the traditional miners' strike *is* being waged. It's not without reason that the State of Virginia has brought its meanest dogs out of the basement and cut them loose from their chains.

State police usually run in pairs and at extremely high speeds, like stock car racers drafting. The troopers and the governor who sent them are hated. Miners told of strikers arrested for civil disobedience being forced to kneel at the side of the road with loaded AR-15 carbines pointed at their foreheads.

Courts seem to be after tying up the union treasury more than anything else. The convoy raised $110,000 in the Detroit area, which will go out to strikers immediately as a back-to-school bonus for the kids. UMW members were genuinely thrilled to see this convoy. The hospitality and food were wonderful, the farewells were heartwarming.

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

WV Photo

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mobilize Labor to Back Them Up! Don't Touch Scab Coal!

Pittston Coal Miners on the Front Line

SEPTEMBER 25—For over three days, 98 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) occupied the control room of Pittston's strategic Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant. One of the sitdowners told *Workers Vanguard* of the power they felt looking out at the miners and strike supporters in camouflage massed to defend the occupation: "When we were standing on that tipple, there were 5,000 standing out there. It really makes you feel good. We knew we had the backup." Eighty hours later, the UMW tops pulled the strikers out.

The plant occupation came as the Pittston strike nears its sixth month. The 1,700 strikers in southwest Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky are battling for the UMW and all working people. By breaking from the industrywide contract and seeking to slash miners' and pensioners' medical benefits, the company has provoked a battle the coal bosses hope will destroy the union at Pittston.

The coal miners, for years the "shock troops of American labor," are on the front line of the class war. In West Virginia, coal company gunmen shot and wounded Roy Blankenship, vice president of UMW Local 1971. Less than ten days later some of the same thugs returned to try to run down UMW pickets in Slab Fork Hollow with a front-end loader. At every turn, the Pittston strikers have come up against the cops and court injunctions of the capitalist state. The courts have demanded that the UMW pay over $24 million in fines this week. In the 110-day coal strike of 1977-78, miners defied the Arnold Miller leadership and burned Taft-Hartley injunctions. But this time the miners' courage and militancy has been diverted by the UMW tops into impotent "corporate campaign"-style boycotts and endless civil disobedience arrests.

Every union-conscious miner knows that the union cannot afford another defeat like A.T. Massey—the capitalists are trying to turn union miners into an endangered species. Almost 50,000 miners from Pennsylvania to Alabama poured out of the mines in June and July in a virtual national strike in solidarity with the Pittston strike. But they were shoehorned back to work by federal judges and their own UMW misleaders. Enough! Send out the flying pickets—for a national coal strike!

Defy the Injunctions! For a National Coal Strike!

WV Photo

Pittston miners contingent at Chicago Labor Day march.

Across the country, hundreds of thousands of workers have poured out for solidarity rallies, car caravans and picket lines on behalf of key strikes: some 17,000 Machinists, flight attendants and pilots fighting Eastern Airlines with their backs to the wall; 63,000 NYNEX phone workers defending their medical benefits; 50,000 Local 1199 hospital workers in New York, who voted ten to one to strike on October 4. Unionists from across the Midwest have poured into Camp Solidarity in southwest Virginia to stand with the miners. As Ken Crowe noted in New York *Newsday* (3 September), this has been the year that the "Labor Movement Takes to Streets."

This sentiment must be tapped to *win* the Pittston strike. Railroad workers must let the bosses know that Pittston coal is too hot to handle; let it pile up on the docks in Tidewater; unionists in the steel mills and power plants must shut down the coke ovens and boilers that are burning scab coal, and appeal to Japanese steel workers to do the same. The current labor misleaders will wail that such tactics are "illegal." Well, if it works for the working class, there is always a law against it. There must be a hard fight in the labor movement for a class-struggle leadership that is willing to defy the bosses' injunctions and break from the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party.

The Miners Take Moss No. 3

The workers' occupation of Moss No. 3 took the Pittston union-busters and their gun thugs by surprise. On Sunday, September 17, busloads of miners rolled up to the preparation plant, which cleans, grades and ships coal from the surrounding mines. Moving quickly across a narrow bridge, the strikers barricaded themselves inside the plant's control room with padlocks and steel cables, three stories up and accessible only by a narrow stairway. The scabs fled, escorted through the assembled miners at the gate to Moss No. 3 by a convoy of state troopers. These "Pittston blue lights," as the miners call them, were helpless against the sitdown, as miners lined the road into the plant. In an instant, the sitdown strike at Moss No. 3 had done what five months of civil disobedience and parading in front of New York banks had failed to do—*shut down Pittston*. The company's million-dollar-a-day plant lay silent.

President Richard Trumka and the UMW tops intended the occupation only as a "dramatic public statement" to appeal to labor-hating Democrat Virginia governor Gerald Baliles to bring Pittston boss Michael Odom to the bargaining table. But the moment workers seized the mine baron's sacred property, Odom squealed like a stuck pig. Comparing the takeover to the 1979 seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran, Odom declared, "We will not negotiate with terrorists."

Baliles and Douglas Wilder, the new Democratic candidate for governor, issued a joint statement demanding the miners abandon the plant. Federal judge Glen Williams threatened that if the occupation wasn't ended by 7:00 p.m. Wednesday, something "unpleasant" was going to happen to the miners. But unlike Virginia Beach, where the racist cops and National Guard terrorized black college students, in Carbo, Virginia they faced the power of organized labor. After five months and 3,000 arrests, the Pittston strikers refused to be cowed. And despite assurances by the UMW tops that the sitdown strikers would obey the judge's injunction, when

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Black Student Thrown Out of Class on Civil War

No Jim Crow at S.F. State!

SEE PAGE TWO

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 487 13 October 1989

Bush's Little Coup That Failed

U.S. Get Out of Panama!

Der Spiegel

Cambio 16

"Big Stick" arrogance in the White House. Strictly Bush league attempt by ex-CIA chief to remove his former Panamanian "asset" leaves Noriega (right) grinning.

Gabriel Garcia Márquez might have called it the chronicle of a pre-announced coup. For the last couple of years, Panama's strongman General Manuel Noriega has replaced Libya's Muammar Qaddafi as tops on the hit list of Third World rulers the White House loves to hate. Already last May, President Bush called on the Panamanian military to "do everything they can to get Mr. Noriega out of there." In August, the U.S. military staged practice runs for a kidnapping, even dropping helicopter-borne "vertical insertion teams" into the American embassy in Panama City. But in this opening shot of his "war on drugs," President Bush shot himself in the foot, bungling the attempted overthrow of Noriega. Then Bush put his foot in his mouth, claiming this was not "some sort of an American operation." The failed October 3 putsch was among the wildest fiascos in the history of Yankee interventionism. Yet behind the comic opera farce was U.S. imperialism's drive to throw its weight around militarily in Latin America.

The Bush team desperately wants a Grenada-style "win" in order to intimidate nationalist opposition in its Latin American "back yard." Reagan's surrogates, the Nicaraguan contras, failed miserably against the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime, despite sowing bloody terror in the countryside. So far, Bush's only success at striking a "tough" posture was in sending military police to patrol the heavily black U.S.-held Caribbean island of St. Croix following the devastating Hurricane Hugo. But his

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Perestroika Strike Ban

Dimitryev/Argumenty i Fakty

Soviet miners strike in July shook the country, challenged Gorbachev's anti-working-class "market reforms."

"Democracy is against perestroika." Thus declared two Gorbachev supporters, I. Kliamkin and A. Migranian, recently in the prestigious Soviet journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Early this month Gorbachev, evidently reaching the same conclusion, called for a ban on all strikes for a year and a half. In a "compromise" measure the Supreme Soviet on October 3 outlawed strikes completely in energy, transportation and other strategically vital sectors, and insisted on mandatory arbitration in other areas before legal strikes could take place. Gorbachev linked the strike ban with authorizing the use of Soviet troops to end the railway blockade of Armenia by nationalist forces in Azerbaijan. However, the upsurge of murderous nationalism throughout the USSR has been fueled by Gorbachev's perestroika with its reliance on economic competition and degradation of social equality and proletarian solidarity.

The strike ban is directed above all at the strategic heart of the Soviet proletariat. The miners strikes in the Siberian Kuznetsk Basin and Ukrainian Donets Basin last July marked the greatest challenge yet to the authority of the Gorbachev regime. In addition to shutting down the mines, strike committees took over entire coal-producing regions. The Kremlin tops quickly dispatched high-level delegations to negotiate with the Kuzbass and Donbass strike committees. The miners went back after the government promised sweeping concessions, including importing large quantities of consumer goods from the West. Gorbachev attempted, with a certain degree of success, to co-opt the strikes by declaring the miners' grievances were just, blaming the bad conditions on backward local apparatchiks and identifying the strikers' demands with perestroika.

But the workers' illusions in Gorbachev—already rubbed raw over the past year by increasing shortages—have rapidly dissipated as conditions of life become ever worse. In appealing for the strike ban, Gorbachev warned: "We are faced with the disruption of all our plans for the coming year if we don't react now." Among those plans are five draft laws designed to "develop market relations within a socialist economy," whose central plank aims "to denationalise the economy and make it really mixed."

Significantly, one of the most vocal supporters of the strike ban in the

continued on page 12

Soviet Workers—Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Behind the Crisis of Stalinism...8

The Crime of the Vincennes

On 3 July 1988 the U.S. guided missile cruiser *Vincennes*, armed with the high-tech Aegis weapon system, fired on and destroyed an Iranian commercial jetliner which was flying its normal assigned air route over the Persian Gulf. In one fiery instant 66 children, 52 women, all 290 people on Iran Air Flight 655 were murdered, the pieces floating in the Gulf.

That original incident was soon buried by the servile U.S. media. But recently the truth appeared in a scathing letter printed in the September 1989 issue of the U.S. Naval *Proceedings* by Commander David R. Carlson, U.S. Navy, commanding officer of the frigate USS *Sides*, which had accompanied the *Vincennes* in the Gulf that day. Commander Carlson reveals that even before the murderous shootdown, other Navy ships in the area referred to the trigger-happy *Vincennes*, commanded by Captain Will Rogers III, as "Robo Cruiser."

WV readers will recall that at the time there was not even an apology from the U.S. government. Whipping up another wave of chauvinist hysteria, President Reagan claimed it was "proper defensive action." Vice President Bush praised the American sailors as "heroic." A Defense Department whitewash "investigation" concocted a story about the "stress of combat"—the *Vincennes* was allegedly battling some small Iranian gunboats—to explain how the data from the ship's sophisticated computer was completely misread, portraying the Iranian jetliner as an attacking F-14 fighter. No officer or member of the crew was charged with any error, let alone any crime, and the U.S. refused to pay compensation.

AP Photos

U.S. cruiser Vincennes blasted an Iranian civilian jetliner out of the sky, murdering 290 men, women and children.

A few months later, Pan Am Flight 103 was blown up over Lockerbie, Scotland. Imperialist security agencies (who had some prior knowledge that a Pan Am plane would be bombed) now leapt to allege that those who felt the need for revenge for the earlier murderous air assault were behind the second one. Was this a case of "an eye for an eye"? But it's not the passengers over Lockerbie who should have paid innocent blood for innocent blood. No, it is those in charge of the USS *Vincennes* who should be brought before a suitable tribunal. As we said in "Massacre in the Persian Gulf" (*WV* No. 457, 15 July 1988): "By any standard of decency and morality, the captain and responsible officers of the *Vincennes* should be facing a court-martial." Yet this is impossible in America so long as bourgeois state power is sovereign. The criminals escaped punishment.

Sovereignty comes out of the barrel of a gun. But we must at least declare that these are the criminals. Out of incompetence, cowardice and panic, with a bloodthirsty desire to kill some Iranians and operating under hair-trigger rules of engagement ordered by Reagan himself, the command of the *Vincennes* gratuitously murdered an entire planeload of passengers. Bush made it clear that these criminals are the pride of the U.S. Navy, and let us not forget it. As the American fleet, guided by the Reaganite "forward strategy," provocatively violates Soviet territorial waters and bumps Soviet nuclear subs, they are playing with blowing up the world.

We print below excerpts from Commander Carlson's devastating letter, answering an earlier cover-up article by "analyst" Norman Friedman.

I cannot bear to read yet another apologia for the *Vincennes* (CG-49) incident without commenting. Nearly a year after the incident we have learned little. Many people still believe that the entire affair was precipitated by the Iranians themselves, or that the *Vincennes* defended herself against an attack. Almost immediately after the event, the media were full of stories speculating about the number of naked bodies in the water, conjuring up visions of an Iranian F-14 using an airliner as cover for an attack, insinuating that the plane that was shot down was too small to be an Airbus, or.... The number of gunboats actually involved in the surface action grew, like Pinocchio's nose, to a record of 13 or so. Contents of a *Sides*'s message sent only to the *Vincennes*, USS *Elmer Montgomery* (FF-1082), and Commander Joint Task Force Middle East on 3 July began to appear, in bits and pieces, in the news within a few days. (The *Sides* remained at sea until the investigation team arrived in Bahrain.) Information began to blur. A *New York Times* article reported falsely that the *Sides* was "not in the electronic link." This was not true, but no one ever bothered to ask us about it. In fact, despite the numerous articles written on the subject, to date, not one request for information has come our way.

A review of the facts is in order. When the decision was made to shoot down the Airbus, the airliner was climbing, not diving; it was showing the proper identification friend or foe—IFF (Mode III); and it was in the correct flight corridor from Bandar Abbas to Dubai. The *Vincennes* was never under attack by Iranian aircraft. There was no targeting being done by the Iranian P-3. There was no coordinated attack involving the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) boats and Iranian military forces. Iran Air Flight 655, also known as track number (TN) 4131, was mistakenly classified by the *Vincennes* as an Iranian F-14 diving at the ship. This "incomplete" information, as Dr. Friedman chooses to call it, was responsible for the regrettable decision which led to the needless loss of hundreds of lives. Captain Will Rogers III, no doubt, did what he *thought* he had to do, but he was wrong.

Dr. Friedman attempts to show that events in the Gulf leading up to the incident combined with the misinformation generated in the "fog of war" somehow made the killing inevitable. I don't buy it....

My experience was that the conduct of Iranian military forces in the month preceding the incident was pointedly non-threatening. They were direct and professional in their communications, and in each instance left no doubt concerning their intentions....

Having watched the performance of the *Vincennes* for a month before the incident, my impression was clearly that an atmosphere of restraint was not her long suit. Her actions appeared to be consistently aggressive, and had become a topic of wardroom conversation. "Who's driving the problem in the *Vincennes*?" was a question asked on numerous occasions prior to 3 July. "Robo Cruiser" was the unamusing nickname that someone jokingly came up with for her, and it stuck. My guess was that the crew of the *Vincennes* felt a need to prove the viability of Aegis in the Persian Gulf, and that they hankered for an opportunity to show their stuff. This, I believe, was the climate that aided in generating the "fog"....

Spare us more fog. I'd be willing to bet that either the correct identification of TN 4131 as a commercial airliner or the accurate altitude information would have caused question enough for reassessment of the threat. Both pieces of information would certainly be sufficient to justify a decision not to shoot. The information was available in the *Vincennes* and was mishandled....

No profit has come from the pathetic postincident attempts to place the blame on the victims. View it as you will, Iran Air Flight 655 was shot down for no good reason....

Dr. Friedman tells us that on the morning of 3 July the *Vincennes* launched her helicopter to investigate a report of small Iranian gunboats, and that the helicopter had been fired at....

Was the *Vincennes* attacked? Stating that the speedboats did not leave the area after the cruiser began to fire is a curious way indeed to describe an attack. It just does not add up. The harder you look at it, the more absurd the concept seems that a few speedboats would be taking on the *Vincennes* and the *Elmer Montgomery* with any notion of success. In any event, they would surely not want to alert the *Vincennes* by shooting at the helicopter. I hold a minority view: The helicopter drew fire because it was a nuisance to the IRGC boats. The *Vincennes* saw an opportunity for action, and pressed hard for Commander Middle East Force to give *permission* to fire. Deescalation went out the window. Equipment failed. The "fog" rolled in....

This tragedy was avoidable, and we must learn from it. ■

TROTSKY

Trotskyism and the Soviet Workers

LENIN

As the Soviet workers today begin to move onto the stage of independent struggle, the key task confronting them is the forging of an internationalist vanguard party committed to proletarian political revolution. In its 1938 founding document, the Transitional Program, *written at the time of Stalin's blood purges, Leon Trotsky stressed that the Fourth International was the organic expression of the fight to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin's Bolshevism.*

Petty-bourgeois democrats of the West, having but yesterday assayed the Moscow Trials as unalloyed gold, today repeat insistently that there is "neither Trotskyism nor Trotskyists within the USSR." They fail to explain, however, why all the purges are conducted under the banner of a struggle with precisely this danger. If we are to examine "Trotskyism" as a finished program, and, even more to the point, as an organization, then unquestionably "Trotskyism" is extremely weak in the USSR. However, its indestructible force stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class. The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes "Trotskyism." It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep hut inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (September 1938)

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No. 487 **13 October 1989**

Congress Bigots Spearhead Anti-Gay Censorship

Forbidden Art?

"Ken Moody and Robert Sherman," 1984 work by Robert Mapplethorpe.

Robert Mapplethorpe

The flag-waving yahoos in Washington, D.C. have launched a campaign, spearheaded by North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, to impose state censorship on art. What they want to keep us from seeing are works that touch some of the most taboo subjects in this racist, capitalist society: interracial sex and homosexuality, the themes of some photographs by the late Robert Mapplethorpe, as well as anything that might offend the fundamentalist religious bigots. On October 7 the Senate passed a House-approved bill banning federal funds for "obscene" art. Though rejecting Helms' more sweeping censorship motions, Congress also punitively cut the National Endowment for the Arts budget by $45,000, while setting up a new bureaucratic commission to keep the NEA from getting too "permissive" in its grant making.

The chilling effects of this attempted suppression reach beyond the art world. This Congressional campaign continues the past decade's sordid spectacle of fundamentalist crusaders seeking to impose sexual repression and conformity on the American people. The intent of these would-be ayatollahs of repression is not fundamentally different from that of former Iranian dictator Khomeini and his cohorts, whose death contract against author Salman Rushdie for "blasphemy" in his novel *The Satanic Verses* still stands.

Posters at protests said "Heil Helms!" And there is in Helms' bombast a sinister echo of the demagogic threats of Adolf Hitler, who said: "It is not the function of art to wallow in dirt for dirt's sake, never its task to paint men only in states of decay, to draw cretins as the symbol of motherhood.... Art must be the handmaiden of sublimity and beauty.... If art does not do this, then any money spent on it is squandered" (*New York Times*, 28 July). Helms' idea of "sublimity" in art, like Hitler's, is "moral uplift" banalities, the better to cloak the monstrous terror of real-life reaction. Arch-segregationist Helms is an enthusiast of Chile's bloody dictator Pinochet and El Salvador's terrorist Robert ("Blowtorch Bob") D'Aubuisson. As Mapplethorpe's New York dealer, Robert Miller, noted, "When one thinks of the terrors that Washington generates and sends out into the world, the thought that the depiction of the naked human body might be disturbing to Washington seems ludicrous."

This current wave of suppression was set off in Congress early this summer, when Helms' fellow bigot from Long Island Alfonse D'Amato ripped up a catalogue of photographs by Andres Serrano on the Senate floor. In fact, the Serrano show, which included the artist's photographic image of a small crucifix mistily immersed in urine, had run without incident in North Carolina for months. It was only after the Mississippi-based fundamentalist and anti-Semitic bigot Rev. Don Wildmon of the "National Federation for Decency" and televangelist Pat Robertson launched a write-in campaign protesting this "bigotry against Christ" that Congress got involved.

Meanwhile, an exhibit of works by Robert Mapplethorpe (who tragically died of AIDS this March) was due to open at Washington's Corcoran Gallery. Mapplethorpe's work is well known in fashionable avant-garde circles (he had a major show at New York's Whitney Museum last year). But in the American tradition of bombing Vietnamese villages in order to save them, the Corcoran abruptly canceled the show, claiming it wanted to "protect" Mapplethorpe's works from Congressional outrage. Predictably, the Corcoran's cowardly self-censorship set off a firestorm of renewed reaction as well as protest, while torching its own reputation.

Then Jesse Helms struck, forcing through a motion by voice vote on the nearly deserted floor of the Senate, to ban federal funds from being used to "promote, disseminate or produce obscene or indecent materials, including...depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts" or anything that might upset "the adherents of a particular religion or nonreligion" (*New York Times*, 27 July). Helms' July "empty floor" coup embarrassed more suave Congressmen. But the Democratic-dominated House of Representatives earlier made its own move to suppress art, when it slashed the National Endowment for the Arts budget by $45,000, the amount used to partially fund the Mapplethorpe and Serrano shows. Although this cut is relatively trivial in terms of the amount of money involved (military bands get more bucks than the entire appropriation for "the fine arts"), the point is political repression.

WV Photo

Anti-censorship protesters march in New York City, August 29.

Sex, Race and the "Sacred Family"

Last week Helms called on "all the pages and all the ladies to leave the chamber" as he reintroduced his motion on the Senate floor. So much for the vote for women! Dragging out "the little woman," the classic ploy of patriarchal bigots, Helms earlier quoted his wife Dorothy as saying after he allowed her a quick peek at the Mapplethorpe catalogue: "Lord have mercy, Jesse, I'm not believing this." Well, she certainly wasn't in Kansas anymore. Amidst Mapplethorpe's flowers and fashionable faces, there were photographs of black and white men in explicit gay scenes. For aggressive male chauvinists, accustomed to treating women as sex objects for centuries, no doubt the role reversal of seeing naked men in openly sexual poses was shocking. And in this racist society, one of the deepest, most murderous taboos is that against interracial sex.

As Gore Vidal once noted in reference to some rather tame photos in *Playgirl*, the pictures were "in a sense, blowing the minds of a lot of middle-class women who never thought they'd ever get to see a photograph of a cock. Now they're getting a look at some very famous ones and this must make them fairly...well, thoughtful." The gay and interracial themes in Mapplethorpe's photos outrage the bigots. The AIDS epidemic has been despicably used by these same reactionaries to instill fear as part of their religious, anti-sex witch-hunt. Meanwhile, vicious "gay-bashing" attacks are on the rise in the streets.

Reactionaries and neo-conservative guardians of bourgeois culture think the government should just champion "great art of the past." As writer Gary Indiana has noted, for pompous art critics like Hilton Kramer and his *New Criterion* crowd, "the only good art is dead art, preferably the kind he and his Heritage Foundation cronies easily recognize from years of drooling over portraits of royalty" (*Artforum*, September 1989). But let's look at some of the great art of the past. No "erotic rituals involving coercion": how about "The Rape of the Sabines" by the French classicist David? Strange sex? All those paintings of Zeus in swan's and bull's clothing impregnating human females had better go. And what about Hieronymus Bosch? Admittedly Serrano's "Piss Christ" photograph was bound to outrage the pious. But the gloomy masochism combined with meticulous renditions of violent death one finds in much religious art along dusty museum halls is enough to give susceptible children nightmares.

One man's art is another's obscenity. Under Reagan, Meese's sex police unleashed the vice squad against "pornographers"; the extension of this reactionary hysteria from the local 7-Eleven selling *Penthouse* to all publicly funded institutions of art and culture in this society comes naturally to these book-burners. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee wrote in an *amici curiae* brief in the U.S. Supreme Court last year, defending Indiana booksellers against RICO "obscenity" charges: "People have the right to read or look at whatever they want, to write, paint or film it too, and to engage in whatever sexual practices (or none at all) they choose, so long as they're consensual. The point is neither to proscribe, nor prescribe, what kind of sex people 'should' have."

Political, sexual and artistic repression run together. During the post-WWII Cold War, hundreds of Hollywood stars, writers and directors were witchhunted and blacklisted for Communist sympathies. Actress Ingrid Bergman was denounced from the Senate

continued on page 12

Spartacist Forum

Democrats, Republicans Wage War on Abortion Rights

Women's Liberation: What Strategy to Win?

- **Free Abortion on Demand! Free, Quality Health Care for All!**
- **Government Out of the Bedroom!**
- **For Separation of Church and State!**
- **For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**

Speaker: Amy Rath, Associate Editor, *Women and Revolution*

Saturday, October 28, 7:30 p.m.

University of Chicago, Ida Noyes Hall, East Lounge

59th Street and Woodlawn

CHICAGO

For more information (312) 663-0715

Returned to San Quentin, Transfer Threatened Again

California Prison Vendetta Against Pratt Continues

OCTOBER 10—As we go to press, former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt awaits a court hearing tomorrow morning to prevent a life-threatening transfer from San Quentin prison. This hearing is the latest round in a lawsuit filed on Pratt's behalf by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West and by attorney Stuart Hanlon, initially to challenge Pratt's transfer to Folsom prison. The suit charges that Pratt's life is in danger at the hands of prison guards due to false charges in his prison files that Pratt is a "cop killer" and "escape risk." It demands these lies be removed.

In an opening-round victory, Pratt was returned to San Quentin from Folsom by a court order issued by U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel on September 28. Tomorrow's hearing is to consider a motion by Pratt's attorneys to forestall the state's plans to now ship Pratt off to the Tehachapi state prison maximum security hellhole and bury him there alive. Pratt's papers charge that "the wild allegations attested to create fear and hatred by prison guards. It is only at San Quentin that his life is not threatened in the same way—because after eight uninterrupted years at San Quentin it is universally known that these charges are indeed false."

Judge Weigel ruled that Pratt's transfer to Folsom was an unlawful retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights, noting that Pratt was transferred one day after he returned from Puerto Rico, where he had gone to testify in the defense of Puerto Rican *independentistas* about the FBI's COINTELPRO conspiracy. The judge also cited "the recent media attention focused on the alleged injustice of plaintiff's incarceration, triggered by the denial of plaintiff's parole on August 17, 1989 and the murder of former Black Panther leader Huey Newton." He ruled the transfer to be in violation of the Eighth Amendment proscription against cruel and unusual punishment.

The court order directed that Pratt be returned to San Quentin. Barely concealing its contempt for Pratt and Judge Weigel (who since 1980 has overseen the state's compliance with conditions set for inmates on death row), the retaliation by prison authorities began the minute Pratt returned to San Quentin the following day. Pratt was immediately thrown into the hole, refused even the minimal rights accorded other prisoners in solitary. He was denied access to his legal papers and property, which are placed just 20 feet from his cell to constantly taunt him. Pratt has been denied cups with which to drink water, as well as soap, toothbrush and clean underwear. He is forced to sleep on a cold concrete slab because the mattress he was given is drenched with insect repellant. And in response to Pratt's protests his jailers contemptuously scoff, "Why don't you get Judge Weigel to give you a court order to get your soap or a cup?"

CBS

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin, interviewed on CBS-TV 60 Minutes. Partisan Defense Committee initiated protest outside San Francisco federal court demanding freedom for Pratt, September 28 (below).

On September 30, the day after Pratt's return, PDC counsel West was denied an anticipated attorney's visit with Pratt, stripped of all her papers, and permitted only a brief visit separated by a glass partition. Hanlon too has been denied a contact visit, making preparation of this lawsuit very difficult. When Pratt was ordered returned to San Quentin, prison officials determined to then send him to Tehachapi no later than October 4. Sham Classification Committee hearings were held on October 2 and October 5 to rubber-stamp the decision. Pratt was dragged before the Committee in handcuffs, wearing only his underwear, and then verbally abused when he protested his Level IV classification that he is only fit for a maximum security prison.

Tomorrow's hearing seeks an amended injunction, necessary to prevent transfer to an institution where Pratt's life would be in danger at the hands of guards who believe the wild falsifications in his prison file. In responding to this lawsuit the government has only confirmed that where Geronimo Pratt is concerned it cannot, and will not, tell the truth. Charges already proven false that Pratt planned to kidnap children of prison personnel, and that he once participated in a stabbing assault on a guard, remain in his file. Also in his file is the deranged—and racist—charge that Pratt planned to kill Folsom guards by using poison darts.

The few government documents submitted to the court betray a pattern of lying and deceit. The official Corrections Department history of Pratt accuses him of association with gang members although the Classification Committee report of September 12 very clearly states that Pratt is "not gang/TIP affiliated." The history also demonstrates conclusively that the public statement by Board of Prison Terms commissioner David Brown that Pratt was denied parole because he was a "heroin user" is a conscious and knowing slander.

For 18 years Geronimo Pratt has been in jail for a crime he did not commit, a victim of the COINTELPRO vendetta against the Black Panther Party. And for 18 years state officials have grown accustomed to acting on their belief that because he was a Panther any allegation will stick—no matter how patently false. That Pratt was "a highly ranked member of the Black Panther Party" is prominently recorded throughout the Corrections Department's records. As late as October 2 they were still ordering investigations "in order to clarify his membership in the Black Panther Party"! Years after brutal state repression destroyed the BPP, the government continues its dirty war on those surviving Panthers who refuse to recant their political views—first and foremost Geronimo Pratt.

But Geronimo Pratt is not alone. UPI and AP covered the September 28 hearing and dispatches appeared in papers from coast to coast. In 1987 CBS' *60 Minutes* aired an exposé of Pratt's COINTELPRO frame-up. Congressman Ron Dellums is one of the many who have called for Pratt's release. For all who support Pratt's fight for freedom, the time to act is *now*, with labor taking the lead. More than 60 Pratt supporters packed the courtroom for the September 28 hearing, including Allen Perdue, president of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1457, which has called for Pratt's release. Ben Visnick, vice president of the Oakland Education Association, announced after the hearing, "Over 230,000 California Teachers Association members are on record calling for Pratt's freedom."

During the past half year Pratt has seen his appeal thrown out of court on a minor technicality and been denied parole for the ninth time. But with the present suit another hole has been driven through the wall of lies which keeps Pratt behind prison bars. The muscle of labor must be mobilized to break down those walls. Freedom now for Geronimo! ■

Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

> witnessed numerous atrocities and I can tell you things about this diabolical camp that will shock your senses. We are living under a system that functions in a brutish state of mind and if we don't get help real soon many of us will die, if not physically then mentally. Speaking of dying, or should I say killing, several days ago the guards here at Huntingdon encouraged an inmate, Meryl Taylor to kill himself. And after he committed suicide, they laughed and called him a dumb nigger....
>
> "Each inmate who is locked up in DC [disciplinary closed] must wear each other's underclothes. State prisons issue clothes that are changed on shower days. We are told that it is part of security. Our mail sometimes never leaves the jail. Because these people here don't want noone to know what is going on. The letter I am writing you is being sent out by many inmates, because if we don't hear from you I would know that these people here stopped the letter from going out....
>
> "Our food is brought to us by guards and many of us don't eat because the guards sometimes spit in our food. I can go on and on and tell you about this camp. But to do so I would have to convert this letter into a monumental book to achieve an end.
>
> "We need help Mrs. Williamson. Before it's too late. Please help us!"

The racist death penalty is integral to U.S. capitalism's war on black America. An entire generation of ghettoized black youth face joblessness, hunger and jail. Capitalist America's only answer is more racist terror, more cops, jails and executions. Thumbing his nose even at the U.S. Judicial Conference, Supreme Court Chief Justice Rehnquist steers his execution express to quicken the pace of executions by severely limiting death sentence appeals. And those condemned to "legal lynching" are treated as living dead—to whom anything can be done.

The hunger strike at Huntingdon is a protest on behalf of all those scattered on death rows across the land. Join the fight. Send letters and telegrams supporting the hunger strikers' demands to: Gov. Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

Mumia Abu-Jamal fights on, with his voice, his pen, whatever means are available. The fight to save Abu-Jamal is today the rallying point of opposition against the barbaric death penalty. Rally with us and all death penalty abolitionists in Philadelphia on October 14 at 3:00 p.m., at Temple University's Gladfelter Hall. March with the PDC contingent in the March Against Executions in San Francisco October 21. Take Mumia's case to your unions, civil rights, campus and community organizations. Mobilize them to pass motions in solidarity with Mumia—publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter. Send letters of protest to Governor Casey. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty! ■

Stop the Racist "Legal" Lynchings!
Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Join the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense contingent at the

Rally Against Executions
Saturday, October 21, 1:00-4:00 p.m.
Justin Herman Plaza

Market and Embarcadero Streets

SAN FRANCISCO

For more information: (415) 839-0852

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Death Row Hell

Harry Washington* shrieks out of an internal orgy of psychic pain: "*Niggers!!* Keep my family's name outcha *mouf!* Ya *freaks!* Ya *filth!* Ya racist *garbage! All* my family believe in God! Keep your twisted Satanic filth to y'all *self!* Keep my family's name outch'all nasty *mouf!!*"

I have stopped the reflexive glance down in front of Harry's cell. For now, as in all the times in the past, I know no one is out near his ground-level cell—I know Harry is in a mouth-foaming rage because of the ceaseless noises echoing within the chambers of his tortured mind.

For Harry, and I, are among the growing numbers of Pennsylvanians on Death Row, and Harry, because of mind-snapping isolation, a bitterly racist environment, and the ironies, the auguries of fate, has begun the slide from depression, through deterioration, to dementia.

While we both share the deadening effects of isolation, and an environment straight outta the redneck boondocks, Harry, like so many others, has slipped. Many of his tormenters here (both real and imagined) have named him, "Nut," and describe him as "on tilt." Perhaps the cruel twists of fate popped his cork—who can say? A young Black man, once a correctional officer, now a Death Row convict. Once he would wear the keys, now he hears the keys, in an agonizing wait for death.

The conditions of most of America's Death Rows create Harry Washingtons by the score.

Mix in solitary confinement, around-the-clock lock in, no-contact visits, no prison jobs, no educational programs by which to grow, psychiatric "treatment" facilities designed only to drug you into a narcoleptic coma, ladle in hostile, overtly racist prison guards & staff, add the weight of the falling away of family ties, and you have all the fixins for a stressful psychic stew designed to deteriorate, to erode one's humanity. Designed, that is, by the state, with full knowledge of its effects. Nearly a century ago, a man in Colorado was sentenced to death for killing his wife, and upon his arrival at Colorado State Penitentiary, James Medley was placed in solitary.

Medley promptly brought an original writ of habeas corpus in the U.S. Supreme Court, a court, in 1890, of 6 Republicans, and 3 Democrats. In the case, *In Re Medley*, [134 U.S. 160 (1890)] the court reached back to old English Law, to the early 1700s of King George II, to conclude that solitary confinement was "an additional punishment of the most important and painful character," and, as applied to Medley, unconstitutional.

Fast-forward nearly a century, to 1986, to the infamous federal court decision of *Peterkin v. Jeffes*, where Pennsylvania Death Row inmates sought to have solitary confinement declared unconstitutional, and one hears a judge deny relief, saying, in the immortal words of non-chief justice, Rehnquist, "Nobody promised them a rose garden," *i.e.*, solitary's O.K.

The notion, that human "progress" is marked by "an evolving standard of decency," from the less civilized to the more civilized, from the more restrictive to the less restrictive, from tyranny to expanding freedom, dies a quick death on the rocks of today's Rehnquistian courts.

Indeed, what other court could make the Republican-controlled, Southern-Harlan-Fuller Court of the 1890s seem positively "radical" by comparison? [with today's Rehnquist-Reagan courts?]

Harry continues his howlings and mindless mutterings of rage at no one in particular.

More Harrys are on the way, thanks to torturous conditions akin to psychic pressure-cookers with the setting on "high."

It is telling about America, and America to come.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

* Not his real name, although quotes, historical facts are quite true.

Stop West German Racist Expulsion of Gypsies!

While West German media and politicians whip up a nationalist frenzy over the wave of "resettlers" from East Germany, the West German state continues its racist deportations of foreign-born workers and refugees. *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans) from Eastern Europe as well are officially welcomed by the Federal Republic—which proclaims itself the legal successor to the Third Reich—immediately granted citizenship and given material assistance (see "Anti-Communist Frenzy Over East German 'Dropouts'," *WV* No. 486, 29 September). Meanwhile, Gypsies of the Romany and Sinti groups are persecuted and threatened with mass expulsion.

On October 2, several hundred Gypsies, among them many children, were beaten up by the Hamburg police and driven out of the former concentration camp of Neuengamme where they had set up tents for the last month protesting threatened deportations, the largest since the founding of the Federal Republic 40 years ago. Free Democrat (FDP) deputy mayor Ingo von Münch cynically justified the raid, saying "a former concentration camp must never be misused for political demands." Under the Nazis many of the Gypsies' parents were slave laborers in these same buildings.

Our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) participated in an August 29 demonstration against the racist plans of the Social Democratic (SPD) dominated Hamburg city government (Senate) to expel Romanies and Sintis. On October 3, the Komitee für Soziale Verteidigung (Committee for Social Defense), a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose goals are in accordance with the TLD, issued a statement against the expulsion of Gypsies from Hamburg. The KfSV was joined by its fraternal organization in the U.S., the Partisan Defense Committee, which also sent an urgent protest to the Hamburg mayor.

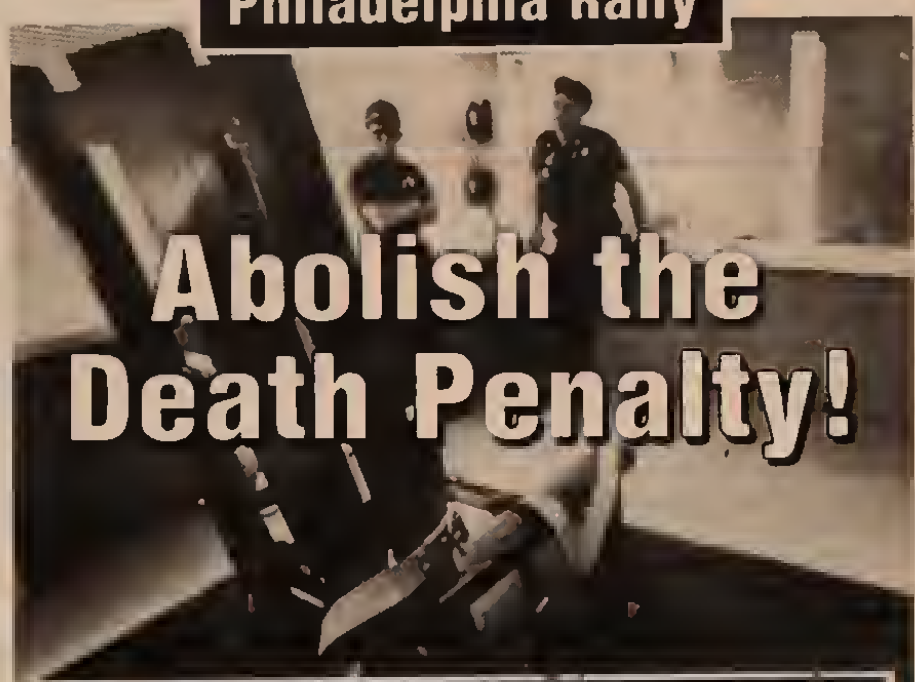
We urge readers to send letters and telegrams denouncing this outrage to: Henning Voscherau, Erster Bürgermeister, Hamburg, D-2000 Hamburg 1, West Germany. Reprinted below is the letter of protest which the KfSV sent to the Hamburg mayor the day after the police crackdown.

On October 2 Hamburg police attacked protesting Romanies and Sintis at the former concentration camp of Neuengamme. More than a thousand Romanies and Sintis—this people victimized by Hitlerite genocide, driven from country to country for centuries—are threatened with expulsion by the Hamburg SPD/FDP Senate. And now the Senate denies them even the right to protest this, even driving them out of Neuengamme. The Romany and Sinti ask no more than the right to remain in this country, which is able to take in thousands of DDR-"dropouts."

Half a million Romanies and Sintis were exterminated by the Third Reich. It is not enough to mourn the victims of Nazism when the survivors are once again persecuted! The Romany and Sinti are more than entitled to compensation from the self-proclaimed West German successor state to the Third Reich, but no such compensation can ever be enough. First and foremost we demand: Stop the expulsions!

This racist outrage takes place in the context of nationalist hysteria and the ominous rise of the fascists. This attack on a people without a homeland which has come to symbolize the persecution of the stateless is a threat to every decent person, for it can only feed the forces of murderous terror. The organized labor movement together with immigrant organizations has the strength to defend the democratic rights and the right to live of all the oppressed. It can and must be mobilized to stop the expulsion of the Romanies and Sintis! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! ■

Philadelphia Rally



Jackson/Times Picayune

Stop Racist "Legal" Lynchings!

Sponsors/Speakers

William Babcock, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Prison Society

Charles Brover, Co-Chairman, Partisan Defense Committee

Sister Falaka Fattah, President, House of UMOJA Boystown*

Muriel Feelings, Director, Pan-African Studies Community Education Program of Temple University (PASCEP)

Wadiya Jamal, Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal, MOVE supporter

Harold Jamison of the New York *Amsterdam News**

I Abdul Jon, Mumia Abu-Jamal supporter, MOVE supporter

Raymond Martinez, Jr., Vice President, Philadelphia Chapter, Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668*

David P. Richardson, Jr., President, National Black Caucus of State Legislators,* Pennsylvania State Representative

Sonia Sanchez, Poet

Pamela S. Tucker, President and Co-Founder, Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty*

Charles Valenta, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034*

Lois A. Williamson, Executive Director, Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE)*

*Organization for identification purposes only.

Saturday, October 14, 3:00 p.m.

Temple University, Gladfelter Hall, Room 107

Hosted by Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP)

12th and Berks Streets

Refreshments Available

For information contact:

State Representative David Richardson
6345 Germantown Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215) 849-6592

Partisan Defense Committee
Suite 92, 1530 Locust Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 222-7880

What Is the Workers League?

Why Should Anyone Believe David North?

In our article "The Workers League and Mark Curtis" (*Workers Vanguard*, No. 480, 23 June) we asked: "...why should anybody believe David North? Who is the Workers League to say that Curtis is guilty, and why?" North's Workers League made an international campaign out of helping railroad Mark Curtis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, into 25 years in prison on charges of burglary and sexual abuse. In its lame response to our article the WL's *Bulletin* (14 July) protests, "But the issue is not whether you believe the Workers League." Of course for them it can't be. Anybody the least bit familiar with David North and his minions would have to be completely deranged to believe anything they say.

To frame the rest of its lies, the *Bulletin* claims that the Spartacist League maintained a "15-month silence" over the Curtis case. On the contrary—*Workers Vanguard* publicized the Curtis case in the Partisan Defense Committee column in our 1 July 1988 issue (No. 456). Here we noted that the PDC had sent a letter demanding the charges against Curtis be dropped and had contributed $100 to his defense. Others were urged to do the same. It is hard to imagine that the megalomaniac North missed this issue given that it also featured an article about himself entitled "Anatomy of a Healyite Russia Hater—David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son."

Who Is Whose Agent?

The *Bulletin* sneers, "Spartacist even raises its eyebrows because a 1976 FBI index of leftist groups does not list the Workers League, as though this was some sort of necessary credential." The FBI's 1971 ADEX file was not some kind of "honor roll," it was the government's hit list of those targeted as "enemies" of America. *War at Home*, a recent pamphlet on "Covert Action Against U.S. Activists," details the government's dirty war against everyone from the Black Panthers to pacifist preachers and grandmothers. Yet somehow the Workers League, which advertises itself as the most proletarian, the most internationally connected, indeed the sole repository on the face of the planet of "Marxism and the struggle for socialism," didn't get included in the FBI's ADEX file—the "short list" of Americans these official hitmen had lined up in their sights.

Workers News

Australian Northite Nick Beams. His outfit got slapped for poaching on Healy's preserve in Iraq.

How come? If the Workers League wasn't on that list then where were they?

This is all the more suggestive given the Northites' claim that the U.S. government took over the SWP in order to destroy...the Workers League. In "The Carleton Twelve," a demented saga retailed as "proof" that SWP leader Jack Barnes and his coterie at a Midwest college were groomed by the FBI (in league with Joseph Hansen) to infiltrate the SWP, we read that "The State Department's greatest fear was that Trotskyism, as embodied in the International Committee, would emerge as the revolutionary alternative to the Stalinist bureaucracies." Well then, how is it that the U.S. government wasn't concerned about the Workers League when it drew up the ADEX list?

THE STRANGE CASE OF MARK CURTIS

To Know More About the Gelfand Case

Bulletin

5 August 1988

Marxism Today

David North's Bulletin published script for Iowa state prosecutor in frame-up trial of SWPer Mark Curtis.

In a recent scurrilous piece, "The Militant and the Miners," the *Bulletin* (29 September) names SWP members working in the coal fields and smears them as "part of an intelligence-gathering operation on behalf of the government and the coal bosses." Why? Because they were hired! The fact that SWPers get industrial jobs at all, when they are members of a self-proclaimed socialist organization, is offered as proof positive that they are police agents.

In concocting this paranoid conspiracy theory against the SWP the Workers League presents reality through the prism of the McCarthyite 1950s, i.e., when anyone with even vaguely socialist leanings was run out of their job. What about Ed Winn? He worked for the NY Transit Authority but ran as the Workers League's candidate for president. By the WL's measure this should make him a cop. And how did Mark Curtis end up getting thrown behind bars for 25 years when, according to the *Bulletin*, all SWP members are either cops or police dupes? How come Curtis got jail and Ed Winn got a presidential candidacy?

Witnesses for the Prosecution

Then there's the question of a state attorney from Des Moines, Iowa eagerly taking the line of argument from the *Bulletin*, a "communist" newspaper, to convict a leading member of the SWP. In our article we asked if it was simply "One More Coincidence?" that prosecuting attorney Catherine Thune used virtually the same words in her summation at the Curtis trial as those that appeared in the *Bulletin* article "The Strange Case of Mark Curtis" (5 August 1988). The *Bulletin* replies: "The statement was reported by the Des Moines Register, the principal daily paper in the city, and evidently read as well by the prosecutor, who incorporated the seven questions into her closing argument on September 9." Doubtless the state's attorney reads the daily newspaper. The problem is that the seven questions raised in the Workers League's statement which were picked up by the prosecutor could not be found there.

The *Des Moines Register did* run substantial quotes from the WL's "The Strange Case of Mark Curtis." The 18 August 1988 issue featured a piece entitled "Socialist newspaper calls Curtis' claims incredible" which highlighted quotes from the *Bulletin* arguing that Curtis could not possibly have been framed up by the cops. Here was an apologia for the Des Moines cops, who viciously beat Curtis, coming from a "socialist" newspaper. The question still remains as to how the prosecuting attorney got her hands on the whole text. Who gave it to her, the Workers League, or someone else?

The *Bulletin* claims it was "compelled" to write the Curtis article, which would become the script for the prosecution, because "the Workers League was seeking ballot status in Iowa for the first time...and the first question which many workers in Des Moines raised was the party's attitude to the Curtis case." This is odd. Previous to "The Strange Case of Mark Curtis," one can find no mention of the Workers League seeking ballot status in Iowa. They didn't take their election campaign to Des Moines until after the Curtis article had been published.

Besides, why are they protesting so much? This wouldn't be the first time that David North and his Workers League have used the agencies of the capitalist state to "get" the SWP. There's the matter of one Alan Gelfand. A WL agent, Gelfand was expelled from the SWP's Los Angeles branch in 1977 after filing a "friend of the court" brief in the SWP's suit against the FBI, based on the wild-eyed Healyite conspiracy theory (as told by Healy and co-authored by North) that the SWP was government-controlled.

Gelfand appealed to the courts of U.S. imperialism to reinstate him as a member, to review minutes, finances and other internal business of the SWP, and to remove members and leaders from the organization. Two of the key character witnesses in the Gelfand suit, which the Workers League boasted was a "model" in "making use of the capitalist courts," were ex-cops from the notorious LAPD red squad.

Now they retail the testimony of two Des Moines cops against Mark Curtis as unimpeachable evidence. No answer in the *Bulletin* reply to our question: "What kind of purported socialists retail the cops' story as if it were 'The Truth'?" By the Workers League's lights the cops, prosecuting attorney and court were the instruments of "workers justice" in jailing Curtis.

The "Heritage" North Defends

"What is the substance of this claim that the Workers League, and David North in particular, are 'shadowy' and 'sinister'?" asks the *Bulletin*. How about this for starters. David, who calls himself "North," made his political career out of loyally serving as the American stooge of Gerry Healy. He made his way to the top by co-authoring the "Security and the Fourth International" smear that SWP leaders were government agents. He carried out Healy's orders to pursue the expensive Gelfand provocation. When Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi CPers by the Ba'athist regime, North's *Bulletin* duly followed suit. The payoff for these crimes was millions in money from a variety of Middle East regimes including Iraq, Kuwait, Libya and Abu Dhabi.

This whole dirty business hit the fan following the downfall of Healy's WRP as accusations flew fast and furious between Healy's former lieutenants. A Control Commission of the International Committee delegated to attempt to control the damage reported that the sum of 1,075,163 British pounds sterling had been received from an assortment of Near East colonels, sheiks and dictators.

WV Photo

WL agent provocateur Alan Gelfand.

Here it was revealed that among other services offered was an agreement with the Libyan government to provide intelligence on the "activities, names and positions held in finance, politics, business, the communications media and elsewhere" by "Zionists." Even the IC Control Commission noted the "strongly antisemitic undertones" of this agreement in which "the term Zionist could actually include every Jew in a leading position." An ex-WRP member told the

continued on page 13

CIA/CBS Disinformation

Dan Rather's Afghan Hoax

So the Big Eye got caught out pushing the Big Lie over Afghanistan. CBS News and its celebrity anchorman Dan Rather have been swirling in controversy ever since the *New York Post* (27 September) carried a front-page "exposé" that "Rather Aired Fake Afghan Battles." According to the *Post*, Rather ran faked footage provided by freelance photographer Mike Hoover. The Rambo reactionaries at the *Post* have for years been going after Rather as the voice of liberal broadcast journalism, and CBS News has been the target of right-wing attacks. This time the *Post* seems to have nailed them. When after eight days CBS News finally issued its reply, without rebutting any of the specific charges, it sounded like a limp version of "plausible deniability."

The *Post* cites a 1987 CBS News segment showing a shiny red "toy bomb" supposedly planted by Soviet troops to lure and kill Afghan children; a BBC producer says Hoover himself had the "toy bomb" manufactured. Later that year, CBS aired a news program showing what was supposed to be a Soviet jet bombing Afghan villages. But a contributing author to the authoritative Jane's aviation guides identified this as a Chinese-made Q-5 Fantan, used by the Pakistani air force. Then there was the case in November 1984 of what Rather called the "largest sabotage operation of the war," a staged performance directed by Hoover of *mujahedin* blowing up electric pylons which had already been destroyed.

Another example of CBS' "creative photojournalism" featured what were supposed to be Soviet atrocities driving people from their homes near Kabul. The shot turned out to be taken at the Pakistani border. On the 11 August 1987 CBS Evening News, Rather showed scenes of what he reported as "the biggest one-day defeat for Soviet forces since World War II." Hoover apparently got this footage from a graduate of Boston University's notorious "Afghan Media Project," financed by the U.S. Information Agency, which trains *mujahedin* to film their own propaganda lies. When CBS first aired the item, the BU *Daily Free Press* (17 September 1987) reported that communications school dean Joachim Maitre screamed sour grapes because Rather hadn't given "appropriate acknowledgment" to his *mujahedin* CIA/USIA disinformers. Now Maitre is compelled to admit, "The trouble is, there were no Soviets there."

That Dan Rather won his journalistic spurs by riding with the CIA's Afghan cutthroats in their *jihad* (holy war) against Communism, women's rights and literacy is hardly news. In April 1980, shortly before his promotion to replace former CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite, Rather did a *60 Minutes* broadcast which categorically insisted, in the words of a Pakistani information officer Rather interviewed, that "no country is providing arms and ammunitions to Mujahadeen" (*Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1981). Until then, there had been numerous reports in the American press of the CIA's covert supply operation to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. Noting that Rather's "broadcast seemed to mark a watershed," the *Review* asked: "What happened?" According to Michael Getler of the *Washington Post*, who originally reported the covert operation: "The lid went on very tightly, afterwards."

Dan Rather has been at the leading edge of CIA-inspired disinformation over Afghanistan for a decade. And Hoover, who started out directing sex fantasy flicks and continued his penchant for fantasy as a sports photographer (where he staged scenes) and then video "journalist," apparently had his personal "obsession with bringing the war home for Americans," according to the sports magazine *Outside* (October 1985). But what's going on here is hardly the fulminations of some rogue freelancer, an obsessed anchorman or even a single television network. The entire kept American media toed the Company line that the Soviet juggernaut was being bogged down by a "popular resistance" armed with little more than coke-bottle bombs.

An earlier *Columbia Journalism Review* (July/August 1980) piece titled "Reporting for duty: the Pentagon and the press" documented how American journalists painted "the Russian military machine in Afghanistan as larger than life, or at least larger than its underfunded Pentagon counterpart"—boosting support for a massive increase in U.S. arms expenditure and, more generally, stoking the fires of Cold War II. So why the "exposé" now? Behind it all is the fact that the CIA's cutthroats are *losing*. Washington's Afghanistan policy lies in shambles in the suburbs of Jalalabad. Last month the CIA fired the head of its Afghanistan task force. Now Rather and CBS News are on the hot seat over Afghanistan. With the Kabul regime holding strong after Gorbachev's treacherous pullout, while rival *mujahedin* groups are killing each other off, the rats are scrambling. Now the journalistic thieves are falling out just like the tribalist reactionaries they have fronted for and glorified over the past ten years. As we wrote in 1984:

> "For the last four years the Western press has been inundated with the most blatant lies on Afghanistan fabricated in the disinformation mills of Langley, Virginia. Bloodthirsty tribesmen who skin Communist teachers alive for the 'crime' of teaching little girls to read and write are passed off as 'freedom fighters.' Reams of copy are produced on alleged Soviet 'yellow rain' chemical warfare for which there is not the slightest shred of scientific evidence."
>
> —*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984

UPI

Dan Rather (left) poses with mujahedin in Afghanistan on 1980 60 Minutes program pushing CIA disinformation campaign.

NEW YORK POST

EXCLUSIVE

RATHER AIRED FAKE AFGHAN BATTLES

Experts say CBS showed phony dashes with Russians

The imperialist press finally, partially and grudgingly, began admitting that the "yellow rain" was bee shit, that the "freedom fighters" are fundamentalist anti-woman terrorists, that "all the news that's fit to print" is a pack of lies. They lie because they uphold a lying, dying system of oppression and exploitation, just like they lied about Vietnam for years. Their Afghanistan coverage is *war propaganda*, the ground cover of grotesque imperialist lies accompanying billions of dollars in armaments delivered to the ultra-reactionary *mujahedin* cutthroats. We told the truth about Afghanistan from the start because our side is the cause of social justice. ■

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Der Spiegel

Soviet Workers—Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Behind the Crisis of Stalinism

We print below an edited transcript of a speech given by Jan Norden, editor of Workers Vanguard *and member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, at Columbia University in New York City on September 30.*

From the moment of its birth, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia struck fear and loathing in the hearts of the capitalist ruling classes worldwide. There is a cartoon by Jules Feiffer that captures that spirit—many of you are familiar with it, we've printed it several times. This came at the time of the 1980 elections, after Democrat Carter launched Cold War II over Afghanistan. It shows someone who looks like what used to be called a liberal egghead asking a square-jawed general, "When did we first learn we were defenseless against the Russians? Was it in 1979 with Brezhnev?" "Earlier," he says. "'60 with Khrushchev?" "'48 with Stalin?" "Earlier." So when, then? And the general replies: "1917 with Lenin." And that's true: whether it's cold war or hot, it's been war to the death ever since. One system or the other would prevail, as Lenin recognized and kept insisting.

Winston Churchill said it bluntly, at the time that NATO was launched in 1949. He blamed the imperialists' current troubles on "the failure to strangle bolshevism at its birth and to bring Russia, then prostrate, by one means or another, into the general democratic system." But that failure was not for want of trying. Remember that as soon as World War I ended, 14 capitalist countries joined hands to invade Russia, mostly the "democratic" Allies. When that failed, they tried to set up a "cordon sanitaire" in East Europe, to contain the revolutionary bacillus. With the victory of the Soviet Red Army over Nazi fascism in World War II, this whole belt was in Stalin's hands, militarily occupied. But rather than using this as a springboard to spread social revolution to the West, Stalin sought to conciliate his imperialist erstwhile "allies." Only reluctantly, after the Western powers launched the first Cold War, did he order a social revolution from above which established the bureaucratically deformed workers states, from the Baltic to the Balkans.

Yet Stalin also saw East Europe as a "cordon sanitaire," to protect against capitalist counterrevolution. Lenin and Trotsky based themselves on the program of world socialist revolution, founding the Communist International—70 years ago this year—to spread it. Stalin, isolated and under the blows of revolutionary defeats in Europe, usurped political power as the voice of a bureaucratic layer, a caste, whose conservative and nationalist outlook was expressed in his pipe dream of building "socialism in one country." This was the program of Stalin *and* Bukharin, who's so much in vogue today in the Soviet Union. That meant accommodating to imperialism in the rest of the world. And that's the origins of Gorbachev's market "reforms," which today are enormously strengthening the forces of counterrevolution "at home," in the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state.

So today Stalinist rule is in crisis throughout the Soviet bloc and the other deformed workers states. In China, the Beijing massacre of June 4 was the bureaucracy's desperate response to a mass upheaval that went far beyond the student "pro-democracy" demonstrators. In Poland, the Stalinists are routed in their own rigged elections, a Catholic prime minister is installed with a cabinet dominated by Solidarność, the anti-Communist, pro-imperialist so-called union which was Ronald Reagan's baby. Then in Hungary, which is the model for Gorbachev's perestroika economic schemes, the Stalinist party is on the rocks, with the majority preparing to declare themselves social democrats at a congress this week. Here the bulk of the pro-capitalist forces come from within the regime, as sections of the *nomenklatura*—the party bureaucracy—try to grab what they can at bargain basement prices in a "leveraged buyout" raid on the collectivized economy.

Sipa

Cambio 16

Top: huge strike meeting by Siberian coal miners in Mezhdurechensk, July 13. The awakening of Soviet proletariat threatens crisis-ridden Stalinist bureaucracy. Above (from left): "hardliner" Yegor Ligachev, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, populist demagogue Boris Yeltsin.

And it's not just the regimes which have gone in for market-oriented "reforms" which are in heavy seas. The hardline Stalinists in East Germany, the leader of the anti-Gorbachev "rejection front" in East Europe, have seen tens of thousands of DDR citizens leave for West Germany this summer, and now they're having weekly pro-reform demonstrations. In Romania, Ceausescu decided to—and did—pay off his debts to Western banks, which meant turning off the lights, literally, and turning off heat, and thousands fled to Hungary. In Bulgaria, a quarter million people of Turkish Muslim origin were forced out to Turkey by a forced assimilation campaign worthy of Stalin. But most importantly, the Soviet Union is itself in deep turmoil. National antagonisms set the Caucasus and Central Asia aflame with bloody feuding, while Baltic nationalists are seeking to restore capitalism under the guise of independence. The economic situation is catastrophic, with even essential goods—sugar, soap—disappearing from store shelves. After coming back from his vacation this month, Gorbachev went on TV to denounce talk of civil war and deny that a coup d'état was pending.

Imperialist Opium Dreams

So not surprisingly the imperialists are acting triumphant. It's interesting to look back at the Feiffer cartoon because the change in mood over this decade is so striking. The U.S. "defenseless against the Russians"—this was the aftermath of the American defeat in Indochina, an expression of the "Vietnam syndrome." In contrast, when Ronald Reagan left office, someone asked him what accomplishment he was most proud of and he replied: "I won the Cold War." Over the last several months we have seen a barrage of this bourgeois triumphalism. Jimmy Carter's Polish Cold Warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski writes a book on *The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century*. There was a lot of this "end of Communism" over the Beijing massacre. Then we get another dose over Poland. When the papal prime minister Mazowiecki was installed, the London *Guardian* (25 August) wrote of the ceremony: "It had taken 70 minutes to end 'the class struggle' and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'." The bourgeoisie should be so lucky.

This has gotten pretty extreme lately, so that a high-level State Department official, Francis Fukuyama, recently wrote an essay on "the triumph of the West." And this means not just "the end of the Cold War... but the end of history as such"—I'm quoting this—"and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." This talk of the "triumph

of the West" has all the bombast of Hitler's supposed "Thousand Year Reich." But we know what happened to that. The Reaganite fantasy of "the end of history" is an extreme example of bourgeois false consciousness. As Karl Marx pointed out in *The German Ideology*, the bourgeoisie, as other ruling classes before it, "will give its ideas the form of universality, and present them as the only rational, universally valid ones."

So what is this supposed "triumph of the West" based on? Fukuyama gives as his evidence the peasant markets and color televisions in Beijing, and private, or "cooperative," restaurants in Moscow! Oh, and "the rock music enjoyed alike in Prague, Rangoon, and Teheran." I'm not kidding. At least when Henry Luce proclaimed the "American century," the United States alone had the bomb and had emerged as the economically dominant imperialist power after World War II. The situation is very much different today—the October '87 stock market crash is barely two years ago, the U.S. economy is up to its neck in debt. What they're really arguing, however, is not so much the strength of imperialism, as the "total exhaustion of viable systemic alternatives to Western liberalism."

Now, what they're referring to as "the death of Communism" is really the crisis of Stalinism, which is the nationalist antithesis of the internationalist communism of October. Stalin led the bureaucratic usurpers who seized power from the Bolshevik Party in 1923-24 and then murdered the remaining cadres of 1917 during the bloody purges of the '30s. In the 1930s Trotsky wrote about the bourgeoisie proclaiming the death agony of Marxism; there was another wave after Khrushchev's speech in 1956 on the crimes of Stalin: then it was "the end of ideology." But there is a difference. Fifty years ago, Trotsky foretold the growth of internal social forces within the Soviet Union that would gravitate toward counterrevolution. In *The Revolution Betrayed* he wrote of the Soviet regime: "To the extent that, for the benefit of an upper stratum, it carries to more and more extreme expression bourgeois norms of distribution, it is preparing a capitalist restoration." He pointed to the top-level bureaucrats, technicians, administrators, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles.

Well, what was a tendency and a theoretical possibility in the mid-'30s is now a reality. The sizable Soviet middle layers, the technocrats and intelligentsia in particular, are yearning to be what they call a "normal" country like the capitalist West. You have all these economists who are calling for greater wage-differentiation, for unemployment. I recall an interview with Gennadi Gerasimov, the Soviet foreign ministry spokesman, on the PBS TV series *Comrades* a couple of years ago. He said he wanted Moscow to be like New York,

U.S. Media Hypes "Death of Communism"

Maliciously equating Stalinism with communism, capitalist press indulges in wishful thinking.

where you could get your apartment painted in a couple of days with no problems. I guess he lived in a different New York than we do. When we had our apartment painted, after waiting for months, the ceiling caved in. And I recall a Soviet newsman who refused to believe that the homeless couldn't find a job or an apartment. These are the people pushing Gorbachev's perestroika, and they're the ones imperialism is banking on.

The Workers Enter the Scene

But there are other forces at work, and this summer we saw them dramatically as the Soviet working class entered onto the scene, playing an active role for the first time since Stalin seized power 65 years ago. In a matter of two weeks, the Siberian coal miners strikes rolled across Russia, extending to the Ukraine, to Central Asia, to the Arctic. It was striking how quickly, after all these years of quiescence, they adopted militant proletarian forms of struggle. From the very first day they had elected strike committees, recallable at any time. In coal towns of the Kuzbass, they had workers militias patrolling the streets with hardhats and red armbands. And they kept perfect order. In Vorkuta they demanded "all power to the people's soviets," recalling the famous watchword of the 1917 Revolution. Now the "soviets" these miners were referring to were the local city governments. But the workers committees they set up were only a step removed from genuine soviets, the organs for a revolutionary struggle for power. An Italian journalist who visited Prokopievsk wrote an article on "The Miners' Soviets" in which he reported: "The miners say they don't want power, but they already have command."

And the miners are hardly enamored of perestroika. Even after they leave the pits their faces are black with coal dust, because there is no soap. They demanded supplies of consumer goods, winter clothing, shift differentials. One of their demands was for the financial independence of individual mines, which as we pointed out is going to mean wage cuts and layoffs for many. But they also demanded limits to "cooperative" businesses, the price-gouging petty capitalists spawned by Gorbachev's "reforms." These modern "Nepmen" are hated by the Soviet working people, who have a deeply rooted sense of equality and social justice. And the coal strikes were not just the thunder and lightning of a summer storm. The workers committees are still in existence. They had a national meeting in Moscow just before an emergency session of the miners union, where they demanded equal representation.

Also, recently a Union of Russian Workers was formed in Sverdlovsk, spearheaded by one of the Kuzbass strike leaders. Now among them were certainly Russian nationalists, reacting to the wave of nationalist unrest in the non-Russian republics, and old-line Stalinists. But they are by no means dominant, and revolutionary internationalists could vie for leadership of this awakening Soviet workers movement. Among the Siberian miners, for instance, it was striking how many of the leaders had German names: they were descendants of the Volga Germans who were deported by Stalin to the nearby Altai region. And there can be little love for Stalin in Vorkuta, the site of one of the most notorious labor camps in the Gulag. In the Donbass, the strike committees included both Russian and Ukrainian miners. And earlier this month they refused to join a nationalist "Popular Front" being set up in Kiev—which was attended by delegates from Polish Solidarność—on the grounds that they didn't want to foster nationalism. In the Baltic republics, where Russian-speaking workers struck against nationalist laws which would deprive the non-Baltic population of civil rights and even the right to a job, the Internationalist Movement has been careful to phrase its demands referring explicitly to Leninist principles of equality of nations.

In short, the intervention of the working class—even without a conscious Leninist leadership as yet—has made it possible to cut across national divisions, and to counter the forces driving toward capitalist restoration. The Soviet proletariat is showing itself to be the bulwark which the imperialist propagandists of "the death of Communism" and their willing servants in the bureaucracy must crush if they are to fulfill their counter-revolutionary appetites.

The same is true elsewhere as well. When the Beijing bureaucracy moved against student "pro-democracy" protesters in Tiananmen Square, repeatedly hundreds of thousands of working people rushed into the streets. The army was temporarily split. Only with the bloody Beijing massacre of June 4 were Deng and his subalterns able to put it down—and it took several days. The mass outpouring heralded a proletarian political revolution, we wrote. For the workers were fighting as well for an end to the privileges of nascent bourgeois layers spawned by Deng's policy of "building socialism with capitalist methods." The workers don't like those capitalist methods, which mean that they can see Japanese color TVs and VCRs in the shop windows, but they can't afford them. The students had plenty of illusions in Western-style "democracy," and past student protests had distinctly reactionary aspects, such as the racist riots against African students. But when the workers marched into Tiananmen Square, many of them carried portraits of Mao, indicating by that, even in a misdirected way, that they were looking not to imperialism but to restoring gains of the Chinese Revolution that have been eroded under Deng.

And in Poland, for the first time in years, the way is open to challenging the domination of Solidarność. This "union" not only ran on CIA dollars and orders from the Pope in Rome, but actually called for the International Monetary Fund to come in and impose an austerity program! So they asked for it, now they've got it, and they're not going

Godfrey/U.S. News & World Report

Russian-speaking workers protest racist laws in Estonia, March 1989.

to like it. After talks with the IMF in Washington the Mazowiecki cabinet unveiled its economic program, which involves huge price increases and the prospect of mass unemployment as "unprofitable" state industries are shut down. And Solidarność leader Lech Walesa, who has now declared explicitly that his goal is to return to capitalism, is saying, "I don't know whether we will save ourselves from civil war." There is now a basis for common proletarian struggle embracing the workers in both clerical Solidarność and the Stalinist-led unions, against a pro-capitalist "government" of Solidarność and the Stalinists who, while hardly a coalition, are united in implementing a pro-capitalist economic program. The workers' struggle would begin around

continued on page 10

Skurihinaya/Pravda

Lithuanian "Scouts" salute nationalist drive for counterrevolution.

A Meeting in Moscow, January 1924

Even as several million homeless roam the sidewalks of the American Babylon, the capitalist rulers gloat over an imminent "death of Communism." This obituary is based on wishful thinking and on the lie, propagated by the Stalinists and imperialists alike, that conflates Leninism with its bureaucratic and nationalist Stalinist perversion. It is true, though, that a meeting in Moscow in January 1924 badly poisoned the Communist movement.

At the Thirteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held days before Lenin's death in January 1924, the bureaucratic caste for whom Joseph Stalin was the chief spokesman signaled its takeover of the levers of power in the Soviet workers state. Though the loose "Trotskyist" opposition obtained some 20 to 30 percent of the votes at pre-conference discussions in Moscow and Leningrad, Stalin's apparatus rigged the elections to leave them only three out of 128 delegates. In an article titled "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" printed in English and Russian in the current *Spartacist* (No. 43-44, Summer 1989), we stressed: "After January 1924, *the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled,* and *the purposes for which the USSR was ruled* had all changed."

This was eloquently reaffirmed in the Soviet weekly *Argumenty i Fakty* (15 July) which carried an interview with I.Y. Vrachev, one of those three delegates to the conference. The interviewer said he was struck at reading in the stenographic record of the conference Vrachev's statement: "Comrades, give me a chance to speak; there remains for us perhaps all of two hours of democracy." Vrachev recalled:

> "Yes, I said the final hours of party democracy were passing. After me. Sapronov [leader of the Democratic-Centralist Opposition] noted: 'Vrachev said that the final hours of party democracy were passing, and I am making the final democratic speech!' And thus it came to be. No further like-minded speeches were ever allowed. Anywhere. From that moment began the consolidation of Stalin's power."

Referring to the Congress of People's Deputies held this past June, Vrachev observed: "Today in the Western press, they write that this is the first time in 70 years that a parliament sits in democratic conditions. This is not true. In the first years of Soviet power in the All-Russian Congresses of Soviets and in the All-Union Central Executive Committee, in which I sat, there existed full democracy."

To this day, Vrachev, now 91, a decorated veteran of the Civil War and World War II, is refused readmission into the CPSU for having been a Trotskyist. The CPSU got a heavy dose of syphilis at the Thirteenth Party Conference, which took a decade to fully politically wreck the Comintern. The full consequences of the revolution's degeneration have been a long time working themselves out, via Stalin/Bukharin's "socialism in one country" dogma. But this degeneration is highly reversible, through profound struggle. In the course of fighting to regain political power from the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet workers will find the road to the communism of Lenin and Trotsky in a reforged Fourth International. ■

Stalinism in Crisis...

(continued from page 9)

economic issues of survival, but it would necessarily and quickly pose the question of a fight for workers power.

So today where some sectors of the imperialists think that if they just sit there, Poland will fall into their laps like an overripe apple, there is speculation about a "peaceful" restoration of capitalism. But if you think about it for a minute, this depends on some extremely unlikely conjunctures. First, that the U.S. ruling class will for quite a few years put the entire working population of Poland on dollar subsidies the way they have done with the Cuban gusanos, while putting in the structure of capitalist exploitation. That's what Walesa was asking for when he told Bush that what happens now is up to Washington. You're talking about hundreds of billions of dollars there. Second, this presumes that the Soviet state will go along with this, which poses a direct counterrevolutionary threat on its borders. And third, it presumes that the Polish workers are just going to take it. And that doesn't seem very likely, especially since the Polish workers have fought like hell against every other attempt to drive down their standard of living.

So what is posed is the question of leadership. The possibility of struggle is there, and what's needed is the building of the nucleus of Trotskyist vanguard parties—in the Soviet Union, in China, in Poland and throughout the deformed workers states—it's more urgent now than ever. For what is posed, from Beijing to Warsaw, Budapest and East Berlin, is the prospect of civil war. The urgent need is for proletarian political revolution to defend and extend the gains of October against the threat of counterrevolution.

AP

Aubert/Sygma

Solidarność chief Lech Walesa and Stalinist president Jaruzelski join hands to impose IMF austerity on Polish workers. Workers at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk (right) and elsewhere now face mass layoffs, plant closings.

The National Question in the Soviet Union

One of the most burning issues is the national question in the Soviet Union. The sheer scope and variety of the nationalist antagonisms is staggering. In the Caucasus, Armenians and Azerbaijanis are at each other's throats in murderous blood feuds with religious overtones. In Soviet Georgia there have been pogroms against Azeris and against Abkhazians, as well as anti-Russian mass demonstrations. In Soviet Central Asia, bloody assaults by unemployed Uzbeks against Meskhetian Turks who were deported there by Stalin. In the Baltic republics, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian nationalists have come up with a battery of chauvinist and downright racist laws, depriving people from elsewhere in the USSR of the right to vote and the right to hold government jobs, calling for a ban on immigration, to prevent "outsiders" from buying local goods. Some of this sounds like they took it over from South African apartheid. In Lithuania they're circulating a proclamation of independence that in order to sign you have to prove your grandparents lived in the interwar "republic." And, as we have said, now they're driving for counterrevolution under the guise of independence.

You can get the ugly flavor of this from an interesting article in the *New Yorker* (18 September) by David Shipler about a trip to Estonia last February. He obviously wasn't expecting what he heard. One private businessman said of Russians, "They should all be put on trains to Siberia." Later he conceded that "Russians can be useful the way Turks are useful to the Germans—as workers." Estonian nationalists uniformly presented themselves as representatives of "Western culture" as against the Russians who are considered as "dumpy, uncultured, working-class boors." An Estonian Communist Party member is quoted as saying, "It would be easier for us if these cultures were pure." This combination of extreme race and class prejudice is explained by the fact that a large majority of the workers, especially in heavy industry, as well as 40 percent of the total population, are ethnically non-Estonian, although many have lived in the republic for years.

You can see the same elsewhere, as the economically better-off republics try to advance themselves at the expense of their poorer neighbors, often with racist appeals. It's not necessarily anti-Russian. Thus in petitioning Moscow for the "return" of the mountainous enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijani administration, Armenian nationalists recalled that "Armenia was for centuries a bastion and extremely important strategic center for Russia," i.e., for the tsar. And while paying lip service to Leninist principles, they accuse the Azeris, "i.e., the Turks," of setting up a belt of "Muslim villages." Meanwhile, the Great Russian nationalists, the most ominous of all, are growing bolder. We've warned repeatedly about the danger of Pamyat, the fascistic outfit whose leaders dress in black shirts, give the Nazi salute, and specialize in anti-Semitic diatribes reminiscent of the tsarist Black Hundreds. Pamyat is also a big supporter of Stalin, which is entirely logical since even though (or because) he was Georgian, Stalin was always a Russifier, seeking to suppress the non-Russian nationalities.

So this is bad stuff, racialist, counterrevolutionary on all sides. But if you look at the ostensibly Trotskyist groups around the world, most of them are 110 percent supporters of the Armenian and Baltic nationalists. For that matter, they barely even mention Pamyat. We just printed an article in the latest *Workers Vanguard* pointing out how Ernest Mandel's outfit has embraced Estonian Nazi collaborators, even admitting that they were fascist war criminals, under the rubric of "armed struggle against Stalinism." And while the Workers Power group based in Britain now holds the tsarist/Stalinist position of "Russia, one and indivisible" (they're opposed to secession from the USSR), at the same time they have been supporting Polish "socialist" groups allied with the ultra-rightist clerical-nationalist KPN and the Fighting Solidarity group, which greeted Bush at Gdansk with signs saying "A Good Communist Is a Dead Communist." Interestingly, both the Mandelites and Workers Power justify themselves with the same argument—that it's the Stalinists' fault that counterrevolutionaries are leading much of the opposition.

But that doesn't explain why these ostensible Trotskyists are supporting capitalist-restorationist forces, unless they have a policy of tailing after any and all "anti-Stalinist" forces—which is

AP

Outpouring of workers during '89 Beijing Spring heralded proletarian political revolution in China. Banner says, "Students: The workers have arrived."

exactly their line. But it's a far cry from Trotsky's position. In 1939-40, when he wrote a series of articles calling for an independent Soviet Ukraine, he insisted on sharply drawing the line against the bourgeois nationalists. "These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement," Trotsky wrote. "Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist! No 'People's Fronts'! The complete independence of the proletarian party as the vanguard of the toilers!" ("The Ukrainian Question," April 1939). Today the pseudo-Trotskyists are directly in league with the bourgeois nationalists and their imperialist backers. The Mandelites even published the Lithuanian People's Front program in the same issue where they hailed the Estonian Nazis!

To underscore this point, let me recall the Bolsheviks' attitude toward the Ukrainian national question at the time of the 1917 October Revolution, how they simultaneously recognized the national right to self-determination while steadfastly fighting counterrevolutionary forces. On December 17, a little more than a month after taking power, they sent a telegram to the Ukrainian Rada, the nationalist "government" which had seized power in Kiev. The telegram begins by "recognis[ing] the People's Ukrainian Republic, and its right to secede from Russia" as well as recognizing "without reservations everything that pertains to the Ukrainian people's national rights." But in the face of the Rada's collaboration with the tsarist general Kaledin and his White Guard troops, the Soviet regime gave the nationalists in Kiev 48 hours to break from the counterrevolutionaries or face a "state of open war with Soviet power in Russia and the Ukraine."

The Rada eventually tried to get the support of the German army, like the bourgeois nationalists in the Baltics and Caucasus looked to the British and German imperialists as their protectors, but the Kaiser's officers preferred to put in their own puppet, the *hetman*. Eventually, the Bolsheviks were able to retake the Ukraine at the end of 1919 and hold it. It's interesting that in doing so, Trotsky first raised the slogan of a "free and independent Soviet Ukraine." This was in an order of the day of 30 November 1919, issued to the Red Army by Trotsky as head of the Revolutionary War Council and People's Commissar for Military Affairs. He insisted to the Soviet soldiers that "*The Ukraine is the land of the Ukrainian workers and working peasants.* They alone have the right to rule in the Ukraine, to govern it and to build a new life in it.... Keep this firmly in mind: *your task is not to conquer the Ukraine but to liberate it.*"

Basil Blackwell Inc.

"The Ukraine is the land of the Ukrainian workers and working peasants.... Keep this firmly in mind: your task is not to conquer the Ukraine but to liberate it."
—Leon Trotsky, November 1919

Novosti Press

Trotsky addressing Red Army soldiers (left). Above: Rakovsky (center, in uniform), as head of Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, opposed Stalin's Great Russian chauvinism at 12th CPSU Congress in April 1923.

The International Communist League

This example of the national question underscores how vital is the need for a revolutionary internationalist leadership to the future of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states today. Because the Soviet Union is by its very nature a multinational state, and therefore nationalism, which is a hallmark of Stalinism, is inherently in contradiction with the basis of that state. With Lenin and Trotsky's support for Ukrainian national rights they were able to split the peasant-based nationalists, winning the left wing, the Borotbists, to joining the Ukrainian Communist Party and leading a Soviet Ukraine. Stalin's bureaucratic incorporation of the Baltics, in contrast, fostered nationalist resentment. And the strategic value of Baltic ports became nil as Stalin, the "gravedigger of the revolution" as Trotsky called him, instead put his trust in his diplomatic pact with Hitler. He even ignored urgent warnings about the imminent Nazi attack from heroic Soviet spies such as Richard Sorge in Tokyo and the Red Orchestra working underground in Germany.

The Hitler-Stalin pact has been a subject of considerable attention in the press lately, particularly in West Germany, where the obvious intent is to put the blame for launching World War II on the Soviet Union. I mention this because there was an interesting book published recently by Wolfgang Leonhard called, in German, *The Shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact*. A review of this book in the liberal newspaper *Die Zeit* was headlined: "Only Trotsky Foresaw It." And, in fact, it's quite striking as you read through the book, which consists of 75 eyewitness accounts, mostly from members of the Communist Party and the Comintern. And after endless people saying how they felt betrayed, or how they gave cynical answers, or they didn't know or were confused—Trotsky's writings stand out with crystal, Marxist clarity.

But the important thing is to understand *why* Trotsky could predict the Hitler-Stalin pact. For Leonhard and other ex-Stalinists, it's because Trotsky was very hard, unrelenting in his polemics against Stalin—which is true. But they wanted Stalin to continue the People's Front, the alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie, and were disconcerted by Stalin's abrupt turn away from the "democratic" imperialists. Trotsky, on the other hand, opposed relying on *either* imperialist coalition, and understood that since Stalin was dead set against a Bolshevik policy of world socialist revolution, therefore once the "democratic" powers such as England and France turned their back on him, he would automatically look to Hitler. Trotsky's critique was not that Stalin abandoned the Popular Front—which had meant beheading the Spanish Revolution and letting Franco triumph in the name of "non-intervention"—but rather that Stalin's treachery *threatened the defense of the Soviet Union*, just as did the purges of the Old Bolsheviks and of the entire general staff and officer corps of the Red Army.

Le Bolchévik

May 1989—International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) comrades in France publicize international campaign: "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Aid to the Victims of the CIA's Killers in Jalalabad!"

So today we have many of the same issues posed. Today Gorbachev seeks to conciliate U.S. imperialism in the name of "human values" which supposedly take precedence over the class interests of the working class. So that in Afghanistan, Soviet troops are withdrawn while the feudalist *mujahedin* continue to receive CIA dollars and Pentagon weapons. We of the Spartacist League, who hailed the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan in 1980, condemned Gorbachev's abandonment of the Afghan people, of Afghan women who had dared to take off the veil, of Afghan leftists. We wrote to the Afghan government offering to organize international brigades to fight to the death in Afghanistan for elementary social progress against imperialist-backed fundamentalist reaction. The Afghan government said, thanks but we don't need it at this point. But a little later they asked us to organize an international solidarity campaign to raise funds for the civilian victims in Jalalabad, the front line city which heroically resisted and then broke the *mujahedin* siege. The Partisan Defense Committee and the international Spartacist tendency carried out that campaign, raising more than $45,000 in donations from thousands of people around the world.

We're very proud of that campaign, just as we are of earlier efforts such as a couple of years ago when we raised $25,000 for the defense of Nicaragua, or when we raised funds for the British miners strike of 1984-85. Because for us revolutionary internationalism is not an abstract program, but the axis of our program. In part because of the recognition we have gotten for the Jalalabad campaign and also because of the crisis of Stalinism, to appeal to the many would-be communist militants who no longer recognize in any way their own revolutionary aspirations in the official "Communist" parties, we decided in May to change the name of our tendency to the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The recent issue of *Spartacist*, the organ of the ICL, includes several articles focusing on the crisis of Stalinism, including an article in both English and Russian on "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?", dealing with the key question of the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

Last week, when Boris Yeltsin came to Columbia, he took as his symbol the Statue of Liberty, saying the homeless were poor but happy. We had a sign, in English and Russian, saying "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky," expressing our determination to continue that fight for revolutionary internationalism, to bring that to the Soviet working class and also to indicate that this is the path of struggle we are following here in the United States and throughout the capitalist world. We are building a world party of socialist revolution, fighting against the Pamyat fascists and also against the Ku Klux Klan fascists in the U.S. A party that builds labor/black mobilizations against racist terror, that fights in the unions for a class-struggle leadership, that fights for a workers party against the capitalist parties. In short, the program we are fighting on is the one on which Lenin and Trotsky founded the Communist International, so it's appropriate to recall its 70th anniversary here because it embodied the principles which guide our work today. ■

Perestroika Strike Ban...

(continued from page 1)

Supreme Soviet was Marju Lauristin of the Estonian Popular Front: "No matter what our political orientation, I think almost all of us have concluded that we can't let strikes ruin us or terrorize us" (*Washington Post*, 4 October). The pro-capitalist Baltic Popular Fronts have been driving toward social counterrevolution under the slogan of independence from the Soviet Union. What "terrorizes" Lauristin and her cohorts is that the predominantly Russian-speaking working class of Estonia (as in Moldavia) has acted as an obstacle to their designs, using the strike weapon to defend themselves against nationalist attempts to reduce them to second-class citizenship or non-citizenship.

Gorbachevite intellectuals and their friends in the West now realize that Soviet working people intend to use the current political openness to *resist* perestroika, which means inflation, unemployment and greater social inequality. After a trip to Russia, conservative Harvard economist Martin Feldstein, a former head of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, reported:

> "Popular opposition to economic reform extends not only to the policies required to prevent inflation but to the basic market reforms themselves. While most Soviet economists continue to recognize the necessity of price decontrol and movement toward a market economy, they report that these notions are not supported by the mass of Soviet people....
>
> "With democratization, such popular opposition inevitably increases the political reluctance to act decisively."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 14 September

So Soviet "reformers" are calling for Gorbachev to become a kind of "enlightened despot" to impose perestroika against the popular will. But the move to ban strikes, far from securing social peace, is very likely to backfire. While chief government economist Leonid Abalkin criticized the partial strike ban as "too weak to have any effect," last week several thousand workers demonstrated, at the call of the official trade unions, with signs proclaiming "Down with Abalkinism and Down with the Millionaires." Miners are complaining that the July agreements are not being fulfilled. Now transit workers in Moscow, Kharkhov and other cities have formed strike committees to press their demands.

Trade Unions in a Workers State

Posturing as friends of the workers, "market reform" advocates have echoed Western anti-Communists in trying to pin the blame for the suppression of workers' rights under Stalinism on Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution itself. At the time of the Soviet miners strike, David Remnick wrote in the *Washington Post* (22 July):

> "The official labor unions are considered a joke here. Lenin destroyed their independence and called them 'transmission belts' of the Communist Party."

Lenin wrote that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot work without a number of "'transmission belts' running from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class and from the latter to the mass of the working people." But that did not mean the bureaucratic subordination of the trade unions. Quite the contrary. In arguing against Trotsky during the 1920 trade-union controversy, Lenin insisted, particularly because the revolution was made in terribly backward Russia, and after the ravages of civil war and the decimation of the working class:

> "...ours is a workers state *with a bureaucratic twist to it*.... We now have a state under which it is the business of the massively organised proletariat to protect itself, while we, for our part, must use these workers' organisations to protect the workers from their state, and to get them to protect our state."
>
> —"The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes" (December 1920)

A corollary to the lie that Leninism equals Stalinism is the attempt to discredit Trotsky by equating him with Stalin, citing Trotsky's call in 1920 for subordinating the trade unions to the workers state as evidence of dictatorial appetites. Trotsky was proceeding from the experience during the Civil War, when in the midst of generalized economic collapse the founder of the Red Army was able to achieve miracles with "labor armies." The trade-union dispute had an episodic character in the period of transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, which the Bolshevik leaders saw as a temporary "retreat" on the road to a planned economy.

In *The New Course*, written at the end of 1923 against the growing bureaucratism in the party, Trotsky explained:

> "The discussion on the trade unions grew out of the economic blind alley we had gotten into thanks to the requisitioning of food products and the regime of omnipotent 'Centers.' Could the 'merging' of the trade unions into the economic organs have remedied the situation? Obviously not. But neither could any other measure remedy the situation so long as the economic regime of 'war communism' continued to exist."

The December 1923 "New Course" resolution called for increasing the influence of the trade unions in selecting managerial personnel and determining the work of economic organizations. But the "bureaucratic twist" described by Lenin was soon transformed into a qualitative bureaucratic degeneration by Stalin's political counterrevolution, which robbed the workers of political power. As the bureaucracy consolidated its rule, defense of trade-union rights was part of a broader struggle by the Left Opposition against Stalin to regenerate the revolution.

Victoria Ivleva

Strikes by Russian-speaking workers in Tallinn, Estonia in August against discriminatory voting law pushed by pro-capitalist Estonian nationalists. Signs on left read "Political strike" and "We stand up for our rights!"

Soviet Workers: "This Is Our State"

Unlike the pro-capitalist Polish Solidarność, the Soviet workers who have begun carving out independent organs of struggle are seeking to defend the collectivist Soviet state *against the new Nepmen and the "marketeers."* Last summer a middle-aged Siberian miner said he joined the Kemerovo strike committee to "fight the bureaucratic apparatus that sits on our neck—the people who don't work and live better than anyone else." And a lengthy article on the coal strikes in the weekly *Argumenty i Fakty* (29 July), titled "Ten Days That Shook the Country," quoted the deputy chairman of the regional strike committee in Prokopievsk, Y. Rudolf, who declared, "None of us wants to let the state 'go down the tubes.' This is our state."

The Trotskyist Left Opposition directly addressed the issues which Soviet workers today confront. Thus the 1927 Platform proclaimed:

> "The question of Soviet bureaucratism is not only a question of red tape and swollen staffs. At bottom it is a question of the class role played by the bureaucracy, of its social ties and sympathies, of its power and privileged position, its relation to the NEPman and the unskilled worker, to the intellectual and the illiterate, to the wife of a Soviet grandee and the most ignorant peasant women, etc., etc. Whose hand does the official grasp? That is the fundamental question which is daily being tested in life's experience by millions of working people."

In the struggle of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, Soviet workers will find the Bolshevik principles and program of proletarian struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Soviet proletariat must shatter the entire bureaucratic apparatus and recapture the political power which their forebears won in the Bolshevik Revolution. ■

Censorship...

(continued from page 3)

floor in 1950 as "Hollywood's apostle of degradation," "a free-love cultist," and banned from American films for seven years for leaving her husband for Italian director Roberto Rossellini. There were the American book and movie trials of the '40s and '50s against *Tropic of Cancer* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. These are 20th century versions of the censorship of the French Second Empire in the 1850s, when the works of Baudelaire and Flaubert were impeached for offenses against morality. Conservative critics attacked painter Gustav Courbet (later a participant in the Paris Commune, banished by the triumphant counterrevolutionaries) and other "naturalist" artists as luxuriating in ugliness and vulgarity, disease and obscenity. Meanwhile, "official" art devoted acres of canvas to prurient pseudo-classical "allegories" exposing white hairless female flesh.

No to Bureaucratic Censorship!

This summer some of the anti-censorship protesters chanted, "Not the church, not the state, we decide what art is great!" This naive plea is a takeoff on the feminist chant, "Not the church, not the state, women will decide their fate!" Certainly women cannot withdraw from or "decide their fate" within capitalist society. And for artists the question is rather more complex. The rise of capitalism, where everything is reduced to just another commodity, shattered the old patronage system in which artists were basically household employees of the princes of the church or the aristocratic courts. Today, for every Andy Warhol-type celebrity (whose cookie jar collection alone brought thousands at auction), the operetta romanticization of the bohemian artist proudly starving in a garret is an all-too-cruel reality for hundreds of others.

In a workers state, where the profit system is abolished and social surplus is distributed according to society's needs, the arts would necessarily be publicly funded to a vastly greater extent than today. But it is not our business to prescribe or even predict what subjects or forms that art will take on. As against the perversions of Stalinist and Maoist "socialist realism," Marxists have insisted on the need to allow artistic autonomy from bureaucratic political control. As Leon Trotsky wrote in a 1938 letter to *Partisan Review*:

> "...a truly revolutionary party is neither able nor willing to take upon itself the task of 'leading' and even less of commanding art, either before or after the conquest of power. Such a pretension could only enter the head of a bureaucracy—ignorant and impudent, intoxicated with its totalitarian power—which has become the antithesis of the proletarian revolution. Art, like science, not only does not seek orders, but by its very essence, cannot tolerate them. Artistic creation has its laws—even when it consciously serves a social movement. Truly intellectual creation is incompatible with lies, hypocrisy and the spirit of conformity."■

Just Out!

SPARTACIST

(in Japanese)

Published in September 1989 by the Spartacist Group Japan

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- "Interim Preliminary Agreement for Common Work in Japan," 26 October 1986 (Japanese and English).
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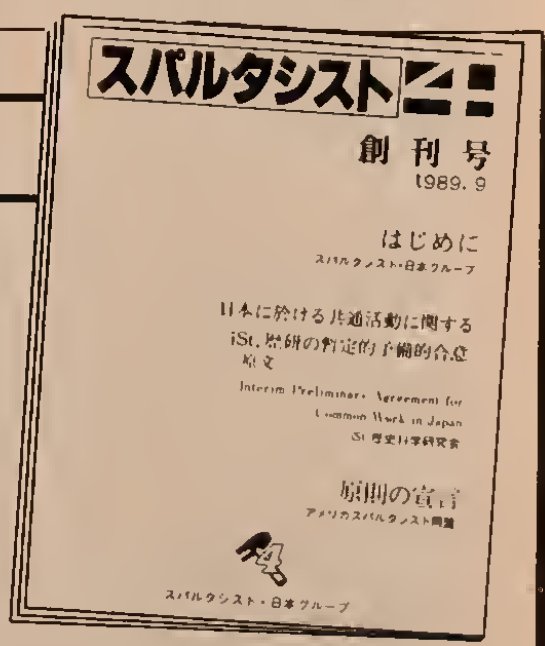

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David North...

(continued from page 6)

London *Sunday Times* (7 February 1988) that the Healyites had taken information from the *Jewish Yearbook* and the *Jewish Chronicle* and sent it to Libya.

In return the WRP demanded £50,000 from the Libyan government to buy a web offset press, and a month after the agreement was signed the WRP's daily *News Line* was launched. So much for the *Bulletin*'s protests that the Workers League is neither "shadowy" nor "sinister" because it has lots of campaigns and a weekly newspaper.

Of course, the findings of the IC Control Commission, an investigation carried out by the guilty, can only be the tip of the iceberg. Nonetheless it was too hot for the Northites to publish in their press. Could it be that North was worried that his current colleague Nick Beams, leader of the Australian Socialist Labor League, would be exposed as not only complicit but on the front lines shoveling Arab gold into his section?

And let's not forget one of North's other former collaborators, Alex Mitchell. Mitchell, who worked with North on "Security and the Fourth International," now plies his pen for the Sydney *Sun Herald* in columns attacking striking airline pilots. The Australian Healyites and the Northites call Mitchell a "literary prostitute." Nothing new here—the Healyites have long been someone's hired pen whether as PR agents for Mideast regimes or as the servants of Thatcher's redbaiting, union-busting press. The Healyites' "exposé" of British miners' leader Arthur Scargill's remark that Solidarność was "anti-socialist" was timed for maximum exposure to knife the union on the eve of the 1984-85 coal strike.

And what about North himself? When Healy was overthrown by his conniving henchmen, North, who was among this number, tried to claim that he and he alone had fought the glorious "founder-leader" over "dialectics." But the only difference North ever had with Healy was whether 2+2=4.67 or 4.83, and they compromised on 4.5. As for the oil money received from despotic Near East regimes, none of Healy's epigones objected to the vicious betrayals perpetrated by their organization to get the money when it was coming in. On the contrary, as we point out in an article in the latest *Spartacist* (No. 43-44, Summer 1989), they "moved in to depose Healy not *because* of the receipt of that money, but because that money *dried up*."

This is the only "heritage" David North defends. Nonetheless even the practiced liars who write for the *Bulletin* were incapable of squaring this history with their fulsome defense of the "integrity" of the Workers League leader. Quotes taken from our article are cut to conveniently disappear any mention of Gerry Healy. But North was nothing if not loyal to Healy. (Now he says that Healy has "placed his knowledge of the inner workings of the Fourth International at the disposal of the KGB." If North really believes this mayhe he's worried that "glasnost" might go too far and fill in the "blank spaces" that would explain the Workers League.)

How did David come to call himself "North"? When his predecessor as WL leader, Tim Wohlforth, was getting the chop he whined, "I was even attacked as being an American pragmatist for purchasing an American rather than a British web offset press." To parody the *Bulletin*, we could ask whether Healy named North after "Lord North"—the British prime minister during the American War of Independence who proclaimed that he would see "America prostrate at our feet"—to curb against further excesses of "American pragmatism." Or whether David christened himself "North" as a show of fealty to his British master.

As we noted in our article, the men North today denounces as "renegades"—i.e., Healy, Banda, Slaughter, Wohlforth—taught him everything he knows about practicing politics with no concern for honesty, principles or consistency. The *Bulletin* chooses not to respond to any of this. But for flavor look at what North himself wrote of one of his former mentors, Cliff Slaughter:

> "Slaughter, a consummate cynic and hypocrite, epitomizes in his political and personal life all that is corrupt and perverse in the British petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. He is, therefore, a specialist in gathering into his net the most degenerate human specimens produced by this decadent social milieu: from hallucinating journalists, alcoholic university professors, and aging film directors of unfulfilled promise to neurotic middle class ladies who blame Trotskyism for their unsuccessful love affairs and failed marriages."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 9 December 1988

Yet it was Slaughter who the Northites once held up as the pre-eminent authority on "Security and the Fourth International," who Alan Gelfand included on his list of witnesses as "an expert." Now, it is the obviously twisted North who is calling Mark Curtis a "depraved rapist"!

If one were to try to match the luminaries of the Healy cult with the more notorious Stalinists it would roughly translate into Gerry Healy as Joseph Stalin, Slaughter as Mikhail Suslov, Michael Banda as Georgi Malenkov, Wolhforth as William Z. Foster, Freddy Mazelis as Earl Browder. This leaves David North as a jumped-up, creepy little Lavrenti Beria—for now the only master of "Security."

Bandits and Renegades

It is quite ironic that the *Bulletin* retails the Bolshevik Tendency's grotesque slanders of the Spartacist League. The BT is a collection of embittered ex-members of our organization who trickled out of the SL under the early pressures of the Reagan years. Claiming political agreement with us, they needed an excuse to alibi their cowardly departure. So they "discovered" the "regime question" and their model was...Gerry Healy, a ready-made horrible example of megalomania, paranoia, gangsterism and unbridled greed. Now David North, who rode Healy's coattails and helped build the cult of the loathsome "founder-leader," happily quotes the BT's self-serving attempt to smear the SL with the colors of Healyism.

Of course the BT can supply no evidence for its slanders. Here's one example of how they tried to handle it. In an article advertised as "SL and the WRP Split" (*1917*, Winter 1986) the BT, after noting the Healyites were notorious for beating up internal opponents, wrote, "This is something which the SL is not guilty of to our knowledge," while claiming that "intimations of such appetites are increasingly common"! This is like asking "When are you going to *start* beating your wife?"! The added fascination with "finances" shared by the petty criminal mentality in the BT leadership has also lent something to its lurid tales about the SL.

It says a great deal about the unscrupulousness of North & Co. that they would attempt to pass off parodies of their own, only too true, revolting history as the "truth" about the SL. The *Bulletin* uses the BT's lies to condemn our call to stop Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, while now with the reins of government in its hands Solidarność has openly declared its drive to restore capitalism. They both denounce us for hailing the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against the darkest imperialist-backed feudal reaction. They equally find repugnant our work to bring the power of labor and blacks to bear in successful mobilizations that have stopped the fascists—the BT calls it "ghetto work," the WL claims it is "an obsession with race." They both look instead to the good offices of the racist labor bureaucracy.

Despite differences in style, and insofar as one can find any political logic to either group, the Workers League and the BT have some overriding things in common: a shared hatred of Soviet Russia, an abiding hostility to the black working class in America, a bloodthirsty, vicarious enthusiasm for the death of others and a distinct smell of provocation.

Political Struggle by "Other Means"...

Having failed through episodic and flawed political struggle to uproot the Pabloite revisionism that destroyed the Fourth International, the Healyites substituted their psychotic "Security and the Fourth International" campaign, centered particularly on the charge that former SWP leader Joseph Hansen was simultaneously an agent of the GPU and the FBI who recruited Jack Barnes and a bunch of other students at Carleton College to run the SWP for the U.S. government. But while one might have to look elsewhere to explain the Northites, the Barnesites have had a linear political consistency since their inception.

They started as student cheerleaders for Castro and were recruited to the SWP, where their positions found an echo. By that time the SWP was pretty much a doddering and vulnerable organization. The brutally bureaucratic Barnes regime persisted until they had cleaned out all centrist vestiges and holdovers, i.e., any nominal Trotskyism, and completely took over.

As for the role of Joseph Hansen. Far from being the tool of both the Kremlin Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists in the destruction of the SWP, Hansen played the centrist lawyer who tried to keep a cover of "Trotskyist" orthodoxy on the galloping opportunism of the SWP. And far from brain-trusting Barnes, Hansen was the last obstacle to the full-fledged emergence of the anti-Trotskyist Barnes gang.

Barnes hasn't changed his political positions since he joined and neither has the circle of people he was sufficiently able to also recruit. They have a central political core based on a radical program alien to Trotskyism—a Fidelista fan club of American agrarian-labor reformers. In contrast, the Northites have taken political positions all over the map as served their own convenient and grotesque opportunist ends.

In 1970 we recalled Lenin's term for a phenomenon like the Healyites: "political bandits" or, if you like, political pirates, i.e., who will show any flag to attack any target. For this, the CIA-inspired graduate departments of elite universities attended by those among North and his crew were a good classroom. It, at the least, taught them how to write on every side of the question, like the position papers of the State Department.

The mendacious practices and assertions of the Workers League (and the Bolshevik Tendency) say a great deal about the Stalinist-derived breakdown and perversion of the "far left" both in terms of proletarian morality and any connection with the class struggle. When it has suited their own episodic interests North, his past masters and present collaborators have turned to the capitalist courts and taken subsidies from oil-rich regimes, have served the Queen and the venal right-wing British trade-union bureaucracy by smearing the leader of desperately striking unionists, and have generally crawled before alien class forces.

Devoid of any class basis or connection to reality North and his gang can and will say or do *anything*. And these are the guys that did their level best to get Mark Curtis 25 years. ■

Healy's Gold Pipeline

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
Unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	**£1,075,163**

News Line [Banda]

Money received for services rendered under the reign of "founder-leader" Gerry Healy, as reported by the Healyites' own "Control Commission."

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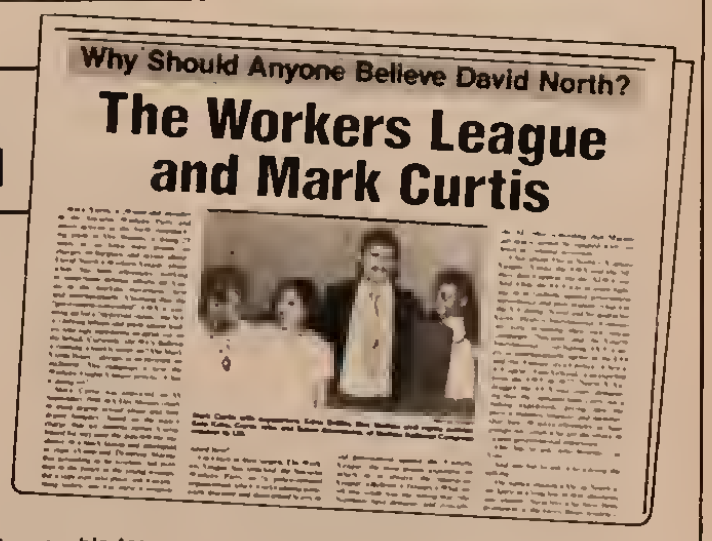

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Panama...

(continued from page 1)

target of choice is Panama, where the U.S. has thousands of combat troops stationed in the former Canal Zone. What imperialist arrogance! Imagine Noriega sending troops into Washington, D.C. from Panamanian bases ringing the U.S. capital. Noriega is certainly no good in every known way. But Bush & Co. are up to their eyeballs in mass murder, like the CIA's Phoenix program that assassinated over 30,000 in Vietnam.

During the '88 American elections, Noriega claimed that he "had something" on George Bush. That wouldn't be surprising, since as CIA director in 1976 Bush was Noriega's employer (then the head of Panama's military intelligence, Noriega was listed as a key U.S. intelligence "asset," earning up to $200,000 a year). During the mid-'80s, the unsavory Noriega played a role in the contra drugs-for-guns supply operations. But as this was coming unstuck in the run-up to the Iran/Contragate scandal, the Reagan administration had Noriega indicted by a Miami grand jury as an accomplice of the Medellin cocaine cartel. Suddenly, Washington's man became the man to get, the fate of more than one U.S. puppet over the years (remember Trujillo in Santo Domingo, or Diem in Vietnam). Meanwhile, the Democratic "doves" have been even more hawkish than Reagan and Bush in demanding Noriega's head.

In the aftermath of the failed coup, Washington has been seething with recriminations over "who lost Noriega." Ultrarightist Senator Jesse Helms railed that the White House blew it because they were too busy entertaining the president of Mexico. ("Defense" secretary Cheney was actually touring Soviet defense minister Yazov around the Gettysburg battlefield.) Democratic Senator Les Aspin complained that the U.S. should have been able to "use the confusion" of a coup attempt "to do something about Mr. Noriega." Another Congressional Democrat moaned about "a resurgence of the wimp factor." Testifying to Congress, National Security chief Scowcroft blamed congressionally ordered restrictions on assassinations for tying U.S. hands. A Panamanian analyst commented, "Twice the United States has supported a coup and this makes twice they have failed. Let's find the idiots that will do it a third time."

Despite a State Department spokesman's flat claim that "the U.S. is not involved in these events in Panama" and Bush's non-denial denial, it is now perfectly clear that the Pentagon's Southern Command knew of the forthcoming putsch two weeks in advance. According to a detailed account in the *Wall Street Journal* (6 October), Major Moisés Giroldi Vega, the coup leader and former close pal of Noriega, who had been instrumental in putting down the 1988 attempt, met with two officials of the CIA the day before his move. Giroldi requested that American forces stationed in the former Canal Zone block the main roads leading to Noriega's headquarters, so that he would be trapped inside. U.S. Army units were in fact put on Delta alert; helicopters roared over the capital at low level as ground forces cut two of the three roads, using the pretext of protecting American lives. But they never got the order to move.

On the morning of the coup, Major General Mark Cisneros, second in command of U.S. forces in Panama, met with two rebel officers who had seized the Panamanian army HQ. According to some sources, they requested that American forces take Noriega out of the compound. (Others claim they were going to let him retire in Panama.) Cisneros then passed this hot potato on to his boss, General Thurman, who in turn passed it on to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who handed it to the National Security Council. After much discussion, the NSC made the monumental decision... not to make a decision. Joint Chiefs chairman General Colin Powell told Thurman to allow the rebels to voluntarily deliver Noriega to a U.S. base, and to avoid conflict with Panamanian forces (*Washington Post*, 8 October). But meanwhile Noriega brought in his elite units—the Battalion 2000, Air Force security "Pumas" and special forces known as "Machos del Monte" (the macho men of the mountain). The coup was crushed and coup leader Giroldi shot.

After the last coup attempt, in March 1988, Noriega (whose hero is Genghis Khan) declared, "Virility is proved by remaining in power." Now he has launched a purge of his regime, promising "*palos*" (sticks) for waverers, "*plomo*" (lead) for his enemies and "*plata*" (silver) for his supporters. After the treachery of his top military aides (the chief of military intelligence was among the plotters arrested), Noriega is turning more to the "Dignity Battalions," paramilitary squads of government supporters headed by the president of the electrical workers union, and emphasizing nationalist appeals. The Yankees wanted to "repeat the Grenada action, when they killed Bishop in his headquarters" and then invaded, he said, "but they screwed themselves because they had a repeat of the Bay of Pigs and left dangling the people they bribed."

Reuters

Bush says "not an American operation" as U.S. troops block access roads in Panama City to aid abortive coup.

In Washington, Bush and the Democrats are playing the post-Contragate tune of "bipartisanship" over Latin American policy. The failed contras will live off welfare handouts like the Cuban gusanos before them. Instead, Congress is voting $9 million to finance the anti-Sandinista opposition (plus another $4 million via the CIA front "National Endowment for Democracy") in the upcoming Nicaraguan elections. In Panama, they would like to renegotiate the 1977 Torrijos-Carter treaties, which turn the canal over to Panamanian hands by the year 2000 (although the U.S. claims an eternal right to intervene). But having blown out potential coup plotters, and given the manifest impotence of the right-wing bourgeois civilian opposition—known as "*rabiblancos*" or "white tails," both because of their white skin in this largely mulatto country and due to their tendency to turn tail and run like rabbits—Washington now has few options left to get rid of Noriega other than sending in U.S. troops.

Overall, the partner parties of American imperialism are trying to use the "war on drugs" to replace the "war on Communism" as the ideological cover for U.S. intervention. But they haven't been able to get their act together, as the Panama coup fiasco showed. White House "damage control" experts would like to blame it on bad timing, or garbled messages about whether the plotters said they "want" to or "won't" turn over Noriega. However, behind the confusion and lack of "will" are the unresolved contradictions of U.S. objectives in the region. American "policymakers," whether in the Pentagon, the White House or on Capitol Hill, are still smarting over their humiliating defeat in Vietnam, and wary about committing U.S. forces in another losing Third World adventure. They know that Marines taking over Panama with M-16s would set off an explosion of protest around Latin America. And it won't go down at home either, where the "Vietnam syndrome" is still a factor.

The U.S. hasn't been so successful at the coup business lately. A former Marine colonel, Larry Roettinger, who worked with the CIA in engineering its 1954 overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala, remarked recently: "It was a beautiful operation, we called it 'Operation Success.' Of course, it was a disaster for Guatemala" (*Mexico Journal*, 11 September). During the next 30 years of military rule, some 100,000 Guatemalans were killed in the name of anti-Communism. Bush wants to teach more lessons in "democracy" at gunpoint, from the Latin American countryside to the ghettos and barrios of America's "inner cities." Just as Israeli mercenaries who used to train the contras now work with the drug lords and the army in Colombia, unemployed American "meres" returned from Central America are being used by strikebreaking security companies against coal miners in the Appalachians.

In Latin America, it's a White House/CIA/NSC operation in alliance with drug traffickers, gangsters, right-wing landlords and corrupt oligarchical governments to crush left-wing insurgencies. In the U.S. it's war on blacks and labor. The American workers movement must be in the front lines of the fight to stop the bloody depredations of Yankee imperialism. U.S. get the hell out of Panama! ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Pro-Dinkins 1199 Tops Avoid Strike

OCTOBER 11—As we go to press, New York City hospital workers, members of Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199, are voting on a contract with the League of Voluntary Hospitals (LVH), comprising over 40 NYC area "private" hospitals and nursing homes. 1199 president Dennis Rivera crows that "these negotiations won us something even more important than money...they earned us respect." But the 50,000 unionized hospital workers, overwhelmingly women and minorities, find it hard to live on "respect"—they remain among the lowest-paid unionized workers in New York.

The contract provides raises of 7.5 percent in each of the first two years of the contract and a 5 percent raise and $500 bonus in its third and final year. Yet in NYC hospitals, an average worker barely makes $18,000 per year. Even the labor-hating *New York Times* admits that "blue collar" NYC families earning far more, between $28,000 and $35,000 yearly, "cannot live the middle-class life that seemed within their reach a generation ago." On top of this, the League will pay *nothing* into the workers' pension plan for three years, saving themselves over $150 million. Add it up: *that's $3,000 from every single union member*. Hospital workers will be paying for their own wage increase!

Rivera's main concern throughout was to keep the primary election safe for liberal black Democrat David Dinkins. The *Times* (5 October) noted that Rivera "largely spared... Dinkins, the embarrassment of a disruptive and costly strike by a union whose demands might be echoed in negotiations next year by municipal employees." Local 1199 headquarters was Dinkins for Mayor headquarters, and 2,000 union members worked on Dinkins' primary campaign. The 1199 tops have worked overtime to bolster the illusion that liberal Democrats Dinkins, Jesse Jackson and Governor Mario Cuomo are on the side of the working class.

Workers Vanguard broke the story of former president Doris Turner's hidden 1984 contract sellout of 1199 workers. Then it was Cuomo who—despite 1199's endorsement in 1982—refused to provide the state reimbursement funds to finance Turner's infamous 5 percent raise that never was. In the years of bureaucratic warfare which tore apart the union, first under Turner and then Georgiana Johnson, we warned that 1199 workers must clean their own house as against the "reformers," including Dennis Rivera, who dragged the union into the bosses' courts seeking government-imposed "democracy." The precondition for union democracy is labor's complete independence from the capitalist state. "The lesson of the 1984 strike isn't the futility of struggle, but rather the need for a union leadership that's willing to defy the courts and that fights for a class-struggle workers party instead of looking to phony 'friend of labor' politicians like Cuomo and Dinkins" (*WV* No. 482, 21 July).

In the wake of the settlement, Rivera is being lionized by the capitalist media as the "strongest labor leader in the city" and anointed as heir to the old "progressive" 1199 leadership of Leon Davis and Moe Foner, darlings of the reformist Communist Party. After the negotiations Rivera said, "We came out of this united." After almost a decade of bitter factional warfare that ripped the union apart, that sounds pretty good to many 1199 members. But unity for what?

The black, white and Hispanic ranks of Local 1199 were repeatedly mobilized during the civil rights movement. Now this union can play a key role in championing the rights of city workers and desperately oppressed minority populations and the homeless. But this means breaking from the Democratic Party which has enforced the Reagan-Bush war on blacks and labor in NYC and elsewhere. In a series of mobilizations this summer, unfortunately *after* the contract had expired, 1199ers gained confidence and showed they wanted to fight. But Rivera didn't want to strike, and used this energy only as a pressure tactic and to blow off steam.

Class-conscious workers, anti-racist militants in 1199 should be in the front ranks of a fight in New York labor to build a *workers party*. Coming from the combative, integrated ranks of the hospital and transit unions, committees for a workers party could lead the fight against all wings of the labor bureaucracy, to break from the endless shell game of Democratic Party politics and lead a class-struggle fight of labor and minorities on behalf of all the oppressed.

All Out with NYNEX Strikers!

As 60,000 members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) enter the tenth week of their strike against NYNEX (New York and

WV Photo

NYNEX workers' strike rally in New York City, August 10.

New England Bell), the phone company giant is hardlining it, despite raking in nearly $4 billion in profits over the past three years. On the West Coast, Pacific Telesis workers were sent back under a tentative agreement in August. Last month they threw the contract back in the union bureaucracy's face, voting it down three-to-one. Especially galling to PacTel workers were the random drug testing and 12,000 upcoming layoffs. But the union tops have ordered West Coast workers to stay on the job.

NYNEX's hands are still wet with the blood of Gerry Horgan—a CWA steward who was run down and killed on the picket line in August by a scab. In recent weeks there have been numerous attacks on pickets by scabs and managers throughout New York. In Queens, a NYNEX van struck a picket on September 28. Along with the escalation of company violence, the phone company has taken out full-page ads offering $100,000 rewards for information on the "sabotage" of phone cables. On October 3 they announced that 500 scabs (christened "replacement workers" by the Supreme Court) will be hired to do new installations. But the only response of the CWA tops is to tell strikers to get down on their knees and petition capitalist politicians to tell NYNEX to bargain "in good faith."

When the capitalists split up Ma Bell they sliced up the unions. The CWA bureaucrats are the cops who enforce these divisions. Two months of their "electronic picketing" and consumer boycott has run the NYNEX strike into the ground. To *win* against the super-profitable and highly automated phone companies, CWA militants must take the strike out of the hands of the traitorous CWA bureaucracy with a *solid national strike* against AT&T and all the Baby Bells. Mass actions of *thousands* of phone workers at company garages and other key locations are vital to winning this strike: occupy the phone company offices, pull the billing tapes and give the public free phone service! That will bring the phone bosses to their knees.

Attempted Murder on Philly Picket Line

"They just mowed us over. They just drove through like we weren't there," Robert Fiskey told *WV*. Fiskey was one of several strikers, members of Teamsters Local 623, who were picketing early Friday morning, September 30, outside the Silo company warehouse in southwest Philadelphia. Suddenly several cars driven by Silo bosses roared off the bridge and into the pickets, knocking them over like bowling pins. Four were injured. Over a week after the assault, not a single one of the hit-and-run bosses has been charged. Instead, local sheriffs harass strikers, enforcing an injunction limiting the union to four pickets per gate.

The 50 members of Local 623 struck the Silo appliance chain the previous day, after working almost two months without a contract. Silo is out to replace union members with part-time workers and slash medical benefits. Local 623 secretary-treasurer Richard Opalesky said of Silo, "This is the first time in 12 years that they're playing hardball, trying to get the union out." Silo has imported dozens of guards dressed in combat gear from Anthony Security, a union-busting outfit in Cincinnati.

Labor's got to play hardball! When the NFL Players Association struck two years ago, Philly labor, especially the Teamsters locals, virtually shut down the scab game at Veterans Stadium. That's the power that must be brought out now—ring the warehouse with pickets and teach Silo's rent-a-thugs a lesson they won't forget!

Send Philadelphia Post Office Boss Packing!

Postmaster Charles James must think the Philadelphia Post Office is his private plantation. In the nine months since he came in from Cincinnati, James has angered Philly postal workers with racist insults, arbitrary transfers and a murderous absentee policy.

On September 27, 1,500 members of three postal unions, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), the Letter Carriers and the Mailhandlers, demonstrated outside Philadelphia General Post Office on 30th Street. They were angry over the death last month of 36-year-old Michael Armstrong, an APWU member at the Philly P.O. Armstrong suffered a fatal heart attack after coming to work sick in order to avoid being disciplined under the vicious "absentee control" policy James introduced in June. This is the third death on the job since the new policy began.

Earlier this year, James made scarcely veiled racist insults toward the workforce, calling for reducing the percentage of black workers in the Philly P.O. Cincinnati postal workers were glad to get rid of James. A labor/black mobilization last November 5 stopped the Klan and Nazi skinheads from holding a racist provocation at Independence Mall. Now postal workers should give overseer James the boot. ■

Boeing...

(continued from page 16)

putting those multimillion-dollar aircraft in union hands!

And strikers need to do some house cleaning in IAM District Lodge 751. At the Kingdome meeting, there was racist poison directed at Hispanic and black workers. A group of open racists entered the stadium carrying a Confederate flag and chanting "KKK." After the strike vote a group of Hispanic IAM members were subjected to racist taunts. This poisonous crap must be burned out of the labor movement with a hot iron—it is deadly dangerous to the cause of united labor struggle.

The Seattle-Tacoma area, with a small minority population, has been the site of racist cop and vigilante attacks. On September 23, Tacoma's Hilltop neighborhood exploded in gunfire, as an "anti-drug block-watch" party organized by a white U.S. Army Ranger opened up with semi-automatic weapons on blacks. In Seattle, a racist "Save Our Schools" group is sponsoring ballot Initiative 34 to kill even a partial busing plan. The IAM at Boeing has the muscle to smash this racist reaction and fight for social equality in education, housing and jobs. What is needed is the class-struggle leadership willing to use workers' social power and wage that fight.

The *Wall Street Journal* (5 October) notes that "It isn't often these days... that a union has such an opportunity to bend a strong company into granting some of its demands." But the IAM tops also had the "opportunity" to inflict a crushing defeat on union-buster Frank Lorenzo when rail and airline unionists across the country were poised to strike in solidarity with the Machinists at Eastern. The IAM tops folded in the face of the threats of the capitalist courts and politicians.

Every worker at the Kingdome meeting could feel the class power assembled there. Boeing strikers need an elected strike committee which won't cave in to the capitalist courts and Democratic Party politicians, a leadership which isn't afraid to *use* labor's muscle to champion the cause of all the oppressed. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Boeing Strike Takes Off

SEATTLE, Washington—The Kingdome stadium reverberated with chants of "Strike, strike, strike!" October 3 as 40,000 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) met to consider Boeing's "final" contract "offer." Workers chanted "B.S. to O.T.," angry at the massive amount of overtime Boeing has forced them to work. When the local union president recommended rejection, there was a roar of yells and chants. The Machinists voted by a six-to-one margin to strike, and the next day 58,000 Boeing workers from Seattle, Portland and Wichita, Kansas walked out, shutting down the giant aircraft manufacturer. In the Mojave Desert, another 300 Machinists working on the first-strike "Stealth" bomber set up picket lines. After months of grueling overtime, and six years without an increase in basic wages, aircraft workers struck Boeing for the first time since 1977.

Spartacist Canada

Seattle, October 3: 40,000 IAM workers at giant Kingdome rally reject company offer, chant "Strike, strike, strike!"

The stakes are high. Noting that steel and phone unions had settled for less than the miserable 10 percent over three years that Boeing is offering, the *New York Times* (4 October) speaks for the capitalist class when they worry, "More than any other labor dispute this year, a strike at Boeing would challenge the prevailing pattern of wage settlements in the United States." Boeing is dripping in profits—over $614 million last year alone—and the Machinists have the power to win big.

The Boeing strike could be the spark that ignites a labor offensive. The Machinists must link up with their union brothers battling Eastern Airlines. Here is the chance to reverse the disaster that the union tops have inflicted on Machinists, flight attendants and pilots battling union-buster Frank Lorenzo. A sharp class battle at Boeing could crack things open for labor, from coal miners now in the sixth month of class war with Pittston, to 60,000 NYNEX phone workers left to go it alone in a battle to defend their medical benefits.

The Boeing strike is the opening shot in the aerospace industry this fall. Over 18,000 Lockheed workers will vote this month on massive givebacks the military contractor is demanding. United Auto Workers members at McDonnell Douglas in Los Angeles face a January 1 contract expiration. Extend the Boeing strike to Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas—for a *national aerospace strike*.

Some Wall Street analysts are claiming that a short strike will be welcomed by Boeing, which has been short of parts and unable to meet production deadlines. With back orders for 1,603 planes worth over *$80 billion*, Boeing has been running its plants flat out, requiring Machinists to work almost 70 hours of overtime a month. Many are forced to work 30 days at a stretch. In the first days of the strike, workers who brought their children to the picket line said that this was their first chance to be together in months.

Boeing is counting on being able to use bosses to finish and deliver over 40 planes already in final assembly. On October 6, Boeing rolled a 747-400 and a 757 off the assembly lines. Strikers have already swamped the picket lines, ignoring the bureaucrats' limits of only 15 pickets per gate. Teamsters have pledged to honor the lines and refuse to deliver into Boeing's plants. The engineers union must stop crossing the IAM's lines—they will be next. Machinists can guarantee Boeing doesn't move a single plane by *occupying the plants*,

continued on page 15

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Death Row Hunger Strike

no credit

Since the age of 14, Mumia Abu-Jamal has fought for the rights of blacks, Hispanics, the poor and all the oppressed. Today, as a death row political prisoner, Abu-Jamal fights on. We have recently learned from Lois Williamson, Executive Director of Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants, that since October 1 Abu-Jamal and nine other inmates at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania have been on a hunger strike to protest the despicable conditions on death row.

Driven to this desperate act by the wholesale denial of even the most minimal norms of human decency, the hunger strikers are calling for the prison administration simply to adhere to guidelines set down by the Pennsylvania governor's 1987 Interdepartmental Task Force on Corrections Report: more reasonable visiting procedures, an immediate end to prison interference with outgoing mail, more phone access to contact families and implementation of better educational opportunities.

Today death row inmates are routinely subjected to strip searches and body cavity searches, and still denied contact visits! Family visits are arbitrarily denied. One inmate's wife traveled 3,000 miles from California only to be denied a visit, although the prison had given clearance before she started her journey.

During the past two months Huntingdon's sadistic guards have been given stun guns to torture prisoners. No regulations limit their use. Look cross-eyed at a guard, hesitate in hopping to on command, or just catch the guard in the mood—you get zapped. One inmate stated, "I'm tired of being treated like a dead man. I live. I breathe. I feel. I'm still a man."

Another inmate wrote Williamson on September 30, asking her to "understand my cry and help us to fight the bureaucratic struggle." He continued:

> "I have been here since Dec 8, 1988 and in such seemingly short time I have

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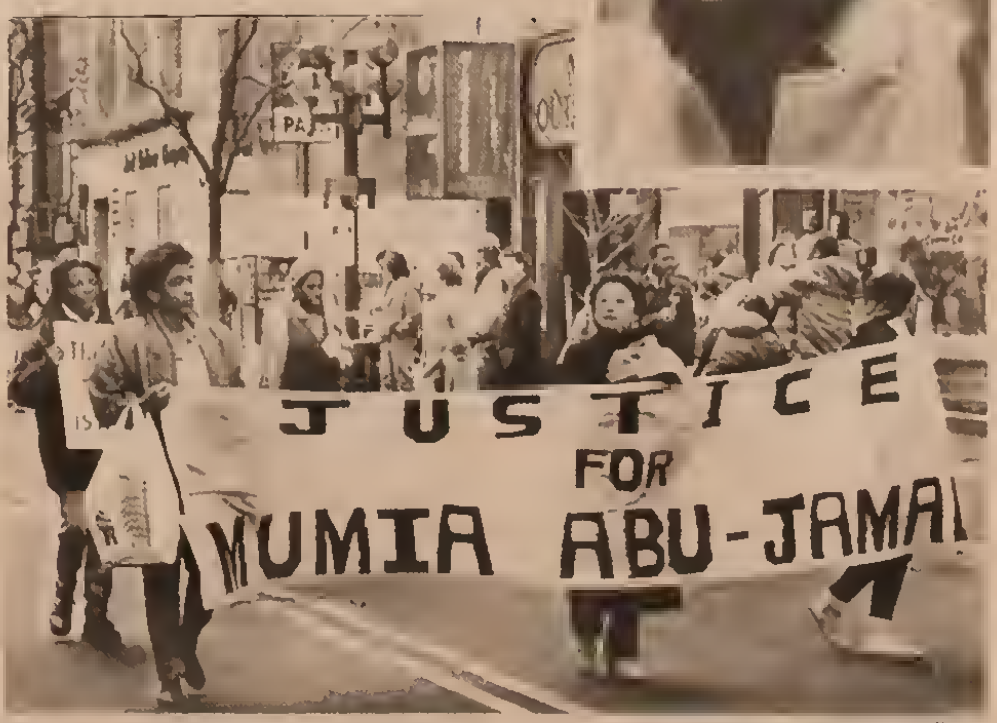

WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! Supporters join in December 1988 march in Philadelphia to commemorate victims of 1985 MOVE massacre.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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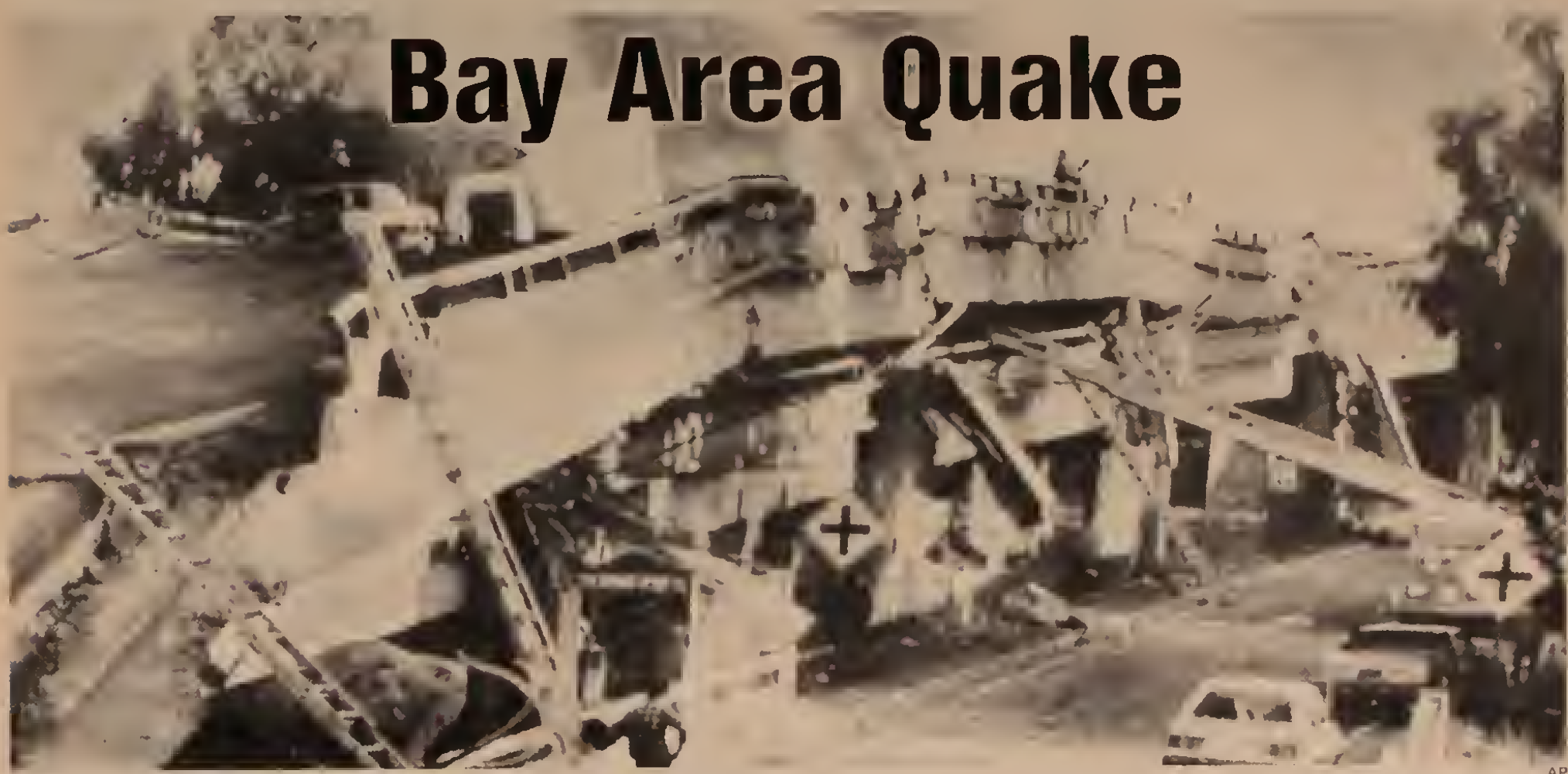
No. 488 | 27 October 1989

Bay Area Quake



AP

Oakland, California—Cypress Street Viaduct on Nimitz Freeway collapses, crushing to death scores of people. Measures to strengthen highway against quakes were never taken.

Freeway Death Trap—A Capitalist Crime

Jail the Criminals!

Juan Rubi, a 28-year-old roofer with two young sons, had just finished a job and was driving home on the Nimitz Freeway to his family last Tuesday afternoon. As he got to the Cypress Street Viaduct in Oakland, a mile and a half of Interstate 880 turned into a twisting carpet of concrete waves, as the columns holding the upper deck of the elevated highway snapped like matchsticks. Minutes later Juan Rubi, and unknown numbers of others, had been crushed under tons of concrete.

Hundreds of residents and local workers in the predominantly poor black neighborhood of West Oakland rushed over to help rescue survivors. They were credited with saving at least 30 people. One sped down the street with a forklift truck from work to help push aside concrete and free people trapped beneath. But the cops decided they were all "looters" and chased them away with guns drawn. Meanwhile, Juan Rubi and others lay under the rubble.

By 11 p.m., after less than six hours, the powers that be had *called off* what official "rescue" efforts they had made. The next morning, California governor George Deukmejian pleaded ignorance of the freeway's condition, California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) director Bob Best claimed it was all the fault of "inexact science," and Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson announced "there are no people who have survived" under the rubble to rescue.

Juan Rubi's father knew better. "It wasn't the earthquake that killed my son," raged bereaved Muni bus driver Daniel Rubi. "It was Wilson, Deukmejian and Caltrans." Later that afternoon, Daniel Rubi was dragged away by the cops for pointing a finger of blame at Wilson. *It is Wilson, Deukmejian, the Caltrans officials responsible and a lot of others who should be going to jail right now.*

At a Thursday afternoon press briefing near the Nimitz, a *WV* reporter challenged an Oakland Police Department (OPD) spokesman with a report that one volunteer thought people were still alive in the rubble after the 11 p.m. Tuesday cutoff. Captain Jim Hahn sneered: "If a volunteer was up there and making a statement like that, he wasn't authorized to be up there."

AP

Gas from mains broken in earthquake fed fire in San Francisco's posh Marina district.

Yet more than 84 hours after the "last" survivor had been removed, workers pulling on the pillars to conduct stress tests accidentally found 57-year-old longshoreman Buck Helm alive under the rubble. Apparently, saving Buck Helm was not "authorized" either, as the *New York Times* (22 October) reported: "The police, in an effort to avoid creating false hopes, at first asked that the discovery of Mr. Helm not be reported."

The massive earthquake that hit the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area at 5:04 p.m. on the afternoon of October 17 was a natural disaster. But many of the estimated hundreds who died were the victims of a manmade disaster waiting to happen, of a profit system where contracts are awarded to the lowest bidder...or the highest briber. They died because of a willful refusal to repair and maintain structures that were *known* to be inadequate. The incompetent and obstructionist "rescue" effort, the lies and the cover-ups that have followed, are not natural.

This was a case of criminality piled atop criminality—all in the service of the "bottom line," capitalist profits. That bottom line is marked by the blood running down the pillars of the freeway deathtrap.

Racist Cops: Business as Usual

In the critical first hours after the disaster, the authorities devoted the bulk of their efforts to *disorganizing and*

continued on page 8

On Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan

August 18, 1989

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

The Spartacist League, *Workers Vanguard* and the Partisan Defense Committee are to be commended for their coverage of and support for Afghanistan's struggle against the reactionary Islamic *mujahedeen* and their CIA and Pakistani backers. You've done well!

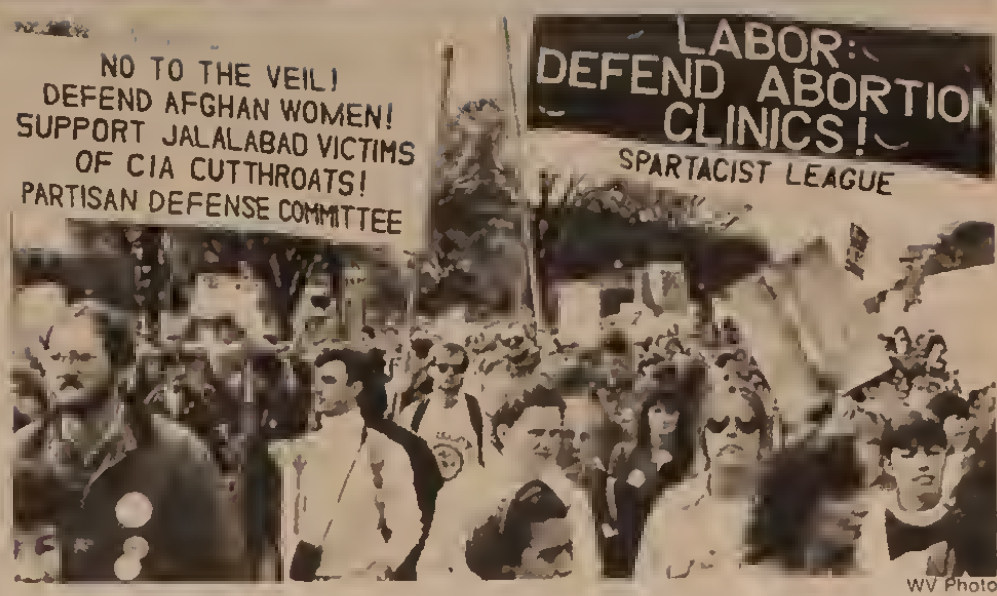
Some on the left, due to deep-seated anti-Soviet prejudice, have actually supported the *mujahedeen*. Others, who have written about the reactionary nature of the *mujahedeen*, have done nothing in a practical way to make their stated position real. Most, it seems, would rather say nothing about Afghanistan at all. You, by positive contrast, have given the most extensive and detailed coverage to this important struggle. Further, you have carried out a vigorous material aid campaign in this connection. Others on the left should at least have had the decency to publicize and support your efforts.

Nevertheless, I do not agree with your support to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, *and* I don't share your estimate that the USSR's troop withdrawal from that country was a betrayal.

Soviet intervention only served to unite the various gangs of reactionaries, helping give them a common focus. And, unlike the Vietnamese intervention to kick the Pol Pot gang out of Cambodia/Kampuchea, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan provided a useful target for anti-Soviet propaganda in the capitalist press.

Despite all the aid the CIA and Saudi Arabia have provided, the Islamic thugs have begun to fall out among themselves since Soviet troops have been withdrawn. They've now begun killing one another, an activity one can certainly applaud.

Though the news reports have been contradictory, it seems that the Soviet Union is continuing to supply as much arms and matériel as the Kabul government can use. They don't seem to be short, at any rate. If the Soviets had pulled the plug on Afghanistan and cut off all support, I wouldn't hesitate to call their action a betrayal. This isn't Spain in the Thirties, and the Soviets haven't abandoned Afghanistan. In fact, on overall balance, Afghanistan today seems to be standing up better and more effectively since the Soviet troops were withdrawn. What is your estimate?



WV Photo

Washington, D.C.—Partisan Defense Committee in massive abortion rights rally last April championed cause of Afghan women.

Again, you've done good work in Afghanistan's defense.

In solidarity,
Walter Lippmann

Editor's note: The issues raised in this thoughtful letter and related questions are the subject of a two-part article, "Afghanistan: Civil War and Social Progress," which begins on page four of this issue.

Lanka Leftists Under Siege

1 October 1989
Sri Lanka

Partisan Defense Committee
New York, USA

Dear Comrade Linda,

As you know, for the first time in the Sri Lankan history all leftists are facing very dangerous and murderous attacks from the fascist violence of JVP/DJV forces who have shot and killed a large number of members of left parties including Trotskyists. At the moment more than 200 leftists have been killed. Three members of the RCL (Northites) were killed. RCL is the largest Trotskyist group in Sri Lanka. Some of their leaders are in exile because of death threats. On 6 September the Government security forces took in for questioning three RCL members after raiding their party office and the printing press. But the motive of the security forces were to arrest the leading members specially Ananda Wakkubura (Press Editor), Wije Dias (the Secretary). Finally as the protest of LSSP, NSSP and the number of trade unions, RCL members were released. Now this threat has come closer to us. On 27th August Workers Marxist League (Andradi) leading Comrade G. K. R. Perera was shot dead. He is a 1980 striker of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and a strong Trotskyist fighter. This brutal killing is a signal to all leading Comrades of RWP, WML, Spartacist and the MWT (breakaway group from the right-wing centrist NSSP). Meanwhile on 20th September, three trade union leaders (NSSP) were abducted by an armed gang and there is no news up to today.

Just as the JVP/DJV, the Government security forces' operations against JVP/DJV is more vehement than before. Security forces raid villages and residential areas and take all suspected youths and later their semi-burnt dead bodies with gunshot injuries appear on roads, in rivers and cemeteries. I am sure that you are well aware how difficult this situation must be for everyone. Every moment all Trotskyists are facing death fear both from JVP/DJV and the Government forces. Comrade Andradi (Secretary of the WML) is a big challenger to the JVP/DJV for last 20 years. He has written number of books and articles against the JVP. On several occasions he got physical threats from the JVP. Although you and I have big political and organizational differences with Comrade Andradi and the WML, there is no doubt that we should protect his life.

When I specially refer Comrade Andradi, it does not mean that I have no threat. The truth is all of us (RWP, WML, Spartacist and the MWT) have become victims of the fascists. Only through your intervention, the International Working Class will be mobilized for our protection (our open appeal to International Working Class will follow).

Finally I have no doubt that you will urgently respond in defence of Lankan Trotskyists.

Fraternally,
T. F.

TROTSKY

Communism Will Liberate Women of the East

LENIN

Central to the war in Afghanistan is the struggle to liberate women from medieval barbarism in the Islamic East, including purdah *(seclusion), bride price and imprisonment behind the veil. During the 1920s a similar struggle was fought and won against fundamentalist reactionaries in the Turkic-speaking republics of Soviet Central Asia. One of the Communist women organizers of this campaign, F. Niurina, pointed to the world-historic significance of women's emancipation for the countries of the East.*

Our work in the [Soviet] East is assuming now, in the present international situation, an extraordinarily important role. It is not by sheer accident that the Eastern question is now at the center of world politics. It is no longer subject to any doubt that the [present trends] in the colonial and semi-colonial countries make them into virtually the weakest and most vulnerable points of the imperial system. It can, by the same token, no longer be doubted that the example of the Soviet Eastern Republics is playing a far from unimportant role in fashioning the revolutionary climate in the non-Soviet East.... Our Eastern Republics are bordering directly on a number of Eastern lands (Persia, Afghanistan, and others). Every veil that is torn away, every Uzbek or Turkman woman who is drawn into a soviet, or recruited into the party or the komsomol, or even into a school, becomes a revolutionizing factor in those foreign lands.

—F. Niurina, "In Central Asia," *Kommunistka* [Communist Woman], 1925

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Smash Racist Cop Terror in Chicago!

Mobilize Labor and Minorities

Spurred to action by police terror in Chicago's black ghettos, 800 people marched through Mayor Richard Daley's segregated home turf of Bridgeport October 21 chanting, "Racism—must go!" Daley was quick to support City Council hearings on racist cop brutality after an outcry in September. Despite powerful, moving testimony by a small fraction of the Chicago cops' victims—including Callie Bryant, the mother of black Chicago bus driver Cassandra Seay—these staged hearings produced only a meaningless reshuffling of Police Board appointees.

The October 21 demonstration was largely organized by Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, which sought to channel black outrage against the racist cops into the 1991 Democratic mayoral primary. Black attorney Lew Myers, who called the march, wound up the event by calling on blacks to enlist in the bosses' "drug war." In opposition to these pro-capitalist diversions, the Chicago Spartacist League put forward the program of integrated working-class struggle against racist cop terror in the 27 September leaflet reprinted below.

"We are sitting on a powder keg," black alderman Alan Streeter told Democratic Party politicos at a September 19 hearing on police racism and brutality. Indeed, on September 10 a ghetto neighborhood—in the shadow of the nearly shuttered U.S. Steel South Works—had exploded in anger after a cop summarily executed a 23-year-old black man, Leonard Bannister, during a "drug war" bust.

"He was murdered like a dog," said eyewitness Glen King of the Bannister killing (*Chicago Defender*, 12 September). Leonard was gunned down by a 13-year black cop, Noel "Six-Point" Hartfield. Hartfield knew Bannister, had openly threatened to kill him, and on September 10 made good on his promise. As Bannister stood with his hands in the air, Hartfield pointed his .45 Magnum at his head and pulled the trigger, twice.

An ambulance that arrived was ordered away by the cops, and Leonard's aunt was prevented from identifying the body. Cop Hartfield stood over the corpse proudly quenching his thirst with a quart of milk, while black alderman William Beavers, an ex-cop, came by and *shook his hand*. An angry crowd, abused and intimidated by dozens of police until the body was finally removed, later vented its rage by trashing Beavers' office and a nearby Arab-owned grocery where "Six-Point" had gotten his milk.

Jackson/Chicago Sun-Times

Joseph Weaver (left) and Calvin McLin (right) testify that Chicago cops set them up to be lynched by white racist gang.

Black police commissioner Leroy Martin stonewalled, saying that racist cop violence "is not a serious problem"! The liberal Democrats used the September 19 hearing to push for a "civilian review board" to monitor the cops, as if police terror were caused by a few "bad apples" and not the whole structure of racist class oppression. Edward Bannister, Leonard's uncle, summed up the rage felt in the black community when he exclaimed, "Martin and his Klan should be abolished!"

The Bannister killing came after the *Defender* (2 September) broke the story of two black teenagers who were terrorized and set up for lynching in August by white cops James Serio and Kathleen Moore. As the youths waited for a bus after a White Sox night game, the cops grabbed them, slammed them in their squad car, beat them and then "dropped" them in all-white Canaryville. There, as the cops had intended, they were attacked and beaten by a gang of racists. These vicious thugs in blue, Hartfield, Serio and Moore, should be locked up—throw away the key!

Though Boss Daley II "denounced" police brutality and called for firing the cops involved in the Canaryville incident, his election last spring—in the most racially polarized voting in the city's history—was a green light for cop terror in the ghetto. Every cop precinct knows that as Cook County state's attorney Daley refused to prosecute a single cop for brutality. Once elected, he quickly established his credentials in the racist "drug war," pushing a proposal at a national mayors' conference in June to convert Fort Sheridan north of the city into a vast concentration camp for "drug offenders."

Murderous racist cop terror is "business as usual" in Chicago. During the past decade the police department's whitewash bureau, the Office of Professional Standards (OPS), received an average of over 2,200 complaints of brutality and misconduct each year—an average of six per day—and the vast majority of cases go unreported. During the September 19 South Side hearing attorney Jeffrey Haas revealed some of the details contained in a court brief he filed last spring documenting a 14-year pattern of torture carried out by now police commander Jon Burge: a "black box" used to deliver electric shocks, plastic bags placed over the head to induce suffocation, a noose placed around the neck, brutal beatings, a revolver forced into the victim's mouth. One of Burge's alleged accomplices is cop Joe Gorman who, Haas reports, likes to brag about his machine-gun participation in the FBI/cop murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in 1969.

The nationalists of the National Black United Front (NBUF) try to shield the cops—particularly Martin, who was installed as commissioner by Harold Washington—by promoting racist diversions like targeting Asian store owners. "We need organizations like the Afro American Police League," said attorney Lew Myers of NBUF at the South Side hearing. Now they want to team up with the sinister Al Sharpton, a self-confessed FBI stooge, for a march to Daley's home in the segregated stronghold of Bridgeport. NBUF leader Conrad Worrill calls for Daley to "take leadership against police brutality."

Racist police terror can't be bargained away, it must be smashed through mass labor/black/Hispanic struggle! Black or white, the cops are the armed fist of capitalist *class rule*: when the South Side steel mills were humming, the cops defended profits and shot down strikers; then and now, after the massive steel shutdowns, the cops "discipline" the ghetto hellholes by gunning down unemployed blacks.

The power of the integrated labor movement, supported by the ghetto masses, can fight cop terror and win. Remember black bus driver Cassandra Seay who was viciously attacked *in her*

continued on page 7

Remember the Greensboro Martyrs

Ten years have passed since the Greensboro Massacre, the bloodiest fascist attack in the U.S. in decades. In broad daylight, the KKK/Nazi death squad drove up to a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina, where an anti-Klan rally was gathering. With cool deliberation, the killers took their weapons out of the trunk, aimed, fired, and drove off. Five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers lay dying in pools of blood, others wounded or maimed for life. Millions of Americans saw and heard the videotape of the methodical, 88-second fusillade. These were the opening shots of the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks, carried out under the Democratic Carter administration.

Greensboro was a conspiracy of the fascists and their patrons in the capitalist state. From the outset, the KKK and Nazis were aided and abetted by the government, from the G-man who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. In the "trials" which followed, lawyers argued that the fascist murderers were "patriotic citizen[s], just like the Germans were.... That's why they went to Greensboro, to stop communists." Two successive all-white juries acquitted the killers of all charges, affirming once again the meaning of "justice" in this racist capitalist state.

"Greensboro"—the name cries out for justice, for vengeance. When the liberals claim it was a "shoot-out" and say to ignore the fascists, when the lynchers say they want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro by mobilizing to stop them. From Detroit in 1979 to Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Philadelphia in 1988, the power of labor and blacks has stopped the fascists in their tracks. Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller—to honor those who have fallen in the fight against fascism, we rededicate ourselves to this struggle. The working class in power, the third American revolution, will ensure there shall be *No More Greensboros!*

Greensboro Daily News

3 November 1979

Afghanistan

no credit

Civil War and Social Progress

Walking through the streets of Kabul today, one can see beauty parlors and birth control clinics, young women with college textbooks and little girls in school uniforms. Such scenes would be commonplace in most of the world's capital cities, but in the capital of Afghanistan they are living testimony to a decade of turbulent social change. For, on the same streets, one can also see bomb craters, street barricades and

PART ONE OF TWO

antiaircraft batteries. Almost every day, rockets rain down on street bazaars and housing projects, on schools and hospitals, leaving in their wake rubble and corpses. The bombs and rockets are "Made in U.S.A." Washington calls those who fire them "freedom fighters." They call themselves *mujahedin*, "holy warriors." Their "holy war" is a war of indiscriminate terror, killing numerous children, and assassination of unveiled women, schoolteachers, leftists and all others deemed to be "infidels."

Not very long ago, Afghanistan was a forgotten corner of the world. But when Soviet troops moved in on 27 December 1979 to defend their southern border against an imperialist-backed insurgency, anti-Communists from Jimmy Carter to the Ayatollah Khomeini joined in an outcry over "poor little Afghanistan." The battle lines were drawn for Cold War II, and the front line in that war was Afghanistan. Carter's Polish Dr. Strangelove, Zbigniew Brzezinski, stood at the Khyber Pass with his finger on the trigger aiming through the gunsight at Afghanistan across the border. Washington began pouring in *billions* of dollars, together with oil profits from the Saudi monarchy and arms from Deng's China, to bankroll a bloody civil war aimed at killing Russian soldiers and turning back the tide of social progress.

And tripping over Uncle Sam's coattails were Western leftists who echoed Carter/Reagan's demand for "Soviet troops out!" In *The Making of the Second Cold War* (1983), Fred Halliday noted that "much of the left adopted positions that are themselves as opposed to the USSR as those of the right" and "supported the Afghan mojahidin, ferociously conservative tribal rebels hostile to socialism, democracy, women's emancipation and liberalism of any kind." Much of the left, but not all. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency, today the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stood at our posts. We proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!"

When Gorbachev bowed to imperialist insistence and withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan, much of the left echoed the CIA's premature obituaries over the living bodies of Afghan women and leftists. We condemned Gorbachev's pullout and insisted on the urgent need for military support to the embattled Kabul regime and the many hundreds of thousands of Afghans who faced certain and horrible death in the event of a *mujahedin* victory. The Partisan Defense Committee wrote to the Afghan government, offering to organize international brigades to fight alongside the Afghan army and militias. This offer was rejected as militarily unnecessary at the moment, but the Afghan government did appeal for humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the brutal *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad. The PDC, along with fraternal legal and social defense organizations in other countries, launched the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, an international campaign which raised over $44,000 in two months.

In July, the ICL sent a correspondent for *Workers Vanguard* and *Le Bolchévik* (monthly newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France) to Afghanistan for four weeks, both to underscore our solidarity in the struggle against counterrevolution and to combat the lies of the Western imperialist press with our own eyewitness reports from "Front Line Afghanistan." Now that Washington's promises of a quick and easy victory over Kabul lie in shambles on the outskirts of Jalalabad, even the American media are beginning to "expose" the lies they manufactured over the years from the CIA supply base in Peshawar, Pakistan. An Indian journalist covering the war, Appan Menon, noted last spring that for "Westerners who lived in the Intercontinental," the plush hotel in Kabul, government briefings were dismissed as "either propaganda or admissions of new fronts opening up in the war" (*Frontline* [Madras], 15 April).

In contrast, our correspondent spoke to cadre and leaders of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), activists in the women's and youth organizations, teachers and rank-and-file soldiers. He visited the children's homes which provide shelter and education to orphaned sons and daughters of martyred fighters against the CIA's counterrevolutionary cutthroats. He spoke to women recently freed from the shackles of feudal slavery and dedicated to defending their newfound emancipation arms in hand, women like the Russian-trained militia commander Shafiqa. He interviewed young men and women serving on the front lines of the civil war as partisans and soldiers, committed to freeing their country from centuries of oppression. He joined the people of Jalalabad on July 7 in celebrating their heroic victory over the bitter U.S.-ordered siege which began in early March.

Our correspondent reported that "On first impact, Kabul does not look like a city under siege: the capital of a country ravaged by an eleven-year-long civil war." But car bombs and rocket barrages regularly set off by the counterrevolutionary terrorists soon shatter that picture. Afghanistan, he wrote, remains "a land of great contradictions." Even in the capital, barefoot children and gnarled-looking women barely forty years old rely on begging for their survival. Pervasive segregation of men and women continues in public places. For the people of Afghanistan, how these contradictions will be resolved is literally a life-and-death question. It is also a vital question to millions of working people far beyond the mountainous borders of Afghanistan. The significance of Soviet intervention and Soviet withdrawal, the outcome of civil war and the future of social progress in Afghanistan have become defining issues in the struggle for socialist revolution around the world.

Workers Vanguard/Le Bolchévik Photo

A land of contrasts: women veiled in head-to-toe chadors sit in the shadow of Soviet-made helicopter.

Why We Said "Hail Red Army!"

Gorbachev's decision to leave Afghanistan in the lurch has raised anew controversy over the original Soviet intervention. A recent letter to *WV* from Walter Lippmann (see page 2) expres-

ses support for the PDC aid campaign to embattled Afghanistan but adds, "I do not agree with your support to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, *and* I don't share your estimate that the USSR's troop withdrawal from that country was a betrayal." Arguing that "Soviet intervention only served to unite the various gangs of reactionaries" and "provided a useful target for anti-Soviet propaganda in the capitalist press." Lippmann concludes that "Afghanistan today seems to be standing up better and more effectively since the Soviet troops were withdrawn."

Others on the left do not deny the necessity of the Soviet intervention but argue that the Russians stayed too long. Thus in an interview with *WV* (No. 477, 12 May), Val Moghadam, a sociologist sympathetic to the nationalist PDPA regime, said of her visit to Kabul in February:

> "...party people that I spoke with all seemed to concur that the intervention on the part of the Red Army was necessary at that time.... However, most party people also agreed that the fact that the troops stayed on for so long was not particularly helpful. The *mujahedin* were able to use this as a way to claim that the struggle was a national liberation struggle, as opposed to what it really was, which was a civil war between the forces for social change and progress vs. the reactionary forces for tradition, patriarchy and the status quo."

Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. U.S. imperialists launched new anti-Soviet war drive. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against feudal counterrevolution.

SPARTACIST

Imperialist Frenzy Over Afghanistan

Hail Red Army!

Workers Vanguard/Le Bolchevik Photo

Indiscriminate terror by CIA-armed mujahedin (holy warriors): building in Kabul destroyed by rocket attack.

To begin with, had the Soviet Union not moved in when it did, the PDPA government would surely have fallen under the reactionary onslaught. Ten years ago, the Afghan army was patently incapable of holding its own militarily against the *mujahedin*, while the PDPA had at best 20,000 members and virtually no control over the countryside. Fred Halliday, hardly an uncritical supporter of the Soviet intervention, nevertheless acknowledged that "The Russians have bought time for the PDPA with their intervention" (*New Left Review*, January-February 1980). It was the Soviet presence which made possible the fact that women are still free to walk around (at least in urban areas) without a chador, the suffocating head-to-toe veil, and that young girls can learn to read and write.

Furthermore, by all accounts, the Kabul regime has a broader base of support than at any point in its history. Today, the combined strength of the Afghan armed forces is some 150,000, with another 300,000 under arms in civilian militias. Their fighting capacity was clearly demonstrated in lifting the siege of Jalalabad. The People's Democratic Party has some 80,000 members, the All-Afghanistan Women's Council (formerly the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan) 150,000 and the Democratic Youth Organization (DYOA) approximately 200,000 members. The PDPA-organized trade unions have another 160,000 members.

We share Walter Lippmann's sense of satisfaction that the Afghan armed forces are proving their battlefield capability. Doubtless they are "standing up better," since the Soviet pullout forced them to sink or swim on their own. "Country or Coffin" may be an inspirational fighting slogan; it is also a statement of fact about the bloodbath a *mujahedin* victory would hold in store for supporters of the government. But who trained the Afghan helicopter pilots and bombardiers, the skilled military technicians and artillerymen who have been using their Soviet-supplied weaponry to such powerful effect? In fact, well before the Soviet withdrawal, the Afghan armed forces were already taking on the brunt of direct fighting; Afghan troops inflicted a major defeat against the *mujahedin* at Khost in 1988. If the bourgeois press today presents the combat effectiveness of the Kabul forces as a revelation, it is largely because they have devoted the last ten years to painting the Soviet presence as an army of occupation and the PDPA forces as mindless puppets or slaves of the Russians.

To oppose the Red Army intervention on the grounds that it may have fueled anti-Soviet propaganda implicitly accepts the Stalinist framework of seeking an accommodation with imperialism under the rubric of "peaceful coexistence." If anything, a genuinely Bolshevik government in the Kremlin would be subjected to far more intense imperialist anti-Sovietism. The answer is not conciliation, but resolute defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and a program of world revolution to explode imperialist capitalism from within.

At bottom the views expressed by Lippmann and Moghadam share an implicit assumption that Afghanistan could go it alone, albeit with some form of Soviet assistance, in a "national democratic revolution." From a strictly nationalist standpoint, Russian intervention could be seen as opposed to Afghan "national liberation." In *The Tragedy of Afghanistan* (1988), Raja Anwar, a left-nationalist Pakistani exile in Kabul sympathetic to the aims of the PDPA, says bluntly: "The fact is that the Afghan Revolution died on the night of 27 December 1979."

Now Kremlin hacks, having for years portrayed the Soviet intervention force as a "limited military contingent" whose sole aim was to support the PDPA's "national democratic" revolution, invert this argument to justify Soviet withdrawal. Thus Alexander Prokhanov writes in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (17 February 1988):

> "...the original goals proclaimed by the PDPA have not been achieved. The party itself, the revolutionary government itself, have renounced them. Given that fact, the presence of Soviet troops in the country loses its point. Their departure is inevitable and logical."

This is the height of cynicism. There was not a single policy shift carried out by the PDPA regime in Kabul which was not generated in Moscow. If the original goals proclaimed by the PDPA were not achieved, the fault lies not primarily with the isolated Afghan regime but in the fact that the Soviet intervention was *too* limited and *too* temporary. If Moscow had shown from the outset a determination to do whatever was needed for victory, the war would have been won quite a while ago.

What Was the "April Revolution"?

The "Saur Revolution" of April 1978 which brought the PDPA to power promised to pull Afghanistan out of its feudal and prefeudal condition into the 20th century. But in Afghanistan, even the first, "democratic" stage of the Stalinist schema of two-stage revolution was a utopia. The tiny proletariat was dwarfed by a far more numerous Islamic clergy, the small urban population of the country was surrounded by a sea of nomadic herdsmen and landless peasants beholden to the khans, the forces of social progress were heavily outweighed by the reactionary forces for tradition and the status quo. The "Saur Revolution" was not a mass popular uprising but a coup by the Soviet-trained military officers and modernizing intellectuals, backed by thousands of Kabul students, which proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

In a backhanded way, a PDPA leader, Hafizullah Amin, admitted as much, characterizing the takeover as a "proletarian revolution" in which pro-Soviet army officers played the role of the proletariat:

> "If we had waited to follow the same class pattern of working-class revolution through a national democratic bourgeoisie, then we would have followed such a long and thorny road that it would have required not only years but centuries."
>
> —quoted in *The Tragedy of Afghanistan*

The PDPA was immediately confronted by a reactionary insurgency—which had begun organizing already under the previous regime of the "republican" Daud. What primarily "united" the disparate and feuding gangs of reactionaries—well before the Red Army moved in—was opposition to the PDPA's reform policies, and particularly those related to giving women some rights. Surrounded by external enemies, the party was also rent by internal bloodletting, exemplified by the assassination of PDPA founder Noor Mohammed Taraki, the head of the "Khalq" (People) faction, and his replacement by Amin in the fall of 1979. Finally, in late December 1979, the Soviet Union moved in to prop up its client government in Kabul and stem the counterrevolutionary insurgency on its southern flank being financed and promoted by U.S. imperialism and its Chinese Stalinist ally.

The conservative Brezhnev leadership didn't send 100,000 Soviet troops into Afghanistan to make a social revolution. Brezhnev sought only to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan by suppressing the counterrevolutionary uprising and replacing Amin with the

continued on page 6

Campion/Sygma

April 1978—Celebration in Kabul after left-wing military officers and modernizing intellectuals overthrew reactionary Daud regime.

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

more pliable and conciliatory Babrak Karmal, head of the "Parcham" (Banner) faction. Karmal's first act upon his installation by the Soviet troops, literally over Amin's dead body, was to appeal particularly to "religious scholars and leaders" and "patriotic landowners." The red banner introduced by the Khalqis was replaced as the national flag by a new tricolor. Land reform was sharply curtailed, as the government declared a "general amnesty" under which feudal landlords who had defected to Pakistan would be given back their property if they returned, while many categories of landowner were now exempted entirely from the reform. Meanwhile, compulsory education for girls was revoked and bride price reform put on the back burner.

It was certainly not the policies or subjective intentions of the Moscow bureaucracy which gave the Red Army intervention its potentially revolutionary significance, but rather the proletarian property forms on which the Soviet state is based. As we wrote at the time:

> "By giving unconditional military support to the Soviet army and PDPA Afghan forces we in no way place political confidence in the Kremlin bureaucracy or the left-nationalists in Kabul. While the Moscow Stalinists apparently presently intend to shore up the PDPA regime, and if anything limit the pace of democratic and modernizing reforms, the prolonged presence in Afghanistan of the Soviet army opens up more far-reaching possibilities."
>
> —*WV* No. 247, 11 January 1980

American military bases in the Philippines and elsewhere begin to "Americanize" the local population, e.g., turning Saigon into a giant brothel during the Vietnam War. In a progressive and far more profound way, the Russian military presence in Afghanistan necessarily began to replicate qualities of Soviet life, acting as a magnetic attraction to forward-looking youth and the deeply oppressed women. Such social/cultural transfer is inevitable in a prolonged military presence and, had it continued, would have had a qualitative impact on Afghan society.

The intervention of the Red Army *objectively* opened the possibility of social transformation—including developing a working class—providing from without the social base and military force capable of crushing the counter-revolutionary *mujahedin* and imposing a social revolution. By 1984, even the Western press was conceding that the Soviet troops were rolling back the insurgency. But neither Brezhnev nor his successors ever chose to commit themselves to a clear-cut victory in Afghanistan:

> "...instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller *and* cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*, a tremendous leap from feudalist backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and 'two-stage' revolution."
>
> —"Reagan, Begin & Hitler," *WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982

Now, in quitting Afghanistan, Moscow lectures that "The last ten years have proved (conclusively) that neither side can win through force of arms" (*Moscow News*, 12 February). The bourgeois London *Independent* (14 February) was a lot closer to the truth: "Soviet army turns its back on the war it never tried to win."

For years, the Kremlin Stalinists acted shamefaced about the war in Afghanistan, barely reporting it in the Soviet media. Then, under Gorbachev, Moscow began churning out a torrent of propaganda presenting the intervention as a dismal fiasco from beginning to end—echoing the timeworn Western lie that Afghanistan was "Russia's Vietnam." *Moscow News* (6 August) snidely dismissed a conference of "afgantsi" (war veterans) in Uzbekistan for being "under the spell of the army concept of 'international duty'" when they appealed for the right to organize volunteer brigades to go back and fight the *mujahedin*. This is decidedly not the sentiment one would find among veterans of a colonial war of occupation. Now, as the 24 October *New York Times* headline crows, "Moscow Says Afghan Role Was Illegal and Immoral."

Similarly, the general sentiment of Afghans toward the Soviets is clearly not that of an "occupied" people. Appan Menon notes this in his *Frontline* article, as he describes how the PDPA regime, in its pursuit of "national reconciliation," has encouraged the elimination of any signs of the Soviet presence in the country:

> "A surprising thing about Kabul is the rapidity in which all things Soviet have been obliterated. Soviet shop signs have been painted over, Soviet caviar has disappeared from the black market, and most Afghans prefer to speak in English rather than in any other foreign language. Did this mean a deep-seated hatred for the most recent 'occupier' in their history? A wide cross-section of Afghans were asked what they thought of the Soviets. Interestingly, except for the ideologically hardline Khalqis who are part of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), most had nothing but nice things to say about them."

Our correspondent found numerous Afghans quite willing to converse in Russian. If many approved of the Soviet withdrawal, it was largely in the hope that it would bring an end to the horrors of war, that the *mujahedin* would lay down their arms and accept "national reconciliation." But far from bringing peace, the Soviet withdrawal *emboldened* the *mujahedin* and their imperialist patrons.

Faget-Armand/AFP

Planeta Publishers

Lett: Soviet veterans ot Atghan war ("afgantsi") did their internationallst duty. Below: Soviet-trained Atghan air force pilots have ettectively combatted CIA's tribalist cutthroats.

"Export of Revolution"?

In response to our call of "Hail Red Army," Stalinists and fake-Trotskyists alike leapt to denounce "export of revolution." Like Stalin, who invented the phrase in order to repudiate it, they were really denouncing revolutionary internationalism. But "export of revolution," i.e., revolutionary war, was very much a part of Bolshevik internationalism. In 1921 the Red Army waged war against Menshevik Georgia, a base for imperialist intrigues. The year before, it launched a revolutionary offensive into Pilsudski's Poland. However, it encountered there the problem of significant layers of the population closing ranks behind Polish nationalism. Largely for that reason, Trotsky was dubious about the Polish offensive. The situation in the East was different. Thus he had argued a year earlier:

> "There is no doubt at all that our Red Army constitutes an incomparably more powerful force in the Asian terrain of world politics than in the European terrain.... The road to India may prove at the given moment to be more readily passable and shorter for us than the road to Soviet Hungary. The sort of army which at the moment can be of no great significance in the European scales can upset the unstable balance of Asian relationships of colonial dependence, give a direct push to an uprising on the part of the oppressed masses and assure the triumph of such a rising in Asia....
>
> "We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. However, the international situation is evidently shaping in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal."

An ongoing Soviet military presence in Afghanistan could have had significantly more far-reaching social consequences than it did in East Europe in 1920. The East European countries are pretty well-defined social, national and historical entities, whereas Afghanistan has long been a more amorphous and polyglot region.

To narrow-minded nationalists, the perspective of bringing social revolution to a country like Afghanistan may seem like bizarre adventurism; in fact, there are numerous historical precedents.

The Great French Revolution inspired and aided the momentous slave revolt in the colony of Haiti led by Toussaint L'Ouverture. Later, under Napoleon, the "export" of the revolution destroyed feudal monarchies and brought bourgeois-democratic institutions and freedoms throughout much of West Europe. When French armies entered Frankfurt and other cities, they tore down the walls around the Jewish ghettos. It is no accident that the founder of modern communism, Karl Marx, was a Jew from the Rhineland, the section of Germany most radically affected by the French revolutionary occupation. In Italy, too, Napoleon's armies were welcomed as agents of social liberation.

More directly relevant to Afghanistan is the case of Soviet Central Asia. In the 1920s, this area looked remarkably like contemporary Afghanistan. A foothold of Soviet power had been established in the Turkistan city of Tashkent in 1917, a Soviet Republic was declared at Bukhara in 1920, but for years the region was the scene of repeated reactionary onslaughts and rival governments led by mullahs and landowners. In 1922 the Red Army finally suppressed a rebellion by the so-called Basmachi, the *mujahedin* of the time, who mobilized the countryside "by depicting the Soviet regime not just as a foreign occupier but as a despoiler of Islam and of primordial institutions and sentiments" (Gregory J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat* [1974]).

After the suppression of the Basmachis, Bolshevik women activists were sent into the region, the powers and authority of the clerical courts and tribal chiefs were gradually undermined through legal and administrative measures, and the constitutional guarantees of equal rights for women proclaimed by the revolution were increasingly imposed on the region. Even then, every step toward emancipation was met by fierce resistance from the khans and mullahs, including wholesale murder not only of Bolshevik agitators but of any woman who rejected *purdah* (total seclusion) and the veil, while remnants of the Basmachi continued to wage

Jerome Davis

Communist agitator distributing literature in 1920-21 Bukhara Soviet Republic. It took the Red Army (below) to suppress reactionary Basmachi rebellion.

Faber

guerrilla warfare against Soviet authorities throughout the 1920s. It was the imposition of Soviet power in the region, ultimately through the military might of the Red Army, which created the conditions for dismantling centuries-old feudal-clerical domination and opening the road to the emancipation of women. Interestingly, many of the defeated Basmachi fled to Afghanistan, making the *mujahedin* not only their political heirs but in some cases their physical offspring.

Mongolia in the early 1920s offers an even more striking analogy to recent events in Afghanistan. In 1920, under the impact of the Russian Revolution, a tiny handful of young pro-Soviet intellectuals formed the Mongolian People's Party in opposition to the domination of the Buddhist hierarchy and Chinese suzerainty. In March 1921 they proclaimed a Mongolian People's Government and invoked Soviet assistance. They were immediately set upon by a cabal of reactionary forces—led by a Russian tsarist, aided by Japanese imperialism and promoting the clericalist emperor, known as the "Living Buddha"—who launched a counteroffensive into Soviet territory. The People's Government was installed literally on the bayonets of the Red Army. The following month, the new government was assured by Soviet foreign affairs commissar Chicherin that Russian troops would not be withdrawn until "the threat to the free development of the Mongolian people and to the security of the Russian Republic and of the Far Eastern Republic shall have been removed" (quoted in E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*, Vol. 3 [1953]).

Princeton University Press

Amanullah Khan, the modernizing Afghan king of the 1920s.

The Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky was true to its word. Within months it began to implement a series of far-reaching social and political reforms—nationalization of lands and natural resources, land distribution, abolition of titles and prerogatives of the Living Buddha and the nobility, democratic elections, and the establishment of health and education services under Soviet control. According to a Chinese observer at the time, for 18 months "not a day passed without its clashes between the new and the old groups" in Mongolian society. Soviet and progressive forces had to wage a civil war which lasted until late 1922 against indigenous counterrevolutionary bandits. But in the end the Red Army was triumphant. In succeeding decades, Mongolia was transformed from a prefeudal nomadic backwater—in which fully 40 percent of the adult male population were Buddhist priests living in monasteries—into an urbanized society with a standard of living comparable to that of the Soviet Union and a 90 percent literacy rate.

Around the same time, Afghanistan itself was undergoing its only attempt at significant social reforms prior to the PDPA seizure of power. In 1919 Amir Amanullah Khan, leader of the "Young Afghan" movement, took the throne, immediately declared independence from British suzerainty and signed the first Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet republic in 1921. Amanullah attempted to implement a broad range of reforms along the lines of Kemal Atatürk's Young Turk movement. He encouraged schooling for girls, outlawed child marriage, proposed a sovereign national assembly to be elected by all adult men and women, and declared that "the keystone of the future structure of the new Afghanistan will be the emancipation of women." Amanullah's wife was the first Afghan woman to appear in public unveiled. But, as Raja Anwar comments, "What the reformist king failed to understand was that he could not change the visible aspects of social and religious traditions without first changing the infrastructure of his society." In 1929, after years of reactionary resistance, Amanullah was overthrown and tribal and clerical "traditionalism" restored to its position of power.

Photos Conger/National Geographic

Ulan Bator, capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, today enjoys standard of living, health, literacy comparable to the Soviet Union.

Writing on "The War in Afghanistan" that year, Fedor Raskolnikov, who served as the first Soviet envoy to Kabul in the mid-1920s, observed:

> "Afghanistan is a small country with a considerable historical past. Its small connection with the economy of the world, its centuries of artificial isolation, have preserved in Afghanistan quite a number of antiquated forms of feudal rule....
>
> "The political power lies in the hands of the landowners, the so-called 'sirdars'....
>
> "The small number of industrial workers have not yet begun to feel themselves a special class and are thus altogether unorganised. They figure just as little in the political arena as do the artisans who are dispersed all over the country. The Islamic clergy, on the other hand, have long since grown used to exercising an important political influence, amounting in the main to a pronounced support of reaction....
>
> "The feeling of State citizenship is not very pronounced in Afghanistan. Each citizen is in the first place a member of a tribe and only in the second place an Afghan....
>
> "From the standpoint of war-preparations against the Soviet Union, Afghanistan is a highly important base for the British."
>
> —reprinted in *Labour Review* (February 1980)

For 50 years, this picture remained virtually unchanged, but for the fact that the U.S. replaced Britain as the imperialist power which sought to use the country as a base for war preparations against the Soviet Union. Had the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky, marching behind the internationalist banner of authentic Bolshevism, been in a position to go into Amanullah's Afghanistan at the time, the people of that country would be centuries in advance of where they are today.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

spirited crowd for Mumia's freedom. Dramatically setting one of her husband's dreadlocks aflame, she noted that "this is what they intend to do to Mumia—to burn him, to destroy him until he is no more." TV reports on the rally were run prominently by both ABC (Channel 6) and CBS (Channel 10) affiliates.

The fight to save Mumia is today a focal point of opposition to the racist death penalty, and this rally sparked a resurgence of commitment to his defense. A student from nearby Cheyney State, a predominantly black college, rose during the discussion period to present over 100 signatures collected on petitions to Pennsylvania governor Casey. A postal worker described how she enlisted her friends and family to collect 109 signatures. Supporters of the Spartacist League presented 600 signatures on petitions collected in Philadelphia during the preceding two weeks.

The rally, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, was a watershed for the campaign in Philadelphia, bringing together for the first time participants from diverse organizations and backgrounds, in the tradition of class-struggle defense work. A representative of the PDC told the crowd that 11,000 people—including union officials, civil rights organizations, religious leaders and other death penalty opponents from Paris to the San Francisco Bay Area—had earlier signed petitions demanding that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die.

Increasingly, international attention is being drawn to Mumia's case. In West Germany, the unofficial newspaper of the "Green Party," *Die Tageszeitung* (21 October), covered Mumia's case during Amnesty International's "Week of the Political Prisoner." The *taz* article noted, "His case is exemplary of the persecution of a whole generation of black women and men in the '70s and for the 'racially discriminatory application of the death penalty in the USA' (Amnesty International, 1989 report)."

The October 14 Philly rally represents a new stage in the battle for Mumia's life. These forces, and many more beyond them, must be mobilized to save Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

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SAN FRANCISCO

Chicago Cop Terror...

(continued from page 3)

own home by five cops in 1987 and then framed up on charges of battery, resisting arrest and obstructing a police officer. When transit workers of ATU Locals 241 and 308 and other trade unionists and supporters mobilized to spike the frame-up, Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant, were acquitted. Out of this victory came the Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL). Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, the LBSL is "an integrated organization which stands for mobilizing the masses of labor and blacks for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America."

The Democratic politicians have scheduled a City Council hearing on police brutality for September 28. Their goal is not to end the terror by "the toughest gang in town" (as Martin has called the police force), but to *defuse* the fury building throughout the city. Already the remnants of Harold Washington's political bloc are attempting to channel this issue into their 1991 mayoral campaign against Daley. Labor and minorities must bust up this capitalist shell game and fight for a *workers party*. Such a party will avenge the numerous victims of Chicago's racist cops by organizing mass, militant and integrated class struggle to abolish the profit system they defend and forge in its place a *workers government*.

For more information about the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League, write to: LBSL, Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680. In California, contact the Labor Black League for Social Defense, P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604.

Bay Area Quake...

(continued from page 1)

preventing emergency rescue operations. Both Japan and the Soviet Union, with substantial expertise in earthquake relief, volunteered assistance. They were turned down by the arrogant, bureaucratic American authorities, who preferred to keep the operation "in house." They had to haul Deukmejian back from Europe in an Air Force jet. SF mayor Art Agnos picked a squabble with Vice President Dan Quayle, who used the occasion for a photo op. And the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) showed it was "on the scene" by opening 200 phone lines (which were promptly jammed) and doing surveys!

The racist Oakland cops, who only know how to shoot down unarmed people in the streets, actually appeared to be running this major disaster "relief" effort at the Nimitz collapse. Skilled construction workers with heavy building equipment, volunteers from Ironworkers Local 378 and Operating Engineers Local 3, many of whom work in the area, showed up on Tuesday evening to help with the rescue effort. Local 378 Business Agent Ray Trujillo bitterly told *WV* how his members were frustrated over their inability to help: "We've had 30 riggers here, professional riggers, willing and ready to go to work." Trujillo explained that personnel from the Oakland Police, the Navy and Caltrans couldn't decide who was in charge, so "the OPD chased off the Ironworkers."

WV Photo

Oakland Ironworkers official Ray Trujillo (left) charged that skilled union workers volunteered to aid rescue, but cops drove them away.

After last year's Armenia earthquake, when the Soviets considered cutting off rescue efforts after seven days, American newspapers raved about their "inhumanity." In Oakland, the rescue was effectively stopped *less than six hours* after the quake. The effect of this was dramatically related in the account of one rescue worker at the Nimitz site reported on CNN (18 October):

> "He said that last night at this time, when he and his rescue team were in there, they had room between the sections of the bridge of maybe a foot and a half, maybe as much as three feet, for them to maneuver their bodies around. And they were able to rescue some people successfully last night. He went back to some of those same areas tonight, and found this much room [a hand's breadth] to maneuver. Just the weight of this has taken all of his hope away."

When friends of a woman trapped under a collapsed building in Santa Cruz started protesting and chanting "Don't stop digging!" Tuesday night, the cops arrested four of them. Two days later, the woman was found dead.

Adding to the stench of blood and bodies was the blatant class and race bias in the reportage of the disaster. The media focused almost exclusively on destruction in SF's posh Marina district, presenting the quake aftermath as a community "coming together." Meanwhile, thousands languished homeless and hungry in black Oakland and the predominantly Latino Mission district of San Francisco and areas like Watsonville down the coast (see box, page 9). In Oakland alone, 1,400 homes were damaged, generally unreinforced brick apartment buildings, many far more severely than the press or the authorities admit. In some cases, building inspectors were ordering people back into their apartments the next day even where the roof had caved in.

WV Photos

Upper deck of Cypress Viaduct collapsed when unreinforced columns popped out at poorly designed joints (left). One section (right) built with stronger columns to span diagonal street remained standing.

For the racist cops, it was "business as usual" in the black ghetto, which was virtually under military occupation. The Oakland *Tribune* (22 October) reported how residents of heavily black and working-class West Oakland found the usual racist police treatment particularly galling because they were the ones "who first rushed forward to try to save victims of the freeway collapse, even when it meant endangering their own lives.... When police first arrived at the disaster site, they actually pulled guns on would-be rescuers and accused them of looting the bodies." The first cop reports of "looting" suspiciously coincided with the shutdown of the rescue operation Tuesday night. In the aftermath, the police seemed downright annoyed that they couldn't come up with any incidents.

In San Francisco, a shelter was set up in the Moscone Convention Center for some 1,000 made homeless by the quake. But five days later, they were thrown out and bused to the Presidio army base and a Navy transport ship to make way for "paying customers"—a convention of plastic surgeons. Among those moved out were some of SF's several thousand permanently homeless; one unemployed accountant commented ironically, "Why does it take an earthquake for a bum to get a cup of coffee?" Many complained that color-coded tags handed out to the Marina residents were used to give these yuppies favorable treatment.

Meanwhile the bosses tried to corral workers back into the factories to keep the profits flowing. An auto worker at the Fremont NUMMI plant reported how despite "busted water pipes and air pipes, broken glass from fallen light fixtures and who knows what other damage," GM/Toyota bosses insisted that everybody go back to work: "Loss of money due to loss of line time was more important than people's lives.... People are pissed off that the line was started as usual at 5:30 a.m. Wednesday without structural engineers checking things out." Around the Bay Area, Monday was declared back-to-work day: with delays on the BART system and backups on alternative bridges, many workers had hours added to their commuting time, then walked under badly damaged structures like the Embarcadero viaduct to go to work in buildings that should have been condemned.

"Caltrans Earthquake"

The quake was estimated at 7.1 on the Richter scale. Beyond that everything was speculation and disinformation. Even the number of fatalities veered from one figure to another; then it turned out that the authorities had no idea—and still don't—how many have died. The high estimate of 250 trapped under the freeway was based on expected traffic flow for that time of day, with the assumption of only one person in each vehicle! There was heavy destruction of buildings, bridges and highways for 100 miles south of SF and Oakland. One engineer who toured the destruction area commented, "Everywhere I turn around I have to take a detour because a bridge collapsed."

Lee/Oakland Tribune

WV Photo

Grieving father Daniel Rubi (being manhandled by cops) accused Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson (inset), Governor Deukmejian and Caltrans officials of killing his son, trapped in Nimitz Freeway collapse.

The predictable whitewash has already begun. Deukmejian's appointee to head the "independent investigation," Dr. Ian Buckle of the National Center for Earthquake Engineering Research, was quickly dropped after stupidly asserting, "now is not the time for knocking" Caltrans. But already, technically knowledgeable observers are calling this the "Caltrans earthquake." Caltrans spokesman James Drago claimed, "I don't think anyone envisioned an earthquake of that magnitude." This is a particularly stupid and ignorant lie. The 1906 quake measured about 8.3 on the Richter scale—a destructive power many, many times greater than on October 17. Recent state planning "scenarios" envision another 8.3 quake. The Bay Area lies astride *two major earthquake fault lines*, the San Andreas fault on the west and the Hayward fault on the east. A 7.6 quake on the Hayward fault has been long predicted. The "big one" has yet to come.

California is the prime earthquake zone of the United States. Particularly since the 1906 killer quake which destroyed San Francisco, the need to design structures to take account of seismic effects has been indisputable. All the more so in the Bay Area, where significant sections rest on landfill, which is known to "liquefy" in a heavy earthquake. Peter Yanev notes in his book, *Peace of Mind in Earthquake Country* (1974), that the soft, unstable soils "act much like jelly in a bowl" during a quake. In 1906, "The parts of the city that suffered the greatest amount of damage... were built on landfill atop the already unstable bay mud." Much of the Marina district is built on such ground, and so is part of the Cypress Street Viaduct. And much of the Bay Bridge, which popped a 50-foot slab of roadway on its upper deck, rests on sand.

Furthermore, a recent study by Prof. Wayne Clough of Virginia Polytechnic Institute ("Seismic Response of San Francisco Waterfront Fills," *Journal of Geotechnical Engineering*, April 1983) predicted that the "dune sands" in these areas "should liquefy under a nearby earthquake of magnitude 7.0 or greater." Was such destruction not "envisioned"? More than two years ago, three different engineering firms warned that in the event of a "moderate" quake, a building south of Market Street "could suffer catastrophic failure with possible loss of life" and called for renovation (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 October).

The owners ignored the warnings. The building collapsed as predicted—five people are dead. Such examples of criminal negligence abound in the Bay Area quake disaster. In the last week, *Workers Vanguard* has interviewed several specialists in the field and reviewed technical materials on the affected structures.

Bay Bridge: When the Oakland Bay Bridge was built in the mid-1930s, it was considered a wonder in modern bridge design. Seismic construction technology has certainly advanced dramatically since then, but as Peter Yanev told *WV*: "The perturbing thought is this was not supposed to happen, and it happened in a moderately strong earthquake. What the hell would it have been like if this was a really big one?" A civil engineer at Tokyo University told an October 18 program on Japanese TV, "Since the Bay Bridge was constructed in 1936, after the 1906 earthquake, I'm sure there were anti-earthquake considerations in constructing this bridge." Yet, incredibly, earthquake considerations were *rejected* as an extra factor in the design.

• In a 1939 study on "Earthquake Stresses in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge," senior bridge engineers Norman Raab and Howard Wood claimed that "well-built structures, even if no definite allowance for seismic forces has been made in their design, have come through the most severe California earthquakes with no structural damage." The bridge was only designed to resist ground forces of 10 percent of gravity, which was no more than the stresses from heavy winds, and therefore involved no extra construction costs to protect against earthquakes. Yet the authors acknowledged that in earthquakes maximum ground accelerations can reach anywhere between 25 and 50 percent. At the very least, this was clearly not a conservative design from a seismic standpoint. Could it have something to do with the fact that when the bridge was being built, as the chief engineers admitted, the "controlling thought throughout the work has been...that the total capital investment must be kept within $75,000,000" (*Engineering News-Record*, 22 March 1934)?

• A 1972 federal study specifically warned, "The Bay Bridge is very vulnerable in major earthquakes" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 October). A statewide program had called for "retrofitting" all California highway bridges to protect against earthquakes. Phase I called for lashing roadway slabs together with steel cables to prevent them from separating. According to an article by Peter Carey and Gary Webb in the *San Jose Mercury News* (19 October): "The Bay Bridge, which saw a 50-foot section of its upper deck drop onto the lower deck, also received deck reinforcement under Phase I of the highway department's earthquake project. But [Caltrans senior structural engineer James] Gates confirmed that the section of bridge that collapsed had not been strengthened with steel cables.... 'We're still looking at why that decision was made'."

Nimitz Freeway: The Cypress Street section of the Nimitz Freeway is an even more glaring example of making human safety dependent on the bottom line. This was the state's first double-deck elevated freeway, opened in 1957, built in an area of Oakland known to be landfill and unstable alluvial soil. The $6.6 million construction contract went to the lowest bidder—Grove, Shepherd, Wilson, Kruge of California, Inc. Hampton Roberts, former vice president of the firm, today professes to be "shocked" at its collapse (Oakland *Tribune*, 20 October). Yet the 24 October *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that the columns did not even "meet accepted safety standards in force at the time the freeway was built." Jim See, an engineer who worked on the project and just examined the original design plans, says "most of the (reinforcing bar inside the pillars) was not braced, or wrapped, with reinforcing ties." The 1952 engineers' manual distributed by the Concrete Reinforcing Steel Institute insisted this was a "necessary structural ingredient" for freeway pillars.

• The weakness of the Nimitz was no news to anybody. In 1977, engineer David Rogers did an exhaustive six-month study, submitting a proposal for a miserly allocation of $10,000-50,000 for further research to reinforce the structure. Caltrans turned down his request. As recently as last year, Deukmejian vetoed a $90,000 appropriation for a new study on quake-proofing (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 October). And they *knew* it would fail.

• After the 1971 San Fernando earthquake in Southern California in which 65 people died and many freeway overpasses collapsed, state investigations called for tightened earthquake standards for bridge and highway construction. A bridge engineer described to a 1971 state assembly subcommittee hearing how columns "burst in the middle and the [steel] bars were bent out"—just what happened last week on the Nimitz Freeway. An October 1972 Caltrans report directed that "remedial work" be done on selected "vulnerable" structures among the state's 11,000 existing bridges. According to *Newsday* (19 October), "among the top priorities was I-880" because this "top-heavy structure" "rests on landfill."

• There were many more warnings. A 1982 study by the state's Resources Agency warned that "the elevated section through downtown Oakland is expected to be heavily damaged" in an earthquake (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 October). As part of the statewide Phase I retrofitting program, the road decks of the Cypress Street Viaduct were strapped together with steel cable. But a subsequent phase, which called for strengthening the critical support columns, was not even scheduled to begin for several years.

• William Schaefer, chief engineer for Caltrans, claims that phase wasn't even planned for I-880 because "we don't have the technical knowledge, nor does it exist in the world, to tell us how

continued on page 10

Desota Barker

Desota Barker, a 30-year-old black San Francisco worker, was shot and killed Tuesday night, October 17, as he was volunteering his aid in the hours after the earthquake struck the Bay Area. With lights and power out in SF, Desota was helping direct traffic in the Western Addition when he was killed, according to a report in the *SF Chronicle* (21 October).

We came to know Desota Barker when he was a member of Local 1457, the American Federation of Government Employees, working on road maintenance at the Presidio. In June 1988, while he was attending a street fair in Haight-Ashbury with his wife and two children he was viciously attacked by a gang of ten neo-Nazi skinheads who had been terrorizing people at the fair. Barker wrote of the assault, "I was wearing a T-shirt with Bob Marley's picture and the words Smash apartheid written in front, which they tore off while beating and kicking me."

Barker and a fellow Local member who is a member of the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense brought this attack to the attention of their union. At its July 1988 meeting, AFGE Local 1457 passed a motion issuing "an urgent call to the Bay Area labor movement and to all decent people to mobilize and act decisively to put an immediate stop to the atrocities of these skinheads." Later that year, Local 1457 was an early endorser of the labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK and skinheads from marching in Philadelphia November 5.

In March, Barker and several of his union brothers attended a showing of the video documentary, "The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!" He continued to be concerned about growing skinhead violence in San Francisco. Those who knew Desota say he was a conscious and conscientious guy—they were not surprised he was out there trying to help after the quake.

Watsonville Quake Victims

The following is a report from a Spartacist comrade.

My sister and I went to Watsonville to bring some supplies to the homeless people camped near the high school. We were farm workers as kids, and I had seen the TV news report which showed the encampment and the dire need people are in. There are about four camps at least, I estimate probably a thousand or more in each one who are homeless, mainly Mexican farm workers.

When we got to Watsonville we found a very grim situation indeed. There were about 1,500 people camping near the school. They had few real tents so they're using tarps and sheets of plastic. It had been raining, there was lots of mud and puddles. It is also cold and windy, especially at night.

Mainly there were agricultural workers and also some cannery workers there. Most of the people at the camp were women and children; men were out harvesting in the fields. Most people were Spanish-speaking, little English was being spoken. Old women came up to the car to get some of the supplies but some of them couldn't carry anything because they were on crutches, injured in the quake.

The relief, such as it was, consisted of Salvation Army and Red Cross workers dumping supplies and leaving. There was massive disorganization, no one coordinating things. We spent some time helping boys put up tents.

Van Dyke/San Jose Mercury News

Homeless survivors take refuge in Watsonville park.

Aside from the relief agencies mentioned, there were individuals bringing supplies. We brought Coleman lanterns, stoves, tents, sleeping bags, canned soup, baby formula and food, jackets and sanitary napkins. These are the kinds of things most needed, in addition to tents and blankets. A lot of kids were running around barefoot and babies with no diapers. Burger King had two trucks and they were giving out free hamburgers.

The Red Cross sent a young Hispanic kid to try to get people to go to the shelters set up by the Red Cross, but for the most part people are afraid to go there. They're afraid to ask for help or put their names on any form, because it's risking being deported. One relief worker with a Hispanic health agency was quoted saying the rumor is that the INS is going to come in and arrest everybody. FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) is denying this, but somehow people don't believe them.

There's a lot of fear—a lot of these people were in the earthquake in Mexico City, and now it's happening to them again. There was an aftershock at about 3:00 p.m. today and pieces of the school were falling down, there was a lot of glass falling out of the high school windows.

One old man said, in gratitude for the supplies brought in, "God Bless America." We replied: the people here, yes, but the government, no—Bush and Quayle just tour the devastated areas and fly away leaving people in devastation. That is Bush's "thousand points of light."

Today my sister told me she was at one of the numerous camps set up in Watsonville, and it started to rain, it was getting very cold. She had heard that there were supposed to be 300 tents delivered by the National Guard. Finally she got sick of waiting around and went to City Hall to find out what was going on.

She was told that they were waiting for some decision, some bureaucratic procedure had to be done as to where these tents were to be set up. Meanwhile people were out there in the cold.

Bay Area Quake...

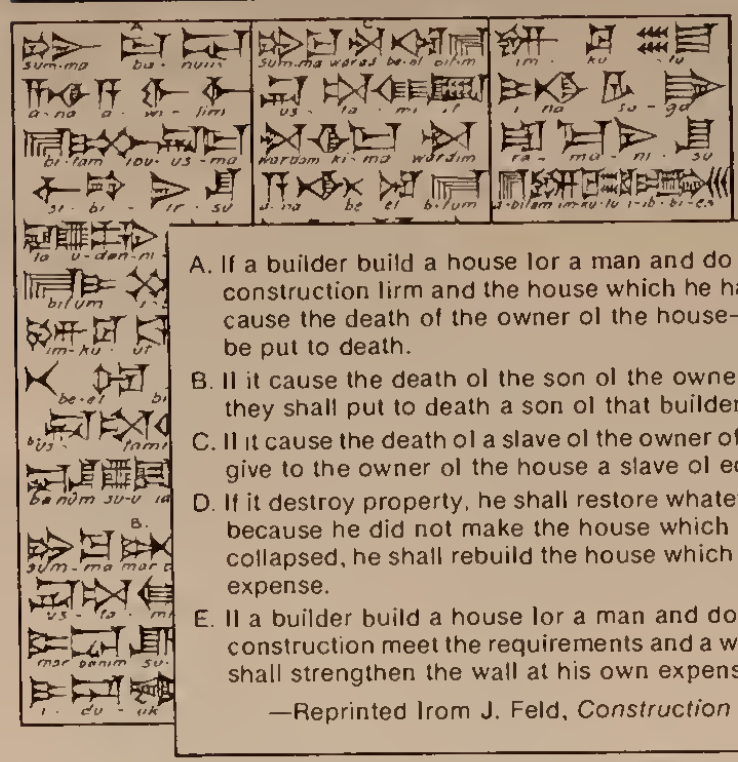
(continued from page 9)

to retrofit" such a multicolumn viaduct. Nonsense, say several structural engineers. Professor Vitelmo Bertero, director of the Earthquake Engineering Research Center at UC Berkeley, asserts flatly: "You can jacket the columns in steel. It's expensive but it can be done" (*New York Times*, 20 October). The Embarcadero viaduct in San Francisco, similar in construction to the Cypress Street structure, already has large four-foot staple-like steel add-ons which helped to keep the columns intact.

• The segments of the vertical columns holding up the upper roadway deck of the Nimitz are connected by "expansion joints" to allow for slight bending. Where there are 20 steel reinforcing rods going through the one-yard-square concrete pillars, there are only four at the connections. This is precisely where most of the columns burst, as can be clearly seen from any photograph. Why did the California highway designer F.W. Panhorst do that? "God only knows," says Rogers, "It creates a tremendous weakness position for the columns." Moreover, as Yanev told *WV*, "in one case there is a diagonal street crossing, and they have different type columns and those held up. Quite black and white when you look at it."

• As earthquake structural expert Ron Mayes, vice president of Computech Engineering Services, commented to *WV*: "The big story here is that the first phase took 16 years to complete." The key is money, as usual. Fifteen years after the post-1971 highway and bridge proposals, a 2 April 1986 state assembly committee hearing charged with "Oversight and Compliance" announced that the 1985 five-year State Transportation Improvement Plan was *slashed by $650 million*, "delaying or cutting approximately 300 highway projects." In massive 1976 layoffs under Democratic governor Jerry Brown, Caltrans dumped its entire structural and seismic analysis group.

San Francisco Marina District: While people lay buried and dying under the rubble of Cypress Street, a huge fire in San Francisco's Marina district burned for hours, fed by gas mains. It was just such gas fires that burned down much of San Francisco after the 1906 quake. On October 17, Pacific Gas & Electric workers operating on 20-hour shifts frantically popped manhole covers searching for underground gas valves to shut them off. An angry PG&E worker told *WV* that not only were the valves not clearly mapped, but some of them needed to be literally bandaged with tape before they could be shut off. Many work crews had been reduced from four to two in a recent cost-cutting measure, as the workforce was reduced through attrition. Moreover, emergency lighting units were removed so they had to operate with flashlights. A laudatory article, "How PG&E Came to Grips with Herculean Task" in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 October), praises the bosses, who had to eat K-rations. But the workers isolated in quake-hit areas were provided nothing to eat through their shifts.



From the Code of Hammurabi (2200 B.C.)

A. If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction firm and the house which he has built collapse and cause the death of the owner of the house—that builder shall be put to death.

B. If it cause the death of the son of the owner of the house—they shall put to death a son of that builder.

C. If it cause the death of a slave of the owner of the house—he shall give to the owner of the house a slave of equal value.

D. If it destroy property, he shall restore whatever it destroyed, and because he did not make the house which he built firm and it collapsed, he shall rebuild the house which collapsed at his own expense.

E. If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction meet the requirements and a wall fall in, that builder shall strengthen the wall at his own expense.

—Reprinted from J. Feld, *Construction Failure* (1968)

Mankind's first legal code made punishment fit the crime. Those who killed through shoddy construction were held liable for murder.

Capitalist Criminals

So a week later, tens of thousands of Bay Area residents are still without gas and power, and it will be a matter of months before the Bay Bridge is fully functional. This is the result of decades of neglect by the American bourgeoisie, which doesn't want to pay for the cost of repairing its rapidly deteriorating infrastructure. And there's only so much money that can be taxed from the lifeblood of the working class and poor. (Adding insult to injury, a current proposal before the California legislature calls for a regressive 25 cents a gallon increase to the gasoline tax to help finance highway repairs.) The reactionary Proposition 13 movement in California a decade ago, led by enraged small property owners, put further political restraint on tax solutions. From Democrats Pat Brown and Jerry Brown to Republicans Reagan and Deukmejian, one administration after another passed the buck by cutting and postponing capital projects, hoping the deadly consequences would not become apparent during their terms of office. Now the chickens come home to roost, but the question remains: who pays?

As we noted last year in our article, "New York Bridges Are Falling Down" (*WV* No. 456, 1 July 1988), "From factories to people, the ravages of the country's productive forces reflects the decay of American capitalism." In particular, it reflects the siphoning off of America's resources from industrial production to the trillion-dollar war drive. The sharp decline in public services and maintenance can be pinpointed pretty closely to the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese people. Significantly, the response of the federal government to the Bay Area Quake of '89 was to praise the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which Reagan turned into a sinister agency for military rule in a fabricated "emergency." In a long interview on PBS the day after the earthquake, Bush defended his "emergency management" outfit against charges of a late response to Hurricane Hugo in the Virgin Islands and South Carolina. But FEMA's role in the Virgin Islands was a practice run for racist martial law in the U.S.

California Highways and Public Works

Who's guilty? Secretary of State Highway Commission C.A. Maghetti (far left) and state highway engineer F.W. Panhorst (third from left) open deathtrap Cypress Viaduct in 1957.

The events surrounding the Bay Area earthquake are powerful testimony to the need for a workers government. Workers committees in industry would see to it that shoddy designs and penny-pinching construction could be vetoed before they endangered people's lives, that lifesaving repairs and maintenance would not fall victim to the ax of "austerity." And when it came to the rescue efforts, it was evident even to much of the bourgeois press that the capitalist authorities acted as an *obstacle* to spontaneous attempts by working people to save lives. Engineer Peter Yanev was part of a commission of American specialists who visited Soviet Armenia after the December 1988 quake. In comparing the official response in the USSR and the U.S., he told *WV*, "Armenia had a much more severe problem," but "they were less bureaucratic, which shocked me." He noted how in Oakland:

> "People responded at the bridge in the Nimitz overpasses. They immediately jumped in there with ladders and all this to try to help. Then we get all the bright people from the state and the federal government coming in here trying to decide what's safe and what's not. Everything has to be absolutely safe, so they don't allow anybody except technical experts to go there. What happens is suddenly you don't have any people to help you to save lives."

In the wake of this murderous catastrophe, you can bet there are going to be a lot of multimillion-dollar lawsuits and insurance claims flying around. Big business will make up its losses (though plenty of working people will lose apartments, houses, jobs). But the dead will not be brought back to life, nor will the criminals responsible be brought to justice under capitalism. They belong in jail, not in a claims court. As far back as 2200 B.C., the Code of Hammurabi mandated criminal justice for fatally slipshod construction: "If a builder build a house for a man and do not make its construction firm and the house which he has built collapse and cause the death of the owner of the house—that builder shall be put to death." The Code of Hammurabi represented a significant leap forward for civilization for its time, fitting the punishment to the crime. We can be more "civilized" today—put the capitalist criminals in jail, and throw away the keys!

Even after years of Stalinist degeneration, Gorbachev's Russia acknowledges that the health and safety of the population deserve protection from criminal negligence. Following the Chernobyl disaster, the managers and engineers responsible for criminal negligence were locked up. Likewise Gorbachev called for the arrest of anyone responsible for the use of shoddy materials or violation of building codes in the wake of the Armenian earthquake. But manmade disaster is endemic to the capitalist system, where the bottom line has always been the only one that counts. Even "natural" disasters reveal and exacerbate the class tensions in this decadent capitalist order, and can sometimes contribute to the downfall of corrupt rulers, as former Nicaraguan dictator Somoza discovered after an earthquake destroyed downtown Managua. It will be the outcome of the class struggle which decides who pays. ■

Arnold Genthe

Broken gas lines fueled fires which destroyed much of San Francisco after 1906 killer quake.

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Boeing Strikers: Win It Big!

SEATTLE, Washington—Longshoremen, electricians, nurses and public employees, black and white, came out October 21 to show their solidarity with striking International Association of Machinists (IAM) members and their families. Some 1,500 strikers and supporters marched from the IAM hall to Boeing corporate headquarters, as the strike of 58,000 Machinists closed its third week.

As Boeing's order books have filled up, so have its coffers. From Seattle to Wichita, Kansas, Boeing workers who haven't had a raise in six years are fed up, demanding a big pay boost and a stop to the brutal and endless mandatory overtime. "I can hold out one day longer than they can," one determined striker told *WV*.

With bitter strikes being fought by Pittston coal miners and Eastern Airlines workers, and contracts coming up at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas, the Boeing strike could be the spark that ignites a labor offensive. But the IAM leadership is determined to run a "business as usual" strike, which means letting supervisors, engineers and others go in to work. And profit-bloated Boeing hasn't moved an inch: on October 17 they came back with the same crummy offer that the Machinists massively rejected more than two weeks earlier.

Instead of occupying the plants and grabbing Boeing by the short hairs, the bureaucrats prefer to hold rallies for the Democrats, some of Boeing's best friends. Remember Cold Warrior "Scoop" Jackson? Like AFL-CIO chief George Meany, the Democratic "Senator from Boeing" was a rabid supporter of the Vietnam War who attacked the Nixon White House for being "soft on Communism." In their own way, the anti-Communist IAM tops wanted to make "their" rally safe for the Democrats, setting their goons to manhandle and harass leftists.

The featured speaker at Saturday's rally was Jesse Jackson, who wrapped himself in the stars and stripes of American capitalism, lamenting that "our flag" is now being made in Taiwan, and that jobs are being given away to "foreign textile workers." This racist protectionism merely feeds Boeing's lie that wages have to be kept down and workers have to put in 80-hour weeks in order to be "competitive."

This strike, like any serious labor battle, is a confrontation between two opposing *class* forces. And Boeing workers are in a position to win big. In order to unlock labor's power, Boeing strikers have got to take control of the strike and the union from the pro-capitalist bureaucrats tied to the Democratic Party of racism and war. For elected strike committees! For an industrywide strike! Make the Boeing strike the kick-off for a general labor offensive.

Haley/Tacoma News Tribune

Machinists on the picket line outside Boeing plant in Auburn, Washington.

United Airlines—An ESOP Fable

When the stock market took a 190-point plunge in 90 minutes on October 13, financial markets from Hong Kong to London were rocked. The immediate cause of the Friday the 13th dive was the unraveling of the United Airlines buyout, a piece of financial chicanery unusual even by Wall Street's standards.

Arbitragers drooling over the United buyout—through an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) run by the pilots, company management and British Airways—had run the company's stock up to $300 a share. In what would have been an incredible bonanza for the banks, United was priced at almost $7 billion, $2 billion more than it is worth by any estimate. Workers' wages and benefits would be slashed to pay the interest on the bank loans, *some $600 to $700 million per year!* That's even more debt than the king of the airline junk bonds, Frank Lorenzo, is carrying.

The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), which brokered the deal, offered a seven-year no-strike agreement and a 10 percent pay cut, and pledged to cross Machinists' and flight attendants' picket lines. But the whole thing came unhinged when the four big Japanese banks everyone was counting on for cash backed out after IAM bureaucrats objected to the massive debt load.

The "ownership" workers would get out of such a deal would be only the "right" to exploit themselves for the junk bond holders. And their stock would be worth about as much as the shares Frank Borman unloaded on Eastern workers before the airline was sold to "Darth Vader" Lorenzo. The AFL-CIO traitors pile disaster on top of defeat as they offer up union pension funds to one takeover con man after another to buy Eastern from Lorenzo. Instead, airline workers at United should join with their class brothers at Eastern in an industrywide strike that shuts the airports down tight. Don't fall for the ESOP fable!

Feds Rip Off Teamsters

When the feds began their RICO "racketeering" suit against the Teamsters union we wrote: "If 2,000 lawyers of the crooked 'Justice' Department get mixed up with the Teamsters, who is corrupting whom?" A court imposed "settlement" in March gave the capitalist state unprecedented control of the 1.7-million-member union. Now the troika of court-appointed overseers are milking the union's treasury: administrator Frederick Lacey is getting $340 per hour; "investigations officer" Charles Carberry ($250 per hour) is leasing plush Manhattan offices and charging the union $1.1 million a year for his staff of G-men; union dues will foot the bill of over $4 million for the feds' control of local union delegate elections for the 1991 Teamster convention.

This is the bitter fruit of the "reformers" like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who conspired with the Labor Department to draw up the government's takeover plans and applauded the March court order. In April the TDU worked hand in hand with the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations when it grilled Teamster president William McCarthy—the same outfit that was Robert Kennedy's weapon against Jimmy Hoffa.

The referendum election of International officers which the TDU crows about is *less* democratic than open debate over program on the floor of a union convention. Estimates are that it will take *$1.5 million* to run a campaign for Teamster International president—and that kind of money can only come from the feds, the mob or the bosses. "Elections officer" Holland is importing his staff from the United Mine Workers, where another set of Labor Department "reformers" under Arnold Miller shackled the coal miners to the bosses' state. Teamsters must clean their own house. The rebirth of class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters would send the sellouts, finks and government lawyers packing. ■

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WV Photo

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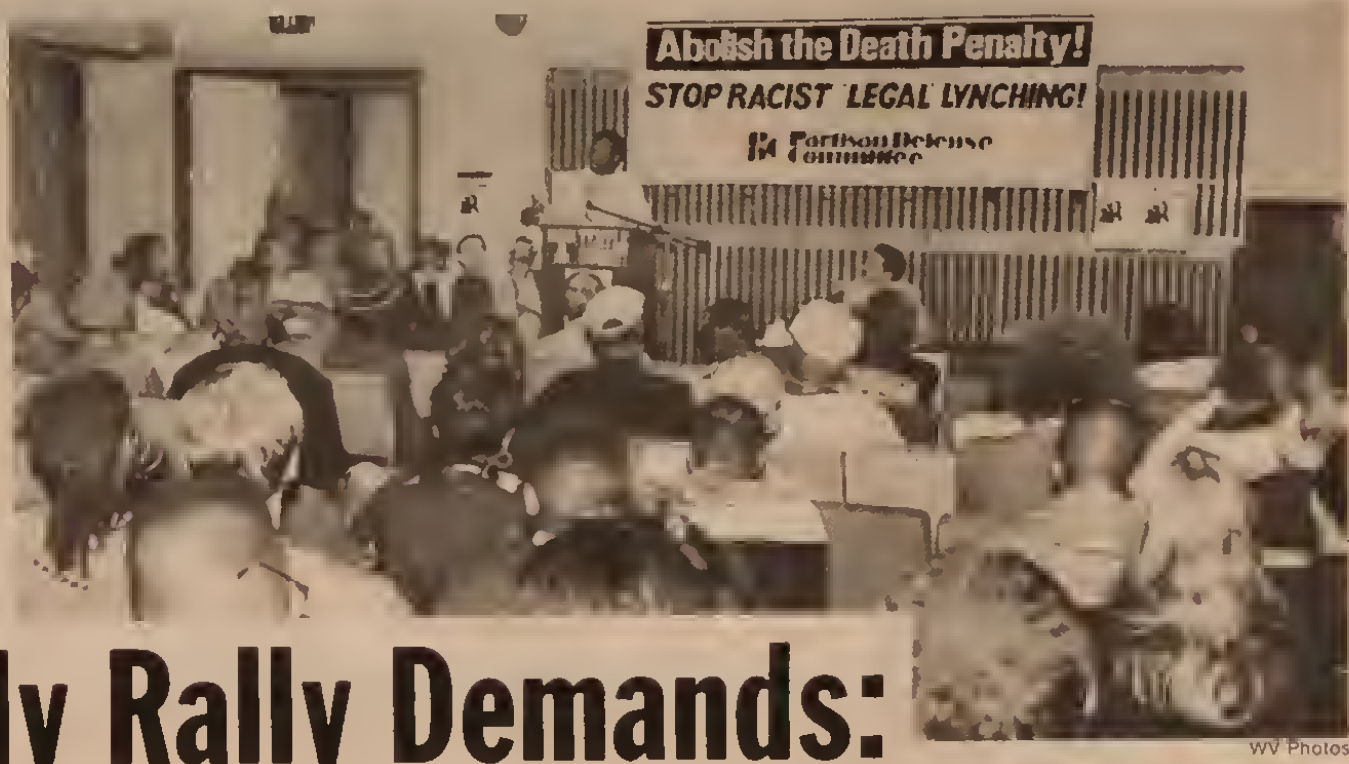

WV Photos

Philly Rally Demands: Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

PHILADELPHIA, October 14—Two hundred opponents of the barbaric death penalty came together today at Temple University in a ground-breaking united-front rally against racist "legal" lynchings. They represented a broad cross section of Philadelphia's black community, from members of MOVE to Muslim women with sons in prison to ex-Black Panthers, as well as students, representatives of Hispanic organizations and trade unionists. The rally focused particularly on the urgent campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, black political prisoner on Pennsylvania's death row.

Mumia, a former Philadelphia Black Panther, prominent journalist and outspoken defender of the MOVE organization, was known throughout the city as the "voice of the voiceless" for his courageous political broadcasts against injustice. Hated and feared by the racist Philadelphia cops, in 1981 he was nearly fatally wounded by the police, then framed up on charges of murdering a cop. Mumia's political views and writings and his past membership in the Black Panther Party were the explicit basis for his death sentence. Yet the Pennsylvania Supreme Court cruelly rejected his appeal in March of this year.

Today's rally marked the 14th day of a desperate hunger strike by Mumia and other inmates to protest the despicable conditions on death row at Huntingdon prison. In a moving speech, Wadiya Jamal, Mumia's wife, appealed to the

continued on page 7

Pittston Coal Strike

The Occupation of Moss No. 3

Joe Baker/Cumberland Times

When 98 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) occupied the control room of Pittston Coal's strategic Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant in late September, miners poured in from West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio to defend the occupation. The sitdowners had taken a key position in the six-month-long battle with Pittston, inspiring the ranks of the UMW and the battalions of organized labor who know the Pittston strikers are on the front line of the class war. For almost four days they held the plant, as between 2,000 and 5,000 defenders clogged the approach road to the plant, *the* choke point in Pittston's scab operations.

It was the first mass plant occupation in five decades, since the late '30s sit-down strikes which brought General Motors to its knees. Not surprisingly, the bosses' media instituted a virtual press blackout of the occupation. *Workers Vanguard* is pleased to publish this photograph of the occupation, courtesy of the *Cumberland Times*, a southwest Virginia paper which has stood with the Pittston strikers.

The miners pictured above, standing high atop the prep plant, looked out on a sea of their union brothers at the entrance to Moss No. 3. A second group guarded the rear of the plant, while a third rested. The groups were rotated around the clock. Inside the prep plant, the miners communicated with their families massed at the gate by walkie-talkie. Workers monitored the plant's systems from the control room. Sitdowners even cleaned up garbage the scabs had thrown about. For 80 hours they shut Pittston down tight—what the civil disobedience and "corporate campaign"-style boycotts have failed to do. But the sitdowners were pulled out by the UMW tops, who *feared* the class power that was unleashed. One strike supporter told *WV* that none of the men wanted to leave.

The sit-down strike should have been backed up by a national coal strike—it could have been a rallying point for all labor. Now UMW president Richard Trumka is looking to the labor-hating Bush administration's "super-mediator" Elizabeth Dole to produce a "deal" with the Pittston Corporation. But Pittston president Michael Odom brags he is willing to hold out "for four or five years." Miners already showed what's needed when they wildcatted 50,000 strong last summer for two weeks. They powerfully demonstrated their strength again with the militant occupation of Moss No. 3—with the capitalists' "sacred" property in the workers' hands. Victory to the Pittston miners!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 489 — 10 November 1989

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Washington, D.C., April 9.

WV Photo

The Battle for Abortion Rights

For Free, Safe Abortion on Demand!

Last July the Supreme Court issued a watershed decision threatening women's right to abortion nationwide. But widespread support for legal abortion among a broad range of the American people has begun to worry politicians, who are now dusting off their "pro-choice" credentials. A year ago, Democratic presidential candidate Dukakis only halfheartedly mouthed support for legal abortion while he was under attack from the "Operation Rescue" squads. Now anti-abortion politicians like Florida governor Bob Martinez find their careers threatened; in Virginia a black Democrat, L. Douglas Wilder, is poised to become governor—the first black governor since Reconstruction—by advocating a pro-abortion position; in New York City, Republican Rudy Giuliani changed his anti-abortion line in the mayoral race.

But in late October the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law with every conceivable restriction on abortion rights—from parental permission requirements to forced "waiting" periods to restrictions on doctors and clinics. This case will provide the Supreme Court with its opportunity to overthrow *Roe v. Wade* completely.

When Congress voted to restore federal Medicaid funding for abortions for women pregnant due to rape or incest, Bush vetoed it. His reason? The taxpayers' money will be "abused" by women claiming rape in order to get the government to pay for their abortions! These categories account for only 1 percent of all abortions—and Congress couldn't even get the votes to override Bush's veto. The unstated position behind this funding measure is profoundly contemptuous of women: only the "victims" might deserve the right to abortion—those who might have enjoyed having sex don't. Bush also vetoed the entire budget for the District of Columbia because it liberalized restrictions on the use of federal and *local* funds for abortions. As in the case of civil rights, his Supreme Court's "states' rights" policy is just a cover for reaction.

The National Organization for Women has called a November 12 march on Washington to lobby Congress. Counterposed to the NOW tactics of pressuring the very judges and legislatures that are threatening women's right to abortion, the Spartacist League fights for a revolutionary strategy to mobilize the working class, together with women and minorities, in defense of women's rights. Our socialist program was explained in a series of *Women and Revolution* forums, "Women's Liberation: What Strategy to Win?" given by Amy Rath, associate editor of *Women and Revolution*, at Columbia University, Harvard University and the University of Chicago. We reprint here an edited and abridged version of this talk.

Seventy-two years ago there was a revolution in Russia. It started on International Women's Day in 1917, when women workers in Petrograd took to the streets to demand higher wages, bread for their starving families, and peace. It was the third year of the devastation and horror of imperialist World War I. This was the beginning of the most important victory for the emancipation of women, and of all humanity, in human history—the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. It's this heritage that the Spartacist League, as a Trotskyist organization, defends and looks to in the struggle to achieve the emancipation of women.

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Philly Rally: A Groundswell of Support

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

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Mexico: Women's Rights Activists Face Torture, Jail

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Defending the Bolshevik Revolution

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En Route, published on Trotsky's train, a powerful weapon in the Civil War against counterrevolution. Cyrillic on photo reads, "Comrade Trotsky."

From Trotsky's Train

On the occasion of the November 7 anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, we bring to our readers a rare facsimile (above left) of the newspaper *V Puti* (En Route) which, as its masthead declared, presented "News From the Train of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council Trotsky." Co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky was the founder and first commander of the Red Army. At least 135 issues of *En Route* were printed and published aboard the train in the course of the Civil War. The issue depicted here, No. 93 of 12 September 1919, published Trotsky's article, "Proletarians, To Horse!", urging the formation of the Red Cavalry which went on to win heroic victories.

The train was first organized on 7 August 1918 to carry Trotsky and his staff to the crucial battle at Sviyazhsk, where it reversed an imminent defeat into a rousing victory over the imperialist-backed White counterrevolutionary forces. Over the following two years of civil war, Trotsky's train traveled from one front line to another, traversing more than 100,000 kilometers as it galvanized the young Red Army into a professional fighting force. It became, as French Communist Alfred Rosmer recalled in *Moscow Under Lenin* (1953), a "legendary phenomenon," whose "extraordinary exploits followed one another without end." But the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power sought to obliterate Trotsky's leading role in the October Revolution, and the legendary train was consigned to one of many "blank spaces" of Soviet history.

In fighting for workers political revolution to restore the banner of Bolshevik internationalism to the Kremlin, Soviet workers will restore the heroic experience of the Civil War to its rightful place in Soviet history. We reprint below excerpts from a chapter titled "The Train," from Trotsky's 1929 autobiography *My Life*.

What was the train of the Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council seeking on the civil-war fronts? The general answer is obvious: it was seeking victory. But what did it give the fronts? What methods did it follow?... We were constructing an army all over again, and under fire at that. This was true not only at Sviyazhsk, where the train recorded its first month, but on all the fronts. Out of bands of irregulars, of refugees escaping from the Whites, of peasants mobilized in the neighbouring districts, of detachments of workers sent by the industrial centres, of groups of communists and trade-unionists—out of these we formed at the front companies, battalions, new regiments, and sometimes even entire divisions. Even after defeats and retreats the flabby, panicky mob would be transformed in two or three weeks into an efficient fighting force....

The war unrolled on the periphery of the country, often in the most remote parts of a front that stretched for eight thousand kilometres. Regiments and divisions were cut off from the rest of the world for months at a time.... A wireless aerial had been arranged over a particular car in our train, so that we could receive radio messages from the Eiffel Tower, from Nauen, and from other stations, thirteen in all, with Moscow, of course, foremost. The train was always informed of what was going on in the rest of the world. The more important telegraphic reports were published in the train newspaper, and given passing comment in articles, leaflets and orders....

The train was not only a military-administrative and political institution, but a fighting institution as well. In many of its features it was more like an armoured train than a staff headquarters on wheels. In fact it was armoured, or at least its engines and machine-gun cars were. All the crew could handle arms. They all wore leather uniforms, which always make men look heavily imposing.... When they were aware of the presence of the train just a few kilometres behind the firing-line, even the most nervous units, their commanding officers especially, would summon up all their strength....

When I was leaving to prepare an offensive against Wrangel, who had entrenched himself in the Crimea, I wrote in the train newspaper *En Route* on 27 October 1920:

> "Our train is again bound for the front.
> "The fighting men of our train were before the walls of Kazan in the grave weeks of 1918, when we were fighting for the control of the Volga. That fight ended long ago. Today the Soviet power is approaching the Pacific Ocean.
> "The fighting men of our train fought gallantly before the walls of Petrograd. Petrograd has been saved and has since been visited by many representatives of the world proletariat.
> "Our train visited the western front more than once. Today, a preliminary peace has been signed with Poland.
> "The fighting men of our train were on the steppes of the Don when Krasnov and, later, Denikin advanced against Soviet Russia from the south. The days of Krasnov and Denikin are long since past.
> "There now is left only the Crimea, which the French government has made its fortress. The White Guard garrison of this French fortress is under the command of a hired German-Russian general, Baron Wrangel.
> "The friendly family of our train is starting on a new campaign. Let this campaign be the last."

The Crimean campaign was actually the last campaign of the civil war. A few months later the train was disbanded. From these pages I send fraternal greetings to all my former comrades-in-arms. ■

TROTSKY

On the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

The Russian workers' seizure of power on 7 November 1917 gave living reality to Marx and Engels' program of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Five years after the Russian Revolution, the Communist International hailed the Soviet state's defense of the socialization of the means of production and the program of world revolution in the face of imperialist pressure. Today, playing out the consequences of Stalin/Bukharin's dogma of "socialism in one country," Gorbachev welcomes "market forces" and explicitly repudiates the international class struggle.

LENIN

With the greatest satisfaction the Fourth World Congress declares that the first-ever workers' state created by proletarian revolution has, in the five years of its existence and despite exceptional difficulties and dangers, splendidly proved its viability. The Soviet state has emerged from the horrors of civil war hardened and strengthened. Thanks to the outstanding heroism of the Red Army, it has crushed the armed counterrevolution, equipped and supported by the world bourgeoisie, on every front. In the political sphere it has thwarted the capitalist powers in their attempts to use diplomatic manoeuvres and economic pressure to force a renunciation of the proletarian content and communist objectives of the revolution, i.e., to make the Soviet state recognize the right to private ownership of the social means of production and renounce the nationalization of industry. In the face of this pressure from the world bourgeoisie the Soviet state has staunchly defended the fundamental precondition for the emancipation of the proletariat: the socialization of the means of production....

The Fourth World Congress reminds proletarians everywhere that the proletarian revolution can never triumph within the limits of a single country: it can triumph only internationally, by developing into world revolution. Soviet Russia's struggle for existence, on behalf of the achievements of the revolution, is a struggle for the liberation of the oppressed and exploited proletarians of the entire world from the chains of slavery. The Russian proletarians have more than fulfilled their duty to the world proletariat as vanguard fighters for the revolution. Now it is the turn of the world proletariat to fulfil its duty.

—Fourth Congress of the Communist International.
"On the Russian Revolution" (December 1922)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 489 **10 November 1989**

Stop KKK Hitlerite David Duke!

New York Picket

An angry protest by some 50 people outside the studios of ABC News in New York on November 2 chanted "David Duke, Klan in a suit—still a fascist killer!" and "Genocide is not debatable!" Duke, the "former" Klansman and Hitlerite recently elected to the Louisiana state legislature, was on the air in a cordial interview with Sam Donaldson on ABC-TV's *Prime Time Live* program.

The protest was initiated on short notice by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and Spartacist League. Supporters of the Freedom Socialist Party also joined the picket. The PDC press release stated that Duke's presence was "an outrage to all the people of this multiracial city," declaring that he and his Nazi/skinhead cohorts "are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, gays, Hispanics, Catholics, unions—all of us."

ABC's Donaldson explicitly legitimized the KKK/Nazi nightriding terror, quoting some of Duke's "master race" filth and asserting "that's your view; it's fine if you want to express it." No, Duke's "Populist Party" denies there was a Holocaust because they want to prepare another one. They are racist *killers* who must be crushed before it's too late! Two years ago, Duke came to Howard Beach to celebrate the lynch mob murder of Michael Griffith; he comes now in the wake of the racist gang murder of Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst.

The protesters' signs declared, "What Does Free Speech Mean for David Duke, Klaus Barbie, Charles Manson? Murder!" and "Democrats, Republicans Breed Race Hate—For a Workers Party!" Mass militant labor action must stop David Duke and his fascists. No Hitlers in New York!

WV Photo

Jim Bakker, Oliver North and Bourgeois Hypocrisy

Forty-five years in the slammer—for what? Overbooking hotel rooms. Gold-plated televangelist Jim Bakker is not one of our favorite people, but we think it's pretty gross he just got locked away for the rest of his life for what the travel industry does with impunity as a regular practice. Judge Robert (known as "Maximum Bob") Potter sentenced the PTL minister to 45 years in prison on October 24, after a jury convicted him of fraud for selling more vacation spots than there were rooms at his "Heritage USA" fundamentalist theme park. How many major hotel chains routinely overbook and then give poor suckers the "no room at the inn" runaround? And what about the auto rental agencies and airlines that regularly leave people stranded in airports during holidays?

Leverone/Charlotte Observer

McNamee/Newsweek

Televangelist Jim Bakker (left) gets 45 years for overbooking, while war criminal Oliver North walks.

Of course, the real issue here was Christian hypocrisy: two years ago "Bible belle" Jessica Hahn brought down the high-living preacher with her revelations of sexual hanky-panky and a quarter million bucks paid her in hush money. OK, so Al Capone was finally sent up for income tax fraud—but that was after years of bumping off people all over the place. In Jim Bakker's case, neither the ostensible crime (overbooking) nor the real issue (hypocrisy) are grounds for putting someone behind bars for years.

Contrast the treatment of Oliver North, the contras' colonel, guilty of just about anything you can imagine, plus he's a big-time drug-runner to boot: he walked. Now Congress is passing a special law to give North his military pension—and he rakes in $25,000 a shot on the lecture circuit.

Meanwhile, in Florida, local officials in the Miami suburb of Hialeah are going after believers in *santería* (saint worship), a religious practice with Roman Catholic overtones which originated among African slaves and is observed by thousands of Caribbean, mainly Cuban, immigrants. Now the Hialeah city fathers want to ban it, screaming that its ritual sacrifice of chickens is cruelty to animals. Well, Frank Perdue—whose TV ads crow "It takes a tough man to make a tender bird"—kills a *lot* of chickens. Why aren't they going after him? What's posed in these cases is fundamental: equal application of the law to all.

In France, the authorities recently expelled three girls from school because their Muslim fathers had them wear veils. Certainly one would hope these girls would come to reject the veil as they grow up, but now they're being punished for their families' religious beliefs. This isn't like the war against the CIA's "holy warriors" in Afghanistan, to free women from enslavement symbolized by forcible seclusion behind the chador. Nor is it Kemal Atatürk's campaign against the veil and the fez in the early 1920s, seeking to smash the power of entrenched reaction. What the French school authorities are doing is anti-Islamic chauvinism, pure and simple—after all, what about kids who wear crosses around their necks or Jewish boys with yarmulkes?

The point is, in a secular state you're not supposed to mess with people's personal beliefs, including weird and medieval religious practices, except when they do violence to others or come into fundamental collision with the common good. As an example of such an exception, in Britain the desire of Sikh construction workers to wear turbans at work stands opposed to safety considerations necessitating the wearing of hard hats. Also, Jehovah's Witnesses have been prevented from denying blood transfusions to their children.

This article is predicated on the rise of bourgeois rationalism two centuries ago. But, in fact, states (bourgeois or otherwise) are committed above all to their victory in the class struggle, to which end they will set aside prior gains of the bourgeois revolution, at least temporarily. Now it's the communists, not the bourgeoisie, who defend the separation of church and state, a historic gain of the bourgeois revolution. In Britain, the brouhaha over admitting women to the Church of England priesthood is a public constitutional affair involving something called the Queen, Parliament and the voters, instead of being the C of E's own business, because it is an "established" church under English law. We oppose on principle unique status or special privileges for any religion.

The bourgeois state can't be looked to even when it comes to stopping those who would violently impose their religious views on everyone. For example, ultra-Orthodox Jewish zealots in Jerusalem who throw rocks at women in short skirts or cars driving past on a Saturday; the theocratic Zionist state doesn't lift a finger against them, but the Israeli army has no qualms about randomly gunning down young Palestinian kids in the *intifada* for throwing rocks at their occupiers. And in the U.S., young women seeking abortions are manhandled by "right to lifers" who are instigated and incited by the leading inmate of the White House.

It may seem a little unusual for a Marxist paper to be defending a high-flying Pentecostal minister like Bakker. In fact, it's not. Basically, it's the same principle as the Dreyfus case in the 1890s. When Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a bourgeois Jewish army officer attached to the French ministry of war, was framed up and shipped off to Devil's Island in a frenzy of vindictive anti-Semitism, it was obligatory for socialists to defend him. ■

Geronimo Pratt Update

On October 20 Geronimo Pratt was transferred from San Quentin to Tehachapi State Prison, a maximum security prison located in the Tehachapi Mountains 50 miles southeast of Bakersfield, California. Pratt reports that for two weeks after his transfer to Tehachapi, he was denied his legal papers, and deprived of his personal effects and subject to daily harassment. This is calculated to set Geronimo up for write-ups and disciplinary points allowing the state to transfer him to the isolated prison in Pelican Bay—virtually burying Pratt alive in a maximum security hellhole.

The transfer to Tehachapi was the result of the October 12 ruling by U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel denying a motion filed by Pratt's attorneys to prohibit California prison authorities from carrying out what is potentially a life-threatening transfer. This decision came only two weeks after the lawsuit's successful reversal of Pratt's sudden nighttime transfer to Folsom prison. Weigel refused to block this latest transfer while acknowledging that it may be retaliation against Pratt for suing the prison authorities.

The lawsuit was filed on Pratt's behalf by PDC counsel Valerie West and attorney Stuart Hanlon initially to challenge the dangerous transfer to Folsom. The suit charges that Pratt's life is in danger due to false charges in his prison files that Pratt is a "cop-killer" and "escape risk." It demands that these lies be removed and Pratt's parole and prison classification status be changed.

Planeta Publishers

Workers at car and truck repair facility in Kabul: development of class-conscious proletariat, key to social progress.

Civil War and Social Progress

One way or another, the lengthy Afghanistan civil war is a decisive event in the history of the region. When opponents of the Soviet intervention bleated about the "trampled rights" of the Afghan nation ten years ago, we pointed out there is no Afghan nation. This is not our discovery. As historian Louis Dupree observed in *Afghanistan* (1980), "Afghanistan is an artificial country, created out of tribal kingdoms as a buffer state by the British and Russians in the nineteenth century," and composed of many different nationalities, tribal and ethnic groupings, and languages—Pushtuns, Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, Baluchis, etc. More intelligent Western observers argued that a unitary Afghan nation might coalesce out of the struggle against the Soviet "occupiers." Under the impact of a decade of civil war, Afghanistan may in fact be compacting as a nation-state—not through the *mujahedin*, however, but against them.

Progress Publishers

G.V. Plekhanov, pioneer Russian Marxist.

This development, and its incomplete character, was observed by the correspondent of the International Communist League, reporting for *Workers Vanguard* and *Le Bolchévik*, during his monthlong visit to Afghanistan in July: "If you look at the faces of people in offices and workplaces, Kabul looks like a melting pot where people of different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds combine and mingle. But then you find

PART TWO OF TWO

out that people gather in mosques according to their ethnic origins." Notably, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is the first significant social or political formation in Afghan history to encompass representatives of all the country's various national and ethnic groupings. In contrast, the various *mujahedin* groups are organized—and divided—along strict ethnic/tribal affiliations.

A determination by the Soviet leadership to remain in Afghanistan until the civil war was won would have had a profound effect on Afghan society. Facilitated by the Soviet military shield and vast infusions of Soviet economic aid, Afghanistan could have built up an economic infrastructure of development, bringing with it the growth of a significant urban proletariat. Instead, with the Soviet military presence gone, the Kabul regime has followed the logic of its nationalist politics and turned to "national reconciliation," while still based upon the forces it commands and very heavy Soviet military supplies. Today Afghanistan teeters between pursuing the road of social transformation begun in the last decade or returning to the dark past.

In rolling back the U.S./Pakistan-dictated siege of Jalalabad, the PDPA government has clearly demonstrated its military capacity to ward off any immediate *mujahedin* takeover. But the social and political obstacles to modernizing the country remain no less daunting. Even the limited gains which have been achieved since 1978 have inspired a generation determined to fight to the death to defend their reforms against the counterrevolution. On the other hand, the ICL correspondent reported "comments (by high-placed government officials) to the effect that maybe the April 1978 'revolution' had occurred too soon, by 'some 20 to 30 years'."

Women's Progress the Key

During an interview on July 18 with Mme. Wardak, the president of the All-Afghanistan Women's Council, our comrade commented "that the civil war in Afghanistan was in large part unleashed as a result of the fact that in 1978 the government expanded the rights of women." She replied that even in the last years of the monarchy, under the 1964 constitution decreed by King Zahir Shah, women had equal rights with men "including being eligible to be a candidate," noting that she herself was one of the four women senators or deputies at the time. She continued:

> "So I wonder why there is so much made concerning the rights of women, that people say only the revolution granted rights to women. On the contrary, these existed, and were even laid down in the constitution in 1964. Of course it's true that without a doubt the number of women who are presently working has grown considerably, but ...they are all equal before the law."

But the question is not one of formal equality before the law in a constitution which was neither read nor enforced. In the early 1970s, one of the present *mujahedin* leaders, Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, led squads of fundamentalist thugs who threw acid in the faces of young Kabuli women who dared attend college or appear in public without the head-to-toe chador. And the *New York Times* (9 February 1980) reported immediately after the Soviet intervention:

> "Land reform attempts undermined their village chiefs. Portraits of Lenin threatened their religious leaders. But it was the Kabul revolutionary Government's granting of new rights to women that pushed Orthodox Moslem men in the Pashtoon villages of eastern Afghanistan into picking up their guns."

Even in Kabul in 1980, half the women were still subjected to *purdah*, while the status of women in the countryside can be gleaned from reports about the *mujahedin*-controlled refugee camps in Pakistan, where the women are not allowed to see even female doctors, much less to educate themselves or have any sort of independent existence. Today there are 36 family planning clinics in Kabul and another 32 in the provinces. Women voted for the first time in the April 1988 elections.

The increase in the number of women working has been astronomical. *Afghanistan Today* (November-December 1987), an official government publication, points out that there were 5,000 women working in 1978. By 1987, this had increased fiftyfold: there were 245,000 women workers, of whom 11,000 were teachers. Meanwhile, 440,000 female students are enrolled in educational institutions and 80,000 more participate in literacy programs. As compared to 5,000 people who received literacy training in the decade before 1978, in the years since there have been more than one million.

What is "National Reconciliation"?

Mme. Wardak's attempt to play down the significance of the last ten years of reforms is part and parcel of the regime's current policy of "national reconciliation" with the forces of Islamic

Workers Vanguard/Le Bolchévik Photo

PDPA/ Democratic Youth Organization members guard approaches to Kabul against mujahedin terrorists.

reaction. Under the new constitution, approved in December 1987, Islam was declared the official state religion and the name of the country changed from "Democratic Republic" to "Republic of Afghanistan." The regime has built or repaired more than 270 mosques in recent years, as compared to 120 hospitals. The government has laid out two billion afghanis ($40 million at the official exchange rate) for "promoting Islam," including the payment of state salaries to some 20,000 mullahs. The PDPA even despicably fell into line behind Khomeini's death threat against British writer Salman Rushdie, banning *The Satanic Verses*.

The ostensible aim of a grand coalition encompassing even the die-hard "Peshawar Seven" *mujahedin* groups is ludicrously unreal. However, the regime is having some success in getting regional *mujahedin* field commanders to agree to live and let live with the central government. Najibullah outlined this approach when he motivated a new decree at a May 2 press conference:

> "On the basis of this decree in case these commanders refrain from war, they can retain peace without delivering their weapons to the state.
> "The state is ready to grant them certain rights, privileges as well as certain socio-economical and political assistance. They can form local organs of state power and administration.... The generalization of this method can contribute to the restoration of peace as well as emergence of coalition administration all over the country."

The PDPA may think that as long as they can conciliate and neutralize the clerical-feudalist opposition while retaining control of the cities, they will be able to secure oases of relative social progress in a desert of rural backwardness (where women will continue to be enslaved). But sooner or later, the cities will fall victim to entrenched feudal reaction, and the continuation of ethnic and tribal divisions in the country at large will begin to wreak havoc on the multinational PDPA itself. In the long run, the generalization of the method outlined by Najibullah would simply end up reducing the PDPA to one among scores of competing ethnic, tribal and clerical forces, recreating the situation which has existed in Afghanistan for centuries.

Plekhanov on Populism

In a July 19 interview with *WV/Le Bolchévik*, the president of the Democratic Youth Organization, Mazdak, put a somewhat different gloss on "national reconciliation":

> "Our objective of reconciliation is not to reach an agreement with our enemies. The principal objective of national reconciliation is to get together with our allies, with our true allies. And we must not let these allies fall by the wayside in the revolution.
> "The major part of our revolutionary forces are the peasants, that is to say, the peasants in the villages. Now at the time of the revolution, these peasants were weakened. This was due to our errors in the program toward the peasantry.... We didn't establish [our line] in this area in accordance with our experience but in accordance with what we had read in books. We said that the land belonged to he who worked it. However the peasants were not ready to take the land. The peasants said that the land belonged to the feudalists, and that god gave it to the feudalists. So we used force to make him take it. However, he reacted with force. Instead of taking the land, he took up the gun."

Afghanistan Today

Away with the veil! Women visit one of Kabul's new beauty parlors.

The sort of difficulties encountered by the idealistic young PDPA cadre who went out to the countryside to "free" the peasants is given graphic treatment by Raja Anwar in *The Tragedy of Afghanistan*: "It is almost impossible even today to convince an Afghan peasant that what he has paid the tribal sardar [chief] by way of interest over the years is many times more than the original sum of money borrowed, for the simple reason that the Mullah has made him believe that unless he liquidates his debt to the chief, he will not be allowed to enter heaven after he dies, but hung upside down from the sky." Given such backwardness, it is no surprise that the PDPA's initial land reform efforts did not meet with success, especially since it often involved "enthusiastic but inexperienced city youth, who would alight on villages, gather the poor inhabitants together and regale them with speeches dripping with praise for the 'Great Leader'," and hand out land title deeds.

However, the fundamental problem was not how the reforms were carried out but the absence of any significant social base within the population for effecting such reforms. The experience of the PDPA recalls that of the early Russian populists, the Narodniks, who likewise "went to the people" with the message of emancipation and likewise found themselves confronted with extremely backward and ignorant peasants under the sway of obscurantism. One of the "luckier" ones later recalled how "the peasants listened to his speeches as they did to the priest who preached to them about the Kingdom of Heaven, calmly resuming their existence after the sermon was over, as if nothing had happened. The unlucky ones were stoned out of the villages or turned over to the tsarist police by the indignant peasants" (Leopold H. Haimson, *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism* [1955]).

Many of these young, idealistic intellectuals were murdered by the very peasants they sought to liberate. Among those who survived, some were driven to re-evaluate their strategy of building socialism directly on the foundations of the village communes of a backward peasant economy, and were won to Marxism. The pioneer Russian Marxist G.V. Plekhanov, writing at a time when the Russian proletariat was also a relatively insignificant social force, argued against the romanticization of the peasantry and pointed to the necessity for the revolutionary intelligentsia to promote the emergence of the working class and a Marxist workers party. Though contemporary Afghanistan is by no means identical to tsarist Russia, which underwent a sharp period of industrialization around the turn of the century, Afghan radicals have much to learn from Plekhanov's polemics against the populists of his day:

> "The disintegration of our village commune is an indisputable fact. But the speed and intensity of the process differ according to localities in Russia. To halt it completely in places where the commune is freshest and most stable, our Narodniks must use the forces now being freed by the breaking up of communes in gubernias where industry is more developed. These forces are nothing else than the forces of the rising proletariat. They, and they alone, can be the link between the peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia; they, and they alone, can bridge the historical abyss between the 'people' and the 'educated' section of the population. Through them and with their help socialist propaganda will at last penetrate into every corner of the Russian countryside. Moreover, if they are united and organised at the right time into a single workers' party, they can be the main bulwark of socialist agitation in favour of economic reforms which will protect the village commune against general disintegration....
> "It must be borne in mind, moreover, that this workers' party will also be for us a vehicle of influence from the West. The working man will not turn a deaf ear to the movement of the European proletariat, as could easily be the case with the peasant. And the united forces of the home and international movement will be more than enough to defeat the reactionary strivings of the small landowners.
> "So once more: *The earliest possible formation of a workers' party is the only means of solving all the economic and political contradictions of present-day Russia*. On that road success and victory lie ahead; all other roads can lead only to defeat and impotence."
> —G.V. Plekhanov, "Our Differences" (1885)

In many ways, the PDPA is a hybrid 20th-century version of Russian Narodnism—a petty-bourgeois nationalist party, but one which looks to and models itself on the experiences of Soviet Communism. This is not all that unusual in the epoch after the Russian Revolution, which continues to exercise a strong appeal to the colonial and semicolonial intelligentsia. In the early 1920s even the Chinese Kuomintang parroted the organizational forms of Bolshevism and paid lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This did not prevent the Kuomintang—with the explosive growth of the Chinese workers movement—from leading the bourgeoisie in civil war against the Communist-led proletariat. Afghanistan, however, had neither a cohered bourgeoisie nor a proletariat to speak of.

In the absence of any footing in significant social classes, the PDPA's bonapartist character was manifested as well in the way competing PDPA leaders tended to resolve "political" disputes. As Fred Halliday noted in "War and Revolution in Afghanistan" (*New Left Review*, January-February 1980): "political differences within the Bolshevik party were settled by votes not, as in Kabul, bullets." The PDPA has changed somewhat in the last couple of years, as the Soviet withdrawal imposed on its leadership the realization that it would hang together or hang separately, and "The bickerings, sometimes resulting in shootings at Cabinet meetings, have dissolved into a united front" (*Frontline*, 15 April). But, in the final analysis, both a Marxist outlook and the practice of democratic political struggle depend on the existence of a proletariat, with a common class interest, within which to struggle for leadership.

Frey/Time

Soviet troops departing Afghanistan, February 1989. Gorbachev's pullout is a betrayal of Afghan peoples and of defense of the Soviet Union.

The modernizing intellectuals like Taraki who founded the PDPA were in large measure inspired by the example of the Soviet Union across the border. However, what they took to be Communism was not the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin but its Stalinist perversion under the rubric of "socialism in one country." Particularly in deeply backward Afghanistan, there can be no perspective of a nationally limited revolution.

Nor are the opportunities lacking for internationalist-minded elements in Kabul. First and foremost, of course, there are the profound links of battlefield solidarity with Soviet "afgantsi" and the working masses of Soviet Central Asia. For Soviet workers and intellectuals inspired by the internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan stands out in sharp relief against the drab nationalist background of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The "afgantsi," many of whom deeply believed that

continued on page 14

Left: Parcham (Banner), 22 April 1970, organ of one wing of PDPA. Right: PDPA's first newspaper, Khalq (People), 11 April 1966. Petty-bourgeois nationalist party was rent by bloody feuding between Parcham and Khalq factions.

Mexico

Women's Rights Activists Face Torture, Jail

WV Photo

Mexico City, March 8: Militant Seamstresses Union contingent in International Women's Day march.

Today in Mexico abortion is illegal and dangerous. In having a clandestine abortion, a woman faces the life-threatening risk of hemorrhage or massive infection, and on top of that the threat of torture or imprisonment by the armed thugs of the state. Last March, cops of the dreaded *Dirección de Inteligencia* (Intelligence Agency—the most notorious of Mexico's many secret police units) abducted eight women returning from an abortion clinic in Naucalpan, the huge million-plus shantytown city on the outskirts of Mexico City. Two of the women were activists of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT). The women were grabbed as they were riding home in a *colectivo* (VW minibus). The cops stripped, beat and verbally abused them, screaming "murderer," "bitch" and "whore."

The women were denied food, water, sleep and the anti-inflammatory medication and antibiotics which had been prescribed for them, although some were soon burning with fever. While being brutally subjected to crude vaginal exams, they could hear the horrifying screams of an elderly clinic doctor being tortured with electric shocks in a nearby room. They were forced to watch while the sadistic cops humiliated and beat the naked and terrified clinic nurses. Held incommunicado for almost 24 hours, the women were tortured for over half that time in a "secret" jail run by this infamous terror squad in Tlaxcoaque, while their increasingly panicked families and friends searched for them.

The missing women were finally located after they had been transferred to an official Investigation Agency of one of the districts of Mexico City. Rosario Ibarra, head of the "Eureka" committee for the disappeared and former presidential candidate of the PRT, accompanied by members of the PRT and several women's organizations, went to the police stations and agitated for the women's release. The women later recounted how the Tlaxcoaque police "said if we said anything, they would kill us." After "confessing" to seeking illegal abortions, they were finally released (*La Jornada*, 20 March).

In every aspect, the fight for women's rights in Mexico involves the broader struggle for social liberation. Currently there is agitation to amend the legal code of the Federal District (Mexico City) to partially decriminalize abortion. But the question of abortion goes far beyond legislative action: women's rights activists face the combined forces of reaction from vicious police repression to church-led mobs, *machista* (male-chauvinist) violence in the family, the weight of religious prejudice, the barrier of widespread ignorance, and the ravages of a medical system which provides grossly inferior care for working-class women and men, and none at all to the jobless poor. The fight for free, safe abortion on demand is a key part of the fight for socialist revolution.

Capitalist Crisis Means Hunger and Death

The eight women tortured at Tlaxcoaque are among over a million women in Mexico who receive abortions each year. Estimates range up to two million, but who can tell, given the veil of terror-enforced clandestinity? The "fortunate" ones who can afford it get their abortions in clandestine medical clinics under the ever-present threat of police raids. Many urban poor and peasant women attempt to terminate pregnancy through the use of traditional herbal home brews (ineffective and often extremely dangerous), douching with cleaning fluid, self-inflicted trauma (such as throwing themselves down stairs), or the introduction of objects into the uterus. Yet whether abortion is legal or illegal, the women of the bourgeoisie are able to obtain safe abortions—in many cases flying out of the country to private clinics in Arizona or California.

In more advanced capitalist countries, the highest incidence of abortion is among young women who have not previously had a child. In Mexico the majority of abortions are sought by older women for whom having one more child gravely threatens their health and the well-being of the children they are already struggling to house, feed and clothe. In many rural areas it is still common for women to continue having children after they have become grandmothers. It is estimated that 80,000 Indian women are raped each year in the countryside where political bosses, *pistoleros* and the Judicial Police still regard women as part of the spoils of the land. In a recent survey of Mexican housewives, 61 percent reported physical abuse by their men, and this was across the economic scale, from domestic workers to professional women.

In a country where the crisis of Mexican capitalism has sent real wages plummeting to barely 40 percent of what they were a decade ago, the ability to afford and raise a child is no abstraction. Consumption of milk products has vastly declined, as the number of milk cows has fallen by more than half and in Mexico City alone there is a deficit of *10 million* liters a day (*La Jornada*, 20 October). In affluent shopping areas of the capital, haggard Indian women from the countryside, exhausted from malnutrition, beg for their small children. If the kids are still alert, it is because their mothers are giving them most of the food. From 1982 to 1988, over one million children under the age of five died. Now President Salinas de Gortari, a Harvard-trained technocrat who is fulsomely backed by George Bush and the International Monetary Fund, plans to further reduce the standard of living of the working class.

Women are often faced with the choice between dangerous abortions (frequently causing sterility) or giving birth to unwanted children, thousands of whom die of hunger or become mentally retarded or physically stunted as a result of malnutrition. It is particularly obscene to preach about "saving babies" in the context of forbidding abortions, in a country where the primary causes of infant mortality are malnutrition and gastroenteritis caused by the lack of food and by polluted water. Moreover, thousands of women lose their jobs each year when they are found to be pregnant. In U.S.-owned *maquiladora* (free trade zone) factories on the border, young women workers must show bloody sanitary napkins to the factory nurse or doctor every month to prove they are not pregnant (see "Class Struggle in the 'Global Sweatshop'," *Women and Revolution* No. 34, Spring 1988).

In no state of Mexico do women have the right to abortion without stringent legal obstacles. Experts of the World Health Organization estimate that as many as 1,000 out of each 100,000 illegal abortions in Mexico result in the death of the woman (*Fem*, May 1988). These are deaths from a medical procedure which, properly performed under decent conditions, is one of the safest forms of surgical intervention! A 1983 medical study indicated that 60 percent of the beds in obstetrical/gynecological units of government hospitals were filled with the victims of unsafe abortions. And in 1986, according to a survey by the Mexican Social Security Institute, of women admitted to Mexico City hospitals because of complications from clandestine abortions, *62 percent* died.

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

We assert that a woman's right to abortion is a basic democratic right. But the struggle for abortion rights is a struggle against the state, which in turn panders to the church hierarchy. The ruling PRI (Revolutionary Institutional Party) has long pushed birth control as part of population control programs which were the Kennedy-era "Alliance for Progress" pseudo-answer to Third World poverty. Under the previous PRI administration of Miguel de la Madrid, Mrs. de la Madrid's pet project was the DIF ("Integral Family Development") program, with numerous clinics and propaganda for "responsible parenthood." Contraceptive pills and IUD birth control devices are widely distributed. But abortion is

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Der Spiegel

Vicious police terror controns Mexican women who dare fight for abortion rights.

WORKERS VANGUARD
Special Supplement

Philly Rally: A Groundswell of Support

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The state of Pennsylvania wants to kill one of Philadelphia's native sons, 33-year-old black journalist and death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, but a growing defense campaign is determined to save his life. On October 14, at a rally at Temple University, an overflow crowd of 200 people demanded "Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, and held in facilities donated by the Temple Pan-African Studies Community Education Project, the rally brought out community activists, trade unionists, students and others who know that the death penalty in the U.S. is nothing less than "legal" lynching.

This was a meeting in Mumia's hometown, where people really know him. Family, friends, many who owe their political inspiration to Mumia, recalled his days as a young Black Panther. They remembered his powerful voice as a journalist defending the oppressed and the victims of the city's attacks on the MOVE organization, which culminated in the vicious 13 May 1985 police bombing of the MOVE commune on Osage Avenue where eleven people died, including five children. They know how Mumia stood up to Philadelphia's "mayors of murder," Rizzo and Goode, and their brutal cops. Philadelphia knows Mumia, and they know he was framed up on charges of killing a cop, victimized because of his political courage and the color of his skin.

To know Mumia's case is to understand the racist character of the death penalty in America. Here we see not only the arbitrary cruelty of state terror, but the inherent racism of its application. Mumia's case is a symbol of the death penalty, and the fight to save his life is the fight against the state's institutionalized racist murder called capital punishment. Because the death penalty is part of racist class oppression in America, the fight to abolish it once and for all means mobilizing the forces of working-class power, fighting for all the oppressed. The Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, is dedicated to the fight to abolish the racist death penalty, and to free the many class-war prisoners in jail in the U.S. and internationally.

Effective legal and social defense means relying on working-class and minority strength. This rally continued the spirit of 5 November 1988, when the PDC-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization prevented the KKK and skinheads from carrying out their racist terror in Philadelphia. Over 100 trade unions and officials supported that action, and many have continued to lend their

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WV Photo

October 14 Philadelphia rally brought organizers from black, labor, civil liberties and student groups in common fight to "Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

WV Photo

Wadiya Jamal dramatically sets her husband's dreadlock aflame symbolizing what the state wants to do to this fighter for the oppressed.

Wadiya Jamal:

"They Want to Kill Mumia to Silence Him"

In a moving speech to the October 14 rally, Wadiya Jamal appealed for freedom for her husband, Mumia Abu-Jamal:

It's good to see so much support here for Mumia and his freedom and the other death row inmates and political prisoners, so thanks to you all from both of us. I wanted to be a mother and a wife of a rebel, a rebel man. One that would fight for what was right and against all that was wrong, a godly man. I got my children, and I got my rebel man—a man that just can't stop telling the truth about how rotten the system is.

How sick and murderous and corrupt the people that are running this system have been and will continue to be until the people, us, we the people, are rebels for the same cause—the right cause. If not we'll be forced under.

What I'm about to display to you is pretty horrible for me to do, but it is an example. This is Mumia's dread and this is what they intend to do to Mumia—to burn him, to destroy him until he's no more. I can never forget this, the fact that they want to kill Mumia and burn him, and I never intend to let anybody else forget this either. I can't stand here and tell you all that I'm

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

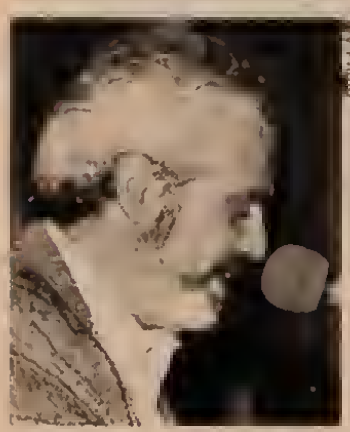
Stop "Legal" Lynching!

We print below the excerpted remarks to the October 14 Philadelphia rally by Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee.

As we meet here this afternoon, we can almost hear the anguished cry of desperate death row hunger strikers from the lower depths of Huntingdon prison. They have stopped eating. How else can they protest? The prison has shackled their bodies and tortured their spirits. How *can* they fight against the humiliating treatment, the assault on their human dignity? The death in life? What gesture can articulate their particular horror? Mumia is there, a death row prisoner now on hunger strike, but always a journalist of political passion. He listens, he reports, speaks, and of course, he writes: "An inmate said: 'I'm tired of being treated like a *dead* man. I live. I breathe. I feel. I'm still a man'."

Like the prisoners massacred at Attica who began their famous demands with the preamble, "We are men—we are not beasts," the death row prisoners at Huntingdon assert their living human beings even if it means starving. And it is Mumia who finds the words, helps to shape the purpose of the cries of rage, the demands for human dignity and social justice. It is Mumia—death row political prisoner—the Mumia so many of you know—who is still, even on death row, the voice of the voiceless.

That these prisoners must say they are alive and human, that they must insist on it with their lives, gets us to the core of the death penalty in America. But to get to it now, we must go back to slavery, to the Middle Passage and before. For there is tradition in this country for marking a people as non-human. The slave master killed his black property



Charles Brover

with legal impunity. After the Civil War, the KKK and the state put the torch to Reconstruction and restored the lethal spirit of slavery with Jim Crow lynch law.

By 1977, when they brought back the death penalty, the Supreme Court was again ready to proclaim that black life was worthless. That those folks on death row, or those kids on dope alley, aren't really alive anyway. That's why we call the death penalty "legal lynching." It is the state doing the murderous work of Jim Crow.

And the lynch rope always comes out faster for the fighter, the one with an attitude, the one whom Richard Wright called Bigger. The lynching is a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. Look at Mumia—because Mumia *is* the death penalty in America. Would he be on death row if he were not black? Not a Black Panther? Not a MOVE supporter? Not a powerful voice for the oppressed?

Jackson/Times-Picayune

Electric chair death mill: racist American capitalism is second only to South Africa in executions of blacks.

We of the Partisan Defense Committee oppose the barbaric death penalty on principle everywhere it exists. Not only is it irrevocable for the many innocents killed, but the death penalty harnesses the ancient tradition of arbitrary personal cruelty and torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state.

So if the death penalty has symbolic value, this is its value: the state decides who lives and dies. The state decides which lives are expendable. And that means that mainly black lives are expendable. For decades, ghettos were the home of reserve labor forces, useful for depressing wages. But decaying capitalism has destroyed the basis for jobs; black youth are looking at 50 percent joblessness and up. The inner city has been declared, in the words of a recent *U.S. News & World Report* cover story, "Dead Zones." Hear that language and remember the prisoner on death row at Huntingdon crying out: "I am not dead. I live. I breathe. I feel." And we begin to understand what is at stake in the struggle against the death penalty in racist America. In the death penalty we have the impulse to genocide.

The death penalty is the signal element in the drive for increased state repression, part of a wider social and political pattern. If the death penalty is the ultimate symbol of increased state repression, the so-called "war on drugs" is most publicized. It means more cops, more arrests, more prisons, more police terror, more death—officially in legal death chambers, and semi-officially on the streets. The "drug czar" wants the death penalty for drug-related murder. But the criminalization of drug use means that already half the prisoners are convicted of drug-related crimes.

And Judge Death, the head of the Supreme Court, Rehnquist, wants to get rid of *habeas corpus*, to get it going sooner. He's embarrassed even the federal judiciary. Halls of government and editorial pages are already ringing with calls for concentration camps, military takeovers of ghettos and an all-sided barrage against democratic rights, the rights of labor, a renewed appetite for censorship and regimentation, attacks on the right of privacy in everything from drug-testing to abortion.

The selling of the death penalty and increased repression as an answer to crime is a dangerous lie. The U.S. has close to a million prisoners, with the world's highest incarceration rate (next to South Africa). And the incarceration rate does not and *cannot* reduce the rate of crime, which continues to explode, particularly in the inner city.

The systematic oppression—the joblessness, the hopelessness—which is at the root of the crime and punishment cycle *cannot* be solved this side of a social revolution. And because they have no solution to the problems that particularly beset those people now called the "underclass," this state can *only* repress—and that they do with a vengeance. The only response of the state to the cycle of crime and violence bred of poverty comes out of the barrel of a gun. It is a little like the St. Croix disaster writ large. If people need food, send in the cops; if they need medical attention, send in the army; if they need homes, jobs, education, opportunities and hope, then drive them off welfare and open up the prisons; and if they protest, fire up the electric chair.

This campaign for death and repression depends upon convincing people that there is no other way out, that their options are closed within the capitalist system which produced the problems. So people have been led to believe that they must choose between the violent hoodlums who terrorize their housing projects and the cop squads which turn those same projects into minimum security prisons. These no-win options are supported by *both* major capitalist parties.

That is why both Republicans and Democrats call for more cops and prisons, more military intervention against drug use. That is why all those Democratic mayors—black or white—cannot do otherwise than to be foot soldiers in capitalism's class war against the oppressed. And that is as true for a mad bomber like Wilson Goode as it is for others who might like to do better.

The way out—the way to victory—is the way of the class struggle. The powerful, integrated labor movement in action for its own interests and the interests of all working people and oppressed. It means a reinvigorated workers movement including a black and red leadership which can fight to win, all the way to a workers government.

The PDC is partisan on the side of the working class internationally, whether we're out collecting funds for the defenders of Jalalabad, striking miners in Britain or class-war prisoners at home. We defend those who have been victimized in capitalism's relentless class war: Geronimo Pratt, set up by COINTELPRO state terror; South African anti-apartheid fighters; Salvadoran trade unionists. The PDC sends a small monthly stipend to a number of class-war prisoners.

This meeting is another example of what is needed. You know that all of us on the platform are called death penalty abolitionists. I think we can all be proud of that name. "Abolitionist" is a name resonant with meaning. Some of the early abolitionists thought anti-slavery was a moral matter; others thought it was political; still others imagined it was merely military; some thought it was hopeless. I think that the former slave and great revolutionary Frederick Douglass saw further and deeper than the rest—for he saw it would take a social revolution to crush the slave system and he organized to make it happen.

But all of the abolitionists did important work. They had their political fights and differences, but they fought to get rid of slavery. I'm glad we have so many speakers here this afternoon. We need to carry out this campaign together. As we wrote in our April issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, devoted to Mumia's defense:

> "Our campaign seeks to bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life. 'Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!' Let it ring out in union meetings. 'Free Mumia!' Let's hear it at international conferences, college campuses, churches. 'Mumia Must Not Die!'... Let his name resound in the working-class movement mobilized to fight for all class-war prisoners."■

WV Photo

5 November 1988 Labor/Black Mobilization in Philadelphia stopped KKK/skinheads.

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Philly Rally...

(continued from page 7)

support to Mumia's cause, and to the abolition of the death penalty.

The October 14 rally was an example of what it will take: bringing together people and organizations with differing views who stand together against the death penalty and for the life of Mumia. More than 11,000 people have already signed petitions to the governor of Pennsylvania. During the discussion period a student from nearby Cheyney State, a predominantly black college, brought in over 100 signatures he had collected; a postal worker described how she enlisted her friends and family to collect 109 signatures; and supporters of the Spartacist League presented 600 signatures on petitions collected during the preceding two weeks. It will take much more than a rally to get it done, but this rally raised the campaign to a new level of intensity, and showed how we can bring together the forces we need to win, in Philadelphia and internationally.

"Wave of Support Embraces Ex-Journalist on Death Row," headlined the *Philadelphia Tribune* (20 October) article on the rally. With mass working-class and black support, that wave can surge to an ocean of powerful action which can free Mumia and sink the racist death penalty. Mumia Abu-Jamal is uniquely *the* political prisoner on death row today. Like the Scottsboro Boys 50 years ago, the fight to save Mumia's life can become the focus for a powerful struggle against racist injustice in America.

We reprint below excerpts from some of the many speeches addressed to the rally.

Gene Herson

Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee

Today, 2,180 plus people are on death row. It is not an accident that 45 percent are minorities. One of the reasons many of us are here today is the case of former Black Panther and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal. If there was ever a clear-cut case of the racist and political application of the death penalty, it is the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As I look around the room today I see many familiar faces. From about a year ago, when the Partisan Defense Committee initiated and organized and built, with many of you in this room, the November 5th Labor/Black Mobilization, when we stopped the Ku Klux Klan from assembling here in Philadelphia. This rally today was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and State Representative David Richardson.

We have here many different views on how to stop the state's death machine. But we come together in an agreement to stop it. It is a tribute to all of the co-sponsors, and a tribute to all of you who are participating today, that we can make this effort.

Muriel Feelings

Director, Pan-African Studies Community Education Service

Mumia's plight is a classic example of separate laws for blacks, a more exaggerated case we might see in South Africa, but which we're very familiar with right here in the United States. We can't forget about our community servants and people who are out there who have dedicated their lives, and are incarcerated because they cared.

David P. Richardson, Jr.

President, National Black Caucus of State Legislators, Pennsylvania State Representative

Rep. Richardson was unable to attend the rally, as he responded to an urgent request for emergency relief from the hurricane-ravaged U.S. Virgin Islands. His statement was read by State Representative Andrew Carn, from North Philadelphia.

The words to describe the death penalty are endless: barbaric, odious, uncivilized, injustice, unfair, legalized murder.

The African-American community should be especially concerned because its young men are dying at the hands of the state. And now, one of our finest is facing this terrible fate.

Here are the facts:

On the night of December 9th, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal was working as a cab driver in Philadelphia. Suddenly, he saw a policeman viciously beating an African-American who had been stopped for an alleged traffic violation. Mumia rushed to help and got a near-fatal bullet wound in the stomach. When the smoke cleared, Mumia was bleeding on the sidewalk, and the cop was dead.

Though witnesses all contradicted each other, the Philadelphia police arrested Mumia and charged him with killing the cop.

We shouldn't be surprised.

Since he was a teenager, Mumia Abu-Jamal was not afraid to speak out against racism. He was not afraid to point out that America's power had come from the barrel of a gun—a gun pointed at Native Americans, at blacks, at Hispanics, and at Asians—in other words, at anyone who threatened the established order of white male supremacy.

Mumia's trial was a farce. His past words, spoken in truth as a spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers and as an outspoken journalist, were twisted and used to describe him as having a life-long mission to kill cops.

Character witnesses spoke of Mumia's dedication to wiping out injustice, but the testimony of untrustworthy so-called "eyewitnesses" had more weight. One witness claimed to have

Office of Rep. Richardson

David P. Richardson

seen a short, heavy man attack the policeman—Mumia is 6'1" and weighed 170 pounds at the time. Another witness said the shooter's hair was in an Afro style, when Mumia had been wearing dreadlocks for several years.

It was clear, to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs. The Philadelphia police had been after him for years, hoping to silence his support for the Black Panthers and, later, the MOVE group. Finally, when he became involved in an attempt to help his brother, they found a way to silence him once and for all.

If Mumia Abu-Jamal is put to death, it will not be for crimes against society. He will not be paying for another's life with his own. He will be put to death for his political beliefs.

We are all here because an innocent man, Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been sentenced to die.

How can we help? First, we can contact our legislators and governor, urging them to spare Mumia's life and to abolish the death penalty altogether.

Then we can go into the streets and shout about the injustice being done. We can make more and more people hear the story. We can make them realize that if it can happen to Mumia Abu-Jamal, it can happen to their own sons and daughters.

Right now, a man's life is at stake.

The death penalty must be abolished because even if we save this one man's life, there will be others whose lives we can't save. There will be others who lived anonymous lives and who will die anonymous deaths. Unless we abolish the death penalty entirely, blood will continue to be shed for society's misguided sense of justice.

Charles Valenta

President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034

I'm here to speak today to lend my voice, speaking my own personal convictions with the full knowledge that my opinion is shared by thousands of members of my own union, and I'm sure by hundreds of thousands if not millions of other trade-union members in America. I believe, we believe, that the death penalty is wrong and should be abolished in America.

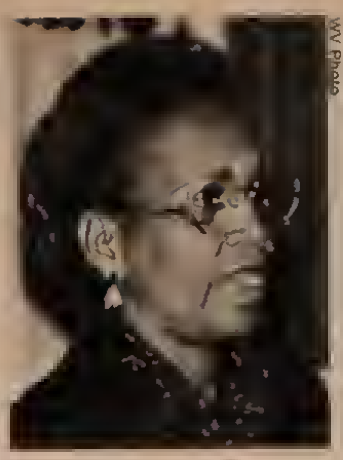
If one person is put to death who is

WV Photo

Charles Valenta

later proved to be innocent of the crime to which they were found guilty, then the death penalty is wrong and must be abolished. If one person who is rich and affluent beats the death penalty while a dozen who are poor or of the working class are put to death, then the death penalty is wrong and should be abolished. If one white person does not get the death penalty while a black person or another minority group member is put to death, then the death penalty is wrong and should be abolished.

However, the labor movement is here and it is here to stay. We are fighting back—witness the struggle of Eastern Airlines being conducted by the workers there, pilots, flight attendants and machinists. In Virginia, against all odds—the governor, state police, etc.—the United Mine Workers carry on a valiant struggle against a giant union-busting attempt by the Pittston Corporation. We need your help in these struggles. And we lend our support to all who battle against the unfairness and the injustice in our criminal system. There is an army of workers out there who oppose the state and federal bureaucracy. And we are not willing to give them the right to say who lives and who dies.



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Lois Williamson

Lois Williamson

Executive Director, Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants

I would like to focus on something that's very present, that's happening now. October 1, 1989, a hunger strike was begun at Huntingdon [prison], one of our most brutal institutions. On this hunger strike, there's eight death row inmates and two inmates who are in solitary confinement. I had some contact with Mumia—he said they were going to try to hold out for at least another week. Three inmates in Pittsburgh death row have also joined in the strike. While this is a very courageous action, it's desperate. It's the only action that they can possibly give.

Pamela S. Tucker

President and Co-Founder, Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty

I echo Wadiya's feelings, in that I'm not really happy to be here today. It's not good to hear all these speakers talking about a man I consider to be a friend, who is kept in a cell the size of most people's bathrooms, by keepers who plan to keep him there until they get the chance to take him to another cell, where he will wait a few weeks or months, and then be taken to another prison, where other keepers will lock him in another cell, until they are given the chance to strap him into the electric chair, and run electricity through his strong healthy body until all the life goes out of him. And there is only left the burnt body of a man with great

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WV Photo

Pamela S. Tucker

Wadiya Jamal...

(continued from page 7)

glad or pleased to be here. I'm not. I'd much rather be home with Mumia, with our family where we're supposed to be. But, as you know, this state has other plans for him.

Railroaded through a trial riddled with errors, beaten and shot in the streets, taken to the hospital, beaten some more and charged with the killing of a cop and cast into death row hundreds of miles from Philadelphia. The state has repeatedly shown its evil intent. Every action they've taken has been designed to stop Mumia, to silence and to kill him body and soul. But I'm here to tell you it ain't worked. Mumia is still here and full of life. Mumia is still here and full of love. And I give thanks from every drop of my being.

To keep it simple—the simple truth and the truth simple—Mumia's trial was an act of injustice. From Day One we demand a new trial. Mumia's sentence to death rested upon a clear injustice, like when the D.A. went into his thing about Mumia being a Black Panther 12 years before. I mean, wouldn't you prefer to have had our young brothers today be Black Panthers fighting for the freedom of black people rather than them being junior black Mafia selling poison like they are today? Imagine the impact of the word "Black Panther" at a misunderstood white jury. And they talk about the jury of your peers! We demand an immediate reversal of the death sentence.

Last, but not least, let this gathering ring for Mumia's freedom. Let the power of the people be heard. Our kids grow older and taller, day by day. Still Mumia dreams of them as babies. This city's life that Mumia gave so much to is sinking deeper and deeper. You do need his voice. We need his freedom. With God's help and your deeds, the work we begin here, we shall have it. If we work together like today we can make it happen. ■

Philly Rally...

(continued from page 9)

promise, great love to offer the world, and real insight into other human beings, even those that would exterminate him.

But I had to be here today. Not just because Mumia's my friend and they're trying to kill him, but because they're also trying to kill 115 other people in the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Harold Jamison

of the New York Amsterdam News

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal didn't begin here on that cold December morning in 1981. It began when at the age of 14 Wesley Cook left Ben Franklin High School after leading a prolonged demonstration to have the school's name changed to El Haz Muli Gel Shabazz, or Malcolm X High School. It continued as he undertook the duties of Minister of Information for the Philadelphia branch of the Black Panther Party. It gained momentum as he developed into one of Philadelphia's premier broadcast and print media journalists, serving as the president of the Philadelphia chapter of Black Journalists, and an outspoken supporter of human rights.

Mumia's unwavering support for the MOVE organization added fuel to the fire that exploded in gunfire in 1981. The case against Mumia Abu-Jamal continued during his trial, when he was denied counsel of his choice. It continued when the jury was compromised, and then entreated to the paranoid rhetoric of the prosecutor quoting Mumia from a late 1960 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article stating, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

WV Photo

I Abdul Jon

I Abdul Jon

Mumia Abu-Jamal supporter, MOVE supporter

I'd like to say Mumia Abu-Jamal was put in the position he was because of his telling of the truth. The statement that Mumia Abu-Jamal was a MOVE supporter—I'd like to say that in fact that's not true. Mumia Abu-Jamal was a MOVE reporter. But in reporting on the MOVE organization you become isolated from the rest of society, the rest of the people in your field then isolate you.

But the government was not satisfied with that. They intended to kill the MOVE organization. And one of the things that had to be done in order to kill the MOVE organization is the media had to be silenced. There was only one facet of media that would disregard the threats and innuendos and intimidation that this order puts on you. And that one person was Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Dave Richardson was a part of an organization under the name of the Black United Front, that helped to draft some information called the Human Rights Agenda. One of the things in the Human Rights Agenda we stated is that MOVE was innocent of what transpired on August 8th of 1978. The entire community was supposed to have gone forward with this issue, and brought it up, but the entire community fell short, fell back, and was refusing and failing to do those things, so it became incumbent upon the MOVE organization themselves to go out and do it. The only help that they had in the media was Mumia Abu-Jamal. And that was the reason for the entrapment that was brought upon him.

I'd like to once again thank the Partisan Defense Committee. My sister Wadiya who had previously spoken, I want you to know that they have helped her in the fact that, you know, Philadelphia don't care, and it's not going to come from the inside out, it's going to come from the outside in. But I would hope that people would take a look at what's going on. I'm saying that all that's needed is that people return to him what Mumia has given them.

Ray Martinez, Jr.

Vice President, Philadelphia Chapter, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668

Between 1930 and 1980, there were 3,862 executions in the United States. Out of these, 2,066 were black individuals. That's 54 percent, whereas during those years approximately 10 percent of the population were black. Regarding Mumia's case: this, my fellow human beings, is a miscarriage of justice if I've ever heard one. If there must be a death penalty, perhaps it should be reserved for a very small group. A couple of names come to mind—how about Ollie North and Ronald Reagan?

WV Photo

Ray Martinez

Ervia Gutierrez

Puerto Rican Justice Defense Coalition in Philadelphia

Going back to what has been said about Mr. Jamal, who was the "voice of the voiceless"—at this point in our community in Philadelphia, Puerto Rican people have no voice, because the racist media in this city have continued to stereotype Puerto Rican people. More than ever the Puerto Rican community needs the support of other sisters and brothers in this city, because the problem of racial violence is a problem for everyone. We know that justice-minded individuals in this city care, and they know that this city is torn apart by racism. We look at the Goode administration, and the silence at City Hall.

WV Photo

Ervia Gutierrez

I urge sisters and brothers from the black community, from the white community, from the Asian community, from the gay community—and many of them are involved in this coalition—to speak out, to denounce the racist [District Attorney] Castille, to denounce the death penalty, because that translates into genocide for people of color. Our hearts go out to our sisters and brothers in the black community, because on May 13, 1985—we don't want to forget that eleven people in this city were murdered, in this so-called "City of Brotherly Love." Our message is that there can be no peace in Philadelphia until there is justice.

Ed Kartsen

Spartacist League

Organized labor must take up the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty. But the strategic core of making labor a real force means breaking with the Democrats and building a class-struggle workers party. A party capable of leading struggles to end capitalist oppression. A party committed to fighting as the tribune of all the oppressed, to eliminate all forms of special oppression, particularly in regard to minorities and women. A party that can unite workers from Japan, Mexico and the U.S. in defending and extending the gains of the Russian Revolution. Workers need a party that can fight for a workers government, that will establish an egalitarian socialist society, that will eliminate poverty, exploitation and barbaric practices such as the death penalty, once and for all. ■

The Voice of the Voiceless

"From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal"

Don't tell me about the "valley of the shadow of death." I live there. In Southcentral Pennsylvania's Huntingdon County a 100-year-old prison stands, its gothic towers projecting an air of foreboding, evoking a gloomy mood of the Dark Ages.

I, and some 45 other men, spend about 22 hours a day in a 6 x 10 ft. cell. The additional two hours may be spent outdoors, in a chainlink fenced box, rung by concertina razor wire, under the gaze of gun turrets.

Welcome to Pennsylvania's Death Row...

* * *

The "voice of the voiceless" is again being heard. Mumia Abu-Jamal's columns are now being published in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Atlanta Inquirer*, *Savannah Herald*, New York's *Big Red News*, *San Francisco Metro Reporter*, *Jackson Advocate*, *Black American* and other newspapers nationwide as well as in *Workers Vanguard*.

Philadelphia Magazine

Join the Fight to Save Mumia!

Join the campaign to save Jamal's life! Organize protest! Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life. Pass motions in your unions, campus, church and community organizations. Publicize his case in your union or organization's newsletter.

The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today the rallying cry in the fight against the racist and barbaric death penalty.

- Contact the Partisan Defense Committee for speakers, petitions, tapes of Jamal speaking.
- Send for posters ($2 each, 20 for $20) and bundles of the campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* ($1 for single issue, 20 copies for $10).
- Send letters of protest to Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

We need your help! Pass the hat! Send money to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal" to the New York address below.

Partisan Defense Committee Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

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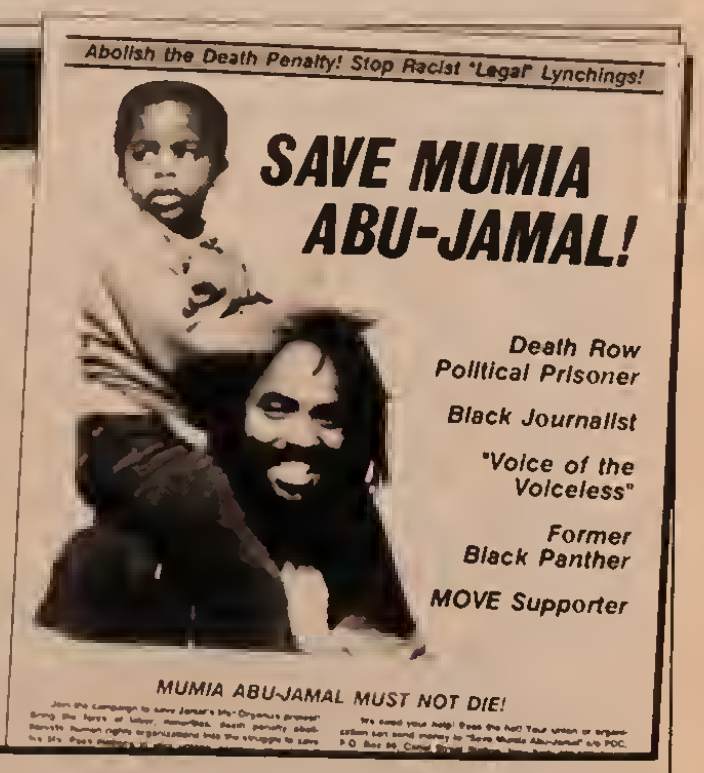

Abortion...

(continued from page 1)

The Bolsheviks put into practice a number of crucial measures for the liberation of women. They made marriage and divorce simple matters of civil registration, entirely independent of the reactionary Russian Orthodox church, as part of an early decree giving women equal rights with men. Insofar as the poverty of the country allowed, they established communal kitchens, laundries and childcare centers to free up women from the overwhelming burdens of housework—measures which sought to lay the basis for replacing the family, the main institution for the oppression of women under capitalism, with socialized alternatives. They abolished all laws regarding consensual sexual relations (laws against sodomy, fornication, homosexuality) because they thought the state had no business interfering in private sexual matters.

In 1919 the Communist Party created the Department of Working Women and Peasant Women, *Zhenotdel*, for special work among women, which included organizing over 25,000 literacy schools. Before the revolution, family life lay in the grip of the Orthodox church and its priests; religious prejudices were deeply rooted in poverty and ignorance. And nowhere was the condition of women more downtrodden than in the primitive Muslim areas of Soviet Central Asia, where women, shrouded in the veil, lived in seclusion, subject to the centuries-old bride price. Dedicated and heroic members of *Zhenotdel* donned the veil to meet Muslim women and explain the laws and goals of the new Soviet republic.

What was the attitude of the young workers state to the issue of women's rights which rouses such controversy today in the U.S.—abortion? In 1920 the Soviet government legalized abortion and made it entirely *free*. At first they resisted this action, because they considered abortion to be a threat to women's health. In those days, before antibiotics to fight infection, it was much riskier than it is now.

The Bolsheviks also thought that poverty and backwardness drove many women unwillingly to abortion and that the real way to counteract this was to build housing, create jobs, education, childcare. They passed special measures to give extra help to single mothers. They believed that a woman shouldn't have to resort to abortion, when she might actually prefer to have the child, simply because she couldn't afford to feed, clothe and educate it. Their goal was to build a new, classless society in which the emancipation of women would be achieved as capitalist exploitation and oppression were abolished. And although that struggle was later derailed by the rise of Stalinism and the corrupt Kremlin bureaucracy, many of its gains still remain in the USSR.

Credits: RSFSR Artist, G. Pishnek

Soviet poster (1920) hails emancipation of working and peasant women in October Revolution. Heroic Bolshevik women (right) risked their lives to spread the revolution to Muslim women in Soviet Central Asia.

Abortion Rights Mirror Attitude to Women

But in the capitalist United States, it wasn't until 53 years later that the Supreme Court struck down state laws against abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, thus making abortion legal nationwide. Today, 16 years later, we are facing the possibility that same court will reverse its 1973 decision: George Bush is the number one crusader in this campaign against abortion. Like Reagan before him, he has urged the Court to overthrow legal abortion and applauded the "Right to Life" bigots.

Just as the Soviet workers state mirrored its commitment to the emancipation of women in a struggle to make abortion safe and free to all, so in the United States today the right-wing attacks against abortion rights mirror the reactionaries' program for women.

The right to abortion is a simple democratic right to a medical procedure, now one of the safest in the world. A part of birth control, it provides women with a small measure of freedom to be something other than eternally pregnant or entirely celibate. But for the bigots, abortion is a threat to the institution of the family, a bulwark of social reaction, which along with organized religion and the armed might of the state form a trinity propping up the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

Richards/Magnum

Genocide, USA: Bipartisan war on the poor means soaring infant mortality rates in Washington's black ghetto. Free quality health care for all!

The attack on abortion rights has become a spearhead for social and political reaction because at the heart of the abortion war lies the question of legal and social equality for women. This country can't even pass a token reform like the Equal Rights Amendment, a simple statement that rights before the law won't be abridged on account of sex. Women are still systematically paid about two-thirds the wage of men in an equivalent job. Even middle-class families can't make it on one income anymore—but there's practically no decent and affordable childcare in this country for women who have to work.

While women are oppressed on account of their sex throughout this society, the burden falls triply hard on working and minority women. As American industry falls apart, concomitant soaring rates of unemployment push women out of jobs. Widespread slashing of budgets for social services over the past ten years has destroyed necessary programs for health, food, education. Funding for prenatal care, care for infants, child vaccination programs—all but gone. Young women can't get access to decent birth control, while the utterly lousy school system leaves incredible levels of ignorance about sex and reproduction among the young. The result: a soaring rate of teenage pregnancy and teenage motherhood unheard of in European countries like France and Germany.

The infant mortality rate for minorities is on a par with a Third World country. In Chicago, which has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the U.S.—over 16 deaths per 1,000—the average rate is half again as high for black women—nearly 23 deaths for each 1,000 babies born. And in the predominantly black city of Washington, D.C., it was an astronomical 32.3 deaths per 1,000 for the first half of 1989! It's not just that the babies are born prematurely and sick because their mothers have been unable to obtain decent obstetrical care. One-third die within a year after leaving the hospital because the mothers can't afford to buy enough food, to keep the heat up, to take the baby to the doctor.

A year ago Democrats and Republicans in Congress gleefully united to pass a bill for "welfare reform," otherwise known as "workfare," which was cruelly called the "Family Security Act." We called it by its real name, *genocide*, because it amounts to death by starvation for millions if it's put into practice. Women with children are supposed to enroll in "job training" programs—yet the government has cut these by 68 percent over the past six or seven years. And if the women turn down a job, they're simply cut off the welfare rolls.

So when last July the Supreme Court issued its watershed decision upholding a reactionary Missouri law and threatening women's right to abortion, the surprise was that there was anything left of abortion rights at all. In fact the Supreme Court has issued a blanket invitation to state legislatures to hand them the perfect case with the perfect legal argument to overthrow Roe.

What was this Missouri case about? Its core is a ban against all abortions performed in facilities receiving any kind of state aid, and banning the participation of anyone working for the state of Missouri in any abortion-related activity, including counseling. *Ninety-seven percent* of abortions in Missouri were in such facilities. Now any doctor trained in a public hospital there won't be able to learn how to do an abortion. Two weeks after the decision a woman carrying a severely deformed fetus was *denied* an abortion in Missouri and had to go to Kansas for the procedure.

For the moment, women who can afford to travel, who can afford the medical care, do have options. Before Roe, of course, rich women used to go to New York City or to European countries like Sweden, where abortions were legal. But poor women—disproportionately black, Hispanic and immigrant women—have the so-called "choice" of having an unwanted child they can't care for, going to a back-alley abortionist who's more likely than not a dishonest quack, or trying some self-induced abortion technique. Hospital

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Women and Revolution

Spring 1989, No. 36
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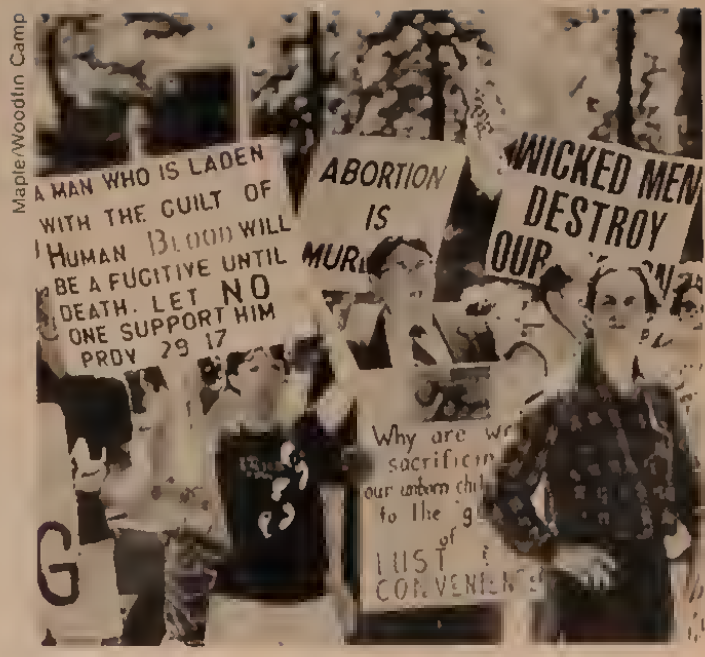

Maple/Woodin Camp

Spartacist League, Labor/Black Struggle League in defense of Chicago abortion clinic (left), May 1988. "Right to life" bigots (right) terrorize women seeking abortions.

Abortion...

(continued from page 11)

wards will be full of butchered women, maimed, mutilated, often made sterile or dying of infections or bleeding to death. Around the world today—primarily in Third World countries—*200,000* women die each year from the effects of illegal abortion.

Anti-Woman Bigots from the White House to "Operation Rescue"

And if a woman does get to a clinic for her abortion, what will she find there? Last July the bigoted bullies who call themselves Operation Rescue threatened to step up their campaign of harassment and intimidation. According to the National Abortion Federation, between 1977 and 1987 terrorist actions against abortion rights have included 70 bombings and acts of arson, 213 bomb threats, 216 clinic invasions, 41 acts of assault and battery, 2 kidnappings, 191 instances of vandalism, 61 death threats and 624 pickets and blockades against clinics or facilities. And that's not even including the last two years.

The U.S. government made it clear from the beginning what side it was on. While the feds are using "RICO" racketeering laws to frame up everyone from "pornographers" to unions, the FBI refused to consider the bands of thugs roving around from state to state and city to city to be a "national conspiracy" and washed their hands of any responsibility to investigate or stop them on a national level. The local courts and police departments usually treat the blockaders with uncharacteristic gentleness, carefully removing them one by one so no hair on their heads is hurt.

For years Reagan and now Bush have given the anti-woman forces their blessing. But the *first and so far major restriction on abortion rights came from the U.S. Congress*. That was the 1976 Hyde Amendment, supported by both Republicans and Democrats, which prohibited the use of federal Medicaid funds to pay for abortions for poor women, *even when they are medically necessary*. By the next year federally funded abortions had dropped from 295,000 to 3,000 per year. Thirty-seven states also have state-level bans on abortion funding. When there was an outcry about this, the Democratic president, born-again Christian Jimmy Carter, sneered and said: "There are many things in life which are not fair."

The Missouri law also contains a clause which states that "human life begins at conception." Now, the First Amendment guarantees the separation of church and state—*the* most important gain of the American Revolution aside from independence from Britain. This is supposed to mean that what you believe about the origin of life, and whether a fertilized egg is a human being, is your own business. But the Supreme Court let this outrage stand. As historical materialists, we of course have deep philosophical differences with fundamentalism—just as with any other religious worldview. But what we are dealing with here is religion mobilized as a *political program*. Organized religion has for centuries in conjunction with the state witchhunted *other* beliefs. It has always been the position of Marxists to oppose such attempts to use state power for religious persecution.

The fundamentalist view that fetuses should be extended full rights as human beings has led to some unintended hilarious results. There is a young woman who's in jail in Missouri for forging checks. Well, she's pregnant. So she's suing the state for the unlawful imprisonment of her fetus! But unfortunately this is *no joke*. In California the courts have already charged one woman with child neglect because her baby was born with severe brain damage and later died.

The "Right to Life" movement also wants to ban various kinds of birth control—including the pill—because they sometimes work by preventing a fertilized egg from implanting in the wall of the uterus. Anti-abortion forces have successfully threatened the drug companies into refusing to sponsor the new drug, RU 486, which induces abortion chemically. If it were available, it would mean that to get an abortion a woman would simply have to get a prescription from her doctor. It would make abortion an entirely private act, meaning no abortion clinics to bomb and blockade. This drug could dramatically improve conditions in the impoverished areas of the Third World, where lack of decent medical facilities can make surgical abortion more dangerous.

Now you may be thinking, how could the government outlaw birth control? It was not so long ago that birth control *was* illegal in this country. Up to 1965 in Connecticut it was illegal for *married* people to use birth control. Up to 1972 it was illegal for single people to use birth control in Massachusetts and many other states as well. Bill Baird, a heroic fighter for women's right to abortion, spent three months in *jail* in Massachusetts for giving a package of contraceptive foam and a condom to a Boston University student as a challenge to the law. According to an article in the July *Science*, in the past decade scientific research into new contraceptive methods has virtually screeched to a halt in this country. The Reagan administration several years ago slashed funding for family planning internationally, including for abortion and birth control, leaving many Third World women with not much to turn to.

The government is threatening to dictate to women on one of the most intimate questions of their lives. And this threat to remove an essential control over their decision if and when to bear children—what you're talking about is slavery for women! I mean, look at the imperialist draft for men. It's being forcibly kidnapped, dragged off to labor ceaselessly in some hellhole and subjected to daily threats of a hideous death in imperialist war. Now women face kidnapping of their bodies, shackling them to unwanted motherhood for the rest of their lives, if they aren't killed or mutilated by back-alley butchers.

All-Sided Capitalist Reaction

For the last 10 or 12 years we've seen, along with escalating anti-abortion attacks, the effective destruction of busing for school integration and Reagan's 1980 firing of the air traffic controllers union for the "crime" of daring to go on strike, opening a period of vicious union-busting. We've seen the criminal neglect of the AIDS epidemic, whose victims—because they were at first almost overwhelmingly gay men—were simply left to die by the inhuman bigots who run the country. The death penalty has been restored. Cops rampage through the cities beating and shooting, while the Ku Klux Klan spreads its killer race-hate.

Endemic to this reactionary onslaught is a broad-based attack on the right to privacy. The White House welcomed fundamentalist preachers who campaigned to get prayer in the schools and to teach the biblical myth of Genesis in place of Darwin's theory of evolution. Now it's focused on the so-called "war on drugs" which is a blueprint for uncontrolled police terror throughout the country, in particular in the ghettos and barrios. It's also part of a 1980s "neo-Prohibitionism" which extends from alcohol to drugs to tobacco. This summer censors cancelled a show at Washington's Corcoran Gallery of the work of Robert Mapplethorpe (who died of AIDS last March) because it contained evocative photographs on homosexual themes.

This was all rather appropriately capped off by the Supreme Court's last session. The Court ruled that white men claiming reverse discrimination can sue at any time against affirmative action programs—but black women fighting discriminatory demotions were too late because they had to sue *before* they were demoted. The Court upheld confiscation of suspects' assets, thus preventing them from hiring "high-priced lawyers." They even ruled that it's OK for states to put to death *children* and the mentally retarded! And they ruled that massive statistical evidence of discrimination in hiring was irrelevant, because the workers involved had to show that it wasn't just "good business" to discriminate.

This deep-seated domestic reaction arises out of a crisis of U.S. imperialism driven by the devaluation of the dollar in 1971 and the defeat of its imperialist army in Vietnam in 1975. Jimmy Carter kicked off Cold War II with a phony campaign for "human rights" in 1979 when the Soviets entered Afghanistan at the request of the besieged Kabul government. Minimal reforms enacted by the left-nationalist regime—restriction of the bride price, elimination of the head-to-toe veil, teaching young girls as well as boys to read—drove the Islamic mullahs and tribal chiefs into military opposition. Over the past ten years the U.S. has funded and supplied the tribal reactionaries in Afghanistan who are fighting to maintain the near *slavery* of women in that country.

Carter's support to the tribal reactionaries in Afghanistan was part of a U.S. imperialist campaign to reestablish its strength and authority internationally. And it had a domestic corollary. The government wanted to get Americans behind them, supporting their treacherous, bloody imperialist adventures, be they in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, the Middle East. They needed to bleed the working class dry to fund this. So there was a campaign to smash the unions, to dismantle even the token gains of the 1960s civil rights movement and to reinstill "family values," respect for the good old American way, religion, social and sexual conformity. Carter started it, and the Reagan and Bush administrations just grabbed the ball and went on.

Victoria Heitman

KKK terrorist brandishing coat hanger outside Dallas abortion clinic. Racist bigots would have women die in back-alley abortions.

The Family

There are lots of lies about what communists really think about the family. I remember being told in junior high school that communists think people should live in army barracks because they're against families. The bourgeoisie presents the monogamous, one-man-on-one-woman-for-life, family as an "eternal" formation based in nature and blessed by god. But Marxists recognize

that it is fundamentally a social institution which has evolved through history into what it is today.

Monogamous marriage arose with the development of private property—that is, with the development of agriculture and the first breakup of society into classes. Then men found that they needed to know which children were really their own, because they had property to pass on. Thus the patriarchal, monogamous family unit came about, which Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* calls the "world-historic defeat of the female sex." Because what it really meant was monogamy for *women*—the by now so familiar double standard.

Today, the right of inheritance of private property remains central to the bourgeoisie's maintenance of its class dictatorship. A workers government would indeed abolish the right of inheritance—it's one of Marx's central demands in the *Communist Manifesto*. It was a very important measure indeed to the Bolshevik Revolution: property—the land and the factories—went to the workers state to be used for the needs of all, not profit for a few.

But raising the next generation—that's a function of the family which cannot simply be abolished, but must be replaced. It will still take years to raise a human being. We say that housework and childcare should be socialized through communal kitchens, free, 24-hour childcare, communal laundries—a new way of rearing children and attending to personal care that will enable women to become full participants in social and political life and that will destroy the material basis of anti-woman bigotry. And then personal relationships could be based solely on love and friendship. Economic necessity and stifling moralism would no longer be factors in compelling people to get together or stay together.

Today the bourgeois family serves as a bedrock of social conservatism to ensure the habit of obedience to authority and bourgeois morality, which condemns as "wrong" and "unnatural" anything that deviates—from premarital sex to homosexuality. The whole question of sex and the family is manipulated to make women, and men, fearful, docile, guilt-ridden and conflicted. After all, in the absence of alternatives, the family is all people have to fall back on. And this vulnerability and traditional morality is extremely useful to beat back any struggle for women's rights—indeed, any struggle at all.

The power of the family for social reaction is enormously explosive. In this country you're supposed to identify first with your family. Then it's religion, ethnicity, race—all the categories that the capitalist class uses for the poison of hate, to pit workers against each other: white against black, Christian against Jew, man against woman, *everybody*, it seems, against Asians and non-English-speaking immigrants. This murderous hate reaches its most virulent and explosive tensions when it intersects with sex—as we saw most horribly last August with the vicious killing of Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst in New York City. A young woman, Gina Feliciano, living in a deeply conservative Italian Catholic neighborhood, reportedly had a dark-skinned Caribbean boyfriend and black and Hispanic friends. And because she'd crossed the accepted line about sex and race—because she violated the biggest sexual taboo in America, interracial sex—the local thugs killed Yusuf Hawkins, who just happened to be the first black guy who walked by.

What Strategy to Win?

The Spartacist League has consistently fought for abortion as a basic democratic right. We also recognized that legal abortion was a simple reform which can do little to change the material conditions of life for the vast majority of women and which could be easily granted and easily taken away. Therefore, we called for "free abortion on demand" and linked it to the fight for free, quality health care and free 24-hour childcare—measures which address the profound oppression of working-class and minority women.

When you want to fight for even a straightforward reform like abortion rights, you can't isolate it from its social context. But the politics of bourgeois feminism, like the National Organization for Women, which many women look to for leadership in this fight, cannot address these questions. NOW's strategy was very much in evidence last April 9 at the women's march in Washington. They paraded a string of Congressmen across the podium and tried to fire the crowd with enthusiasm for endless "lobby your Congressmen" campaigns.

Friends of Afghanistan Society

WV Photo

Afghan women militia volunteers (above) take up arms to defend gains. At April 9 Washington, D.C. demo, PDC kicked off international campaign to aid civilian victims of CIA-backed mujahedin siege of Jalalabad.

The question of legal abortion is one which has produced some differences within the American ruling class and its two parties. It is not insignificant that the *New York Times* has been campaigning for abortion rights, while the "Right to Life" movement has never been able to get the "human life" amendment through Congress.

But bourgeois politicians waffling back and forth on this question is nothing new—many of the most virulent anti-abortion fanatics weren't always that way, either. George Bush used to support limited abortion rights; he changed his line to get on the Republican ticket with Reagan in 1980. And even *Reagan*, as governor of California, signed into law a bill allowing some restricted access to abortion in that state, which was one of the most liberal in the nation at the time. These capitalist politicians know their own daughters, wives and mistresses will always get abortions, legal or not.

At the April 9 march, Jesse Jackson said something which fired the NOW leaders with enthusiasm but which to me symbolized all the dead-end, do-nothing treachery of feminism. He said, "If Margaret Thatcher can be prime minister of Britain, if Indira Gandhi can run India, if Benazir Bhutto can be prime minister of Pakistan, then a woman can be president of the United States!" That's what NOW wants: a woman to run the U.S.—just like Margaret Thatcher, who can smash strikes, destroy workers' living standards, and unleash race-hate as good as any man!

As for Benazir Bhutto, as prime minister of Pakistan she works hand in glove with the CIA to support the bloody *mujahedin* in Afghanistan! A fine leaflet put out by the Spartacus Youth Club to protest Bhutto's appearance at Harvard University commencement last June described what this first female leader of an Islamic state has done for the women of Pakistan:

> "She betrayed the hopes of thousands of women who expected her to do away with the hated Hadood Ordinance against 'moral offenses,' under which women are condemned to death by public stoning for 'adultery' and even prohibited from testifying at their own 'trials.' Over 3,000 women still languish in Pakistan's prisons and more are dragged in each day. Bhutto issued a *directive* that all Pakistani women should...submit to arranged marriages, wear head scarves, and not soil a man's hand with a female handshake in public."

On April 9 the Spartacist League marched under the banner of the Partisan Defense Committee—which read "No to the Veil! Defend Afghan Women! Support Jalalabad Victims of CIA Cutthroats!"—as the kickoff of an international campaign organized by the PDC to raise money for the aid of the victims of the reactionary *mujahedin*. Last February Gorbachev, to appease the U.S. imperialists, withdrew the Red Army from Afghanistan. The *mujahedin*, backed by the U.S. and its ally Pakistan, began a drive on the strategic city of Jalalabad, whose fall would open the road to Kabul.

The fall of Afghanistan to the reactionary *mujahedin* would mean not only re-enslavement and mass slaughter for the people of Afghanistan, but a strengthening of counterrevolution across the world. The U.S. would have a dagger pointed at the heart of the Soviet Union, which borders Afghanistan. Thus the battle of Afghanistan raises the crucial question of defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism. A victory for U.S. imperialism would also greatly strengthen the forces of domestic reaction here. It would certainly make it all the harder to do what's needed to even begin to defend abortion rights in this country.

We also marched under the banner: "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!" Because decisive action can really only be taken by the one force in this country that can make the capitalists sit up and listen: the working class. The workers have enormous social power because by withholding their labor power they deprive capitalism of its reason for existence: profits. They can and must be mobilized in defense of abortion rights, not for any lobbying but for a class-struggle fight for rights for *all*. The Spartacist League calls for a massive mobilization of labor, together with women and minorities, to keep the clinics open—it's this kind of show of strength that could bring out many others in support of women's rights.

Such struggles must be part of the building of a new party, a multiracial workers party opposed to the Democrats and Republicans, the parties of capitalism. A class-struggle strategy to fight for women's rights, against racist terror, against *all* capitalist attacks, can win. Last fall we saw it in action, at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Philadelphia. Massive support for the Partisan Defense Committee's call for mobilizing labor/black power kept the killer Klansmen off the streets of Philadelphia.

At root, all the exploited and oppressed have a *common interest* to fight against capitalist reaction. This is no abstract point, but hits us all in our daily lives. It's purely artificial to divorce abortion from the question of access to health care, as NOW does. Over the past ten years all of us have faced astronomical increases in the cost of medical care. The American system of medicine for profit has spawned a deep-going crisis in health care. Hospitals close, they groan with debt, people pay hundreds, thousands more out of pocket or simply go without needed care, as insurance plans vanish or cover less and less.

And it is no coincidence that the strikes going on in this country—the miners in Pittston, the telephone workers—are largely against attempts to further cut or eliminate health care benefits. If you tap the power of the labor movement for "free quality health care for all" you have a link between the most oppressed and the social might of the working class. So there is an alternative to this passive do-nothing strategy of relying on the cops and courts.

There is another women's movement: the women who have joined in the front ranks of every revolutionary struggle on this planet, the women workers who sparked the Russian Revolution when they marched on International Women's Day in 1917. When the October Revolution smashed the old tsarist society in Russia, militant women were among the first recruits to communism in dozens of countries where women were oppressed by semi-feudal conditions and "customs." They recognized a road forward to uprooting social reaction and building a society freed from sexual, racial and class inequality.

We need an international revolutionary party—a reborn Trotskyist Fourth International, a tribune of the people, which will fight for all the oppressed and exploited, and against all reaction. We must carry the struggles of the other women's movement forward to international socialist revolution. Then the trinity of reaction—the family, organized religion and the state—will let go its grip on us as we build a new social order free from exploitation and oppression. ■

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Mexico...

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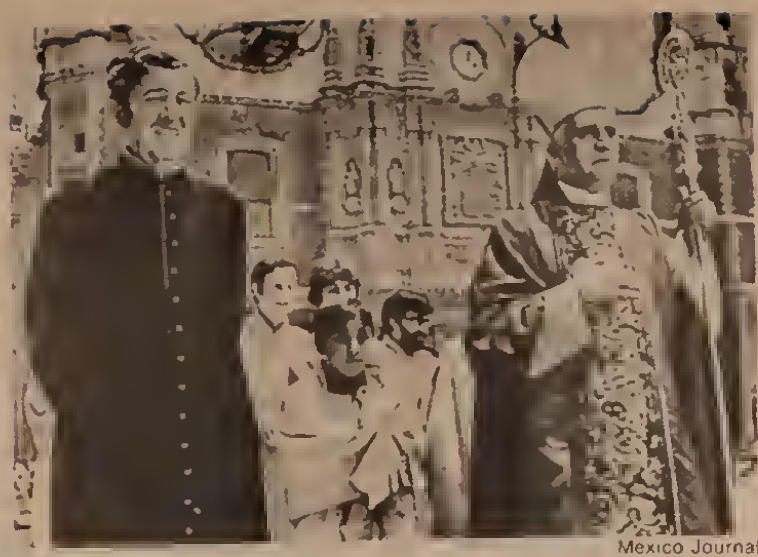
another matter, because here is where the battle line has been drawn by the Catholic church, the principal force for anti-woman backwardness in Mexico.

The anti-abortion reactionaries of the clerical-led Pro Vida ("Pro-Life") movement seized on the Tlaxcoaque raid in March to step up their agitation against abortion, pressuring government officials to raid more clinics. They offered to provide the addresses of 12 more clinics in the area to the government, which declared itself "open to the proposals of the Pro Vida committee" to eradicate abortion (*La Jornada*, 26 March). In 1988, clerical reactionaries of the National Synarchist Union led a demonstration of 100,000 in the capital threatening to lynch artist Roland de la Rosa and burn the Museum of Modern Art for displaying de la Rosa's montage which superimposed the face and bare breasts of Marilyn Monroe over the Virgin of Guadalupe. The church has built a cult around the "brown virgin," the "little mother" of Mexico, to foster humility, patience and passive endurance of suffering—held up by reactionary forces as the model for Mexican womanhood.

In the last year, there has been a good deal of agitation for abortion rights in Mexico. On April 9, as hundreds of thousands of women marched in Washington, pro-abortion activists picketed the U.S. embassy in Mexico City. Recent magazine and newspaper ads calling for legalization without qualifications have appeared, signed by leftists and feminists, and well-known artists and writers. In 1983 an amendment to the Penal Code of the Federal District (Mexico City) was defeated which would have granted the right of abortion within three months of conception, under various circumstances including rape, severe physical or mental deformation of the fetus, or "grave and proven" economic hardship. But in the current proposal to amend the Penal Code with a qualified decriminalization of abortion, in open capitulation to the church hierarchy the clause on grave economic hardship has been omitted.

Cambio 16



Mexico Journal

Struggle for survival in impoverished shantytowns ringing Mexico City (left). Catholic church is the principal force for anti-woman reaction.

In 1979 the deputies of the ostensibly Trotskyist PRT, along with various feminist deputies and members of the former Communist Party, put forward a bill in Congress for "voluntary maternity" which called for complete legalization of abortion. Reactionary forces organized demonstrations against this bill, even attacking its known supporters in the streets. But reflecting nationalist opposition to birth control as an imperialist plot, a view widespread in the *machista* Latin American left, the PRT repeatedly emphasizes that abortion "is not, therefore, a method of birth control nor a contraceptive method, which governments have used in accordance with the interests of the bourgeoisie in certain historic periods," but rather it can only be "the *last recourse* in the face of an unwanted pregnancy" (*Bandera Socialista* pamphlet, July 1989).

The punk/surrealist popular-frontists of *La Guillotina* (June 1989) go even further along these lines, saying "if contraceptives were 100 percent sure, free, and there was effective education and true sexual freedom perhaps we could all be anti-abortionists." In fact, the bourgeois-nationalist Revolutionary Democratic Party of ex-PRI leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas has a more forthright defense of "decriminalizing voluntary abortion to be regulated as a free and technically qualified health service" (Draft Program of the PRD). We Trotskyists are for free and safe abortion on demand, and full access to all available birth control procedures. Notably, the RU 486 "French abortion pill" has the potential of making abortion an essentially private matter for the woman concerned.

But to win such a demand will mean a full-scale battle with the forces of reaction, beginning with the church, which neither the reformist left nor the Cardenista popular front will undertake. In fact, as part of their bloc with the rightist and Catholic-dominated PAN (National Action Party), the former Stalinists who are now the organizational apparatus for Cárdenas' PRD sought to overturn the 1917 Constitution's prohibition on clerical participation in politics. The ostensibly revolutionary left, meanwhile, has traditionally ignored the struggle against women's oppression or, in recent years, relegated this to the status of a special "woman's issue." Yet the struggle for the liberation of women is integral to the class struggle for socialist revolution. Significantly, the only country in Latin America where abortion is legal, aside from the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, is Cuba.

Women played an important role in the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, symbolized in the figure of the *soldadera* peasant fighter. Today, women are in the forefront of many struggles, from the community groups and September 19 Seamstresses Union which arose after the 1985 earthquake, to the insurgent teachers who led marches of hundreds of thousands of opposition unionists in Mexico City this last spring. The revolutionary vanguard party, as the most consistent fighter for the emancipation of women and champion of all the oppressed, will win the most conscious women militants to its program of socialist revolution. The emancipation of women will be won through the victory of all the working class. Free, safe abortion on demand! End forced sterilization! Free quality health care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

they were carrying out their internationalist duty as they understood it, are among the most politically active elements among Soviet youth today.

Moreover, Kabul itself has been a haven for leftist exiles from the Khomeini theocracy in Iran and from military repression in Pakistan. The imperialist-imposed borders in the region cut through the living bodies of entire peoples, notably the Baluchis and the Pushtuns, and Pakistan is openly intent on gobbling up a huge chunk of Afghanistan. Both Pakistan and Iran are prison houses of peoples and both have substantial proletarian concentrations. Left-leaning Baluchi nationalists in Pakistan looked to the PDPA in power to lend support to their struggle for self-determination; had that support come, it could have torn apart Zia's Pakistan. The degree to which the imperialists and their regional gendarmes feared the spread of revolutionary ferment throughout the region as a result of the 1978 PDPA takeover was described by Fred Halliday at the time:

> "Afghanistan has long played a major role in Pakistani politics, by claiming to champion the cause of the six million Pushtuns or Pathans who live in northwest Pakistan and to a lesser extent the three million Baluchis in the west of the country. A militant government in Afghanistan is seen as posing a threat to Islamabad's control of these territories, and hence to the survival of the Pakistani junta itself, still struggling to restabilize the country after the overthrow of Bhutto. In Iran, where twenty-five years of political oppression have now been answered by a massive popular upsurge, the dramatic appearance on the country's eastern flank of the PDPA government has provoked great concern."
>
> —"Revolution in Afghanistan," *New Left Review* (November-December 1978)

Le Bolchévik

Paris, May 1989: International Communist League campaigns for aid to embattled Jalalabad.

If anything, the situation in Iran and Pakistan is even riper for revolutionary agitation today than ten years ago. The Pakistani regime of Benazir Bhutto is divided and the masses are increasingly fed up with the exactions imposed upon them by Pakistan's support to the *mujahedin*. At the same time as the *WV*/*Le Bolchévik* correspondent was in Kabul, there was a visiting delegation of sympathetic Pakistani journalists. Meanwhile, after more than ten years of an Islamic theocracy and the bloodletting of the fratricidal war with Iraq, there is evidence of an upswing in strike activity among the historically combative Iranian proletariat and the Teheran regime appears increasingly fragile. But rather than seek to encourage popular upheavals or resistance against the reactionary rulers of neighboring countries, the Kabul regime goes out of its way to conciliate them, actively pursuing an understanding with Teheran, pressuring Bhutto for an accord, vowing it "firmly believes in strengthening Islamic solidarity" (Bakhtar press release, 19 March 1989).

Even more strategically powerful than the proletariat of Iran and Pakistan is that of India. Indian leftists have generally expressed sympathy for the Afghan PDPA against the American/Pakistani-backed *mujahedin*. And the Gandhi regime in New Delhi has maintained cordial diplomatic relations with Kabul on the cynical nationalist principle that "the enemy of my enemy (i.e., Pakistan) is my friend." But the true friend of social liberation for the Afghan peoples is not the wretched Indian national bourgeoisie but the Indian working class. Proletarian revolution in India would not only sweep away the reactionary institutions of that benighted country (the caste system, untouchability, "bride-burning," etc.) but also help bring social progress to the entire region.

What we said before the Soviet intervention applies with equal force to Afghanistan today:

> "Destroying the power of the mullahs, the landlords and the usurers of the Muslim East cannot be achieved by modernizing army officers, but only by a class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat. Pulling Afghanistan out of the muck and gore of feudal barbarism will be achieved through proletarian social revolutions in Iran, Pakistan and India linked to proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR."
>
> —*WV* No. 239, 14 September 1979

An internationalist perspective can have a powerful impact on the deeply oppressed peoples of the region. The PDC's Jalalabad aid campaign elicited support from people from all ethnic and national backgrounds: anti-Zionist Jews and North African Arabs, East Indian women and Sikh men. Several young Turkish women in West Berlin who donated said, "We know what Islamic terror means." At the same time, the Spartacus Youth Club organized a demonstration against Benazir Bhutto at Harvard University, denouncing her as a "linchpin of the CIA's bloody Afghan war" and protesting the plight of women in Pakistan who are jailed and stoned to death under the hated "Hadood Ordinance." The protest struck a chord as far away as the South Asian community in Britain, where it received prominent coverage in both the English-language *Asian Times* and in London's *Sher-E-Punjab* weekly.

Under the best of circumstances, a nationalist Afghanistan can aspire to nothing more than an impoverished, pastoral existence. But Afghanistan stands at the crossroads of Central Asia. With a revolutionary-internationalist perspective, the Afghan struggle against imperialist-backed reaction can be a catalyst for socialist revolution throughout the region. As we wrote in "Front Line Afghanistan" (*WV* No. 482, 21 July): "Jalalabad besieged was the focal point of imperialism's *jihad* (holy war) against social progress and the Soviet Union. Jalalabad victorious can inspire revolutionary struggle throughout the region, from India to Turkey. That requires above all the program of Leninist internationalism, the banner of the International Communist League." ■

E. Germany

(continued from page 16)

shortages, one of the most widespread chants in the oppositional demos was "We're staying here!"

A yardstick for the expanding protests were the mushrooming Monday night marches in Leipzig: an estimated 70,000 on October 9, 100,000 a week later, 300,000 on the 23rd and over 500,000 on the 30th. The demonstrations were concentrated in the red belt of industrial cities south of Berlin (Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Halle). The bureaucracy tried to contain them by mobilizing factory militias. But demonstrators fraternized with the militia members, one of whom in Leipzig said he and his colleagues shared the protesters' concerns. Strikes were threatened, and there was a four-hour work stoppage at the giant Buna chemical works. However, an attempt by social-democrats to form a Solidarność-style anti-Communist "free union" in East Berlin fizzled. And at a demonstration of some 40,000 in the northern town of Schwerin, a large banner proclaimed: "Socialism Yes, Capitalism No."

The escalating unrest led to a palace revolt in the upper spheres of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED). A narrow majority in the Political Bureau opposed a bloody police suppression of the October 9 Leipzig demo. Ten days later Honecker was ousted as head of state and party, replaced by his former protégé Egon Krenz. As security minister, Krenz has had a hard time passing himself off as a reformer, having been responsible for grossly falsifying the results of May local elections and praising the June 4 Beijing massacre. Along with Honecker, economics minister Mittag and ideology chief Herrmann were dumped. Two weeks later, five more Politburo members (all over 70 years old) were ousted, and education minister Margot Honecker resigned. But a purge of the doddering "polithureaucracy" was not enough to head off the protests.

So on Saturday, November 4 a mammoth flood of people jammed into East Berlin's Alexanderplatz after marching past the East German parliament building. Estimates of the size of the crowd range up to one million people—a sizable percentage of the DDR's total population of 17 million. The first-ever authorized opposition protest was called by an association of theater employees, but the tone was set by the Neues Forum (New Forum), a two-month-old dissident group. For the first time there were numerous banners, mostly homemade. Many called for free elections, freedom to travel, freedom of the press. There were many humorous touches, such as a caricature of the ever-smiling Krenz as the wolf in Little Red Riding Hood with the comment, "Grandmother, what big teeth you have!"

From the podium, writer Stefan Heym was enthusiastically received when he declared, "Socialism, not Stalinist but the real thing, which we want to finally build, for our benefit and that of all Germany, is unthinkable without democracy." Another prominent author, Christa Wolf, called for "a revolution from below," adding poetically, "So let's dream, with our minds wide awake. Imagine that there is socialism, and nobody leaves." Berlin SED leader Günter Schabowski, a quintessential fat-jowled Prussian bureaucrat used to barking commands in between sausage sandwiches, was drowned out by jeers, whistles and shouts of "shut up!" and "resign!" The former head of the security police, the historically sinister Markus Wolf, was also booed, but having gone over to the other side stood his ground and closed with the only explicit praise for Gorbachev and his policies of glasnost ("openness") and perestroika market reforms.

There was a lot of hatred of the secret police (Stasi), with slogans referring to them as "130,000 useless eaters" and proposing "Without work, no pay, put the Stasi to work" and "For a life without Stasi terror." Both Manfred Gerlach of the Liberal-Democratic Party, who is now offering himself as an alternative to his longtime SED allies, and a newly founded Social Democratic Party (SDP) called for a market economy. But while the prevailing tone in the demonstration tended to the right, toward social democracy, there were quite a few leftist and explicitly pro-communist slogans. Thus one banner declared, "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" Another bore the message: "For a German soviet republic! Build soviets!" One placard said: "Hungary '56, China '89" and listed other countries and dates when the Stalinists had smashed mass uprisings; another sign referring to the Beijing massacre ended with a call "For a new communist party." That is indeed the key—a genuine Bolshevik leadership.

For Revolutionary Reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

Noteworthy about the mass demonstrations in East Germany is that the discourse is in "socialist" terms. There is real pride, extending far beyond the ruling party, in the achievements of the DDR, which in a resource-poor area has risen from the rubble of World War II to become the tenth-ranked industrial country in the world. Many rightly see the full employment, low-cost housing, free education and health care as basic rights that have been won. Compared to elsewhere in East Europe, there is relatively little support for a "market economy." Many protesters say that perestroika reforms are unnecessary due to the relatively good performance of the DDR's planned economy. Likewise with calls for "socialism with democracy." For some of the leaders of dissident groups like Bärbel Bohley's New Forum, Democracy Now, Democratic Upheaval—all in the orbit of the Lutheran church—this may be a cautious hint at Western-style social democracy. But many East Germans *want* to live in a socialist society, a real one.

The London *Guardian* (6 November) reports, "There is nowhere you can go in the German Democratic Republic today where the words 'hope' and 'socialism' do not form a constant counterpoint." It adds that this is "no more than a generalised ideal" of social justice and equality. But even so, that offers quite a different perspective than in much of East Europe where the Stalinists have so discredited "socialism" that pro-capitalist forces dominate the political landscape. And there is also a good deal of political ferment in the SED itself, which with 2.3 million members is not just the bureaucratic apparatus that most ruling Stalinist parties are. There was reportedly much discontent in the party over the support by Honecker and Krenz to the bloody Beijing crackdown, and hundreds of FDJ youth members attended public readings this fall by Gorbachevite Markus Wolf from his recently published memoirs.

But in the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state, which was created out of the smashing of the Nazi dictatorship by the Soviet Red Army, the alternative to a counter-revolution clothed in social-democratic garb is not an impossible "self-reform" of the ruling apparatus. The Trotskyist call for a proletarian political revolution is hardly an abstraction in the DDR. East German workers were the first to rise up against bureaucratic rule, in the uprising of 17 June 1953. In fact, the 1953 revolt was still a taboo subject in Saturday's demonstration. This reflects the fundamental fact that the East German proletariat remains atomized, there have still been no political strikes, and there is no revolutionary leadership. Urgently needed today is the formation of workers councils (soviets), which may issue out of the sort of factory committees or strike committees which sprung up in '53.

Nor was there any mention of German reunification on November 4. For many this expresses a desire to preserve social gains in the DDR rather than see the country gobbled up by West German revanchists, as George Bush would like to see. For East Germany, capitalism is not abstract, it means absorption into West Germany, the legal successor state to Hitler's Third Reich. But there can be no genuine socialism in half a country, in an isolated DDR facing an economically far more powerful imperialist neighbor. We Trotskyists, who unconditionally defend East Germany against imperialism, call for a *revolutionary reunification of Germany* through social revolution in the capitalist West and political revolution in the East to oust the bureaucracy and establish genuine soviet democracy. Because of the strategic weight of Germany in Europe, which is also at the origin of its division, reunification, if it is not to recreate an imperialist behemoth, a Fourth Reich, can only be as part of a *Socialist United States of Europe*.

On that June 17th in 1953, the East German workers appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the West to rise up against their capitalist masters. At the train station in Halle, workers greeted a train from the West with a banner proclaiming, "We're cleaning house in Pankow [East Berlin], now you sweep out the crap in Bonn." What was lacking in 1953, and remains so today, is an internationalist proletarian vanguard fighting for power. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League, seeks to build that leadership, inscribing on its banner the communism of the "three L's," Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 16)

been active in union organizing for the last ten years, organizing women textile workers at Levi Jeans and later going on to lead the textile union. In 1986 Febe was kidnapped and held for five days by the Treasury Police; a strike by her fellow workers, a march by FENASTRAS and a campaign of international labor solidarity finally secured her freedom (see "Workers Free Salvadoran Unionist," *WV* No. 409, 1 August 1986).

The militant Salvadoran labor movement has been a prime target of the military and death squads, frustrated over their inability to suppress the FMLN insurgents. On September 5, the FENASTRAS union hall was hit by an anti-tank rocket. In particular, the military hardliners have taken aim at talks between Cristiani and the guerrillas. A couple days after the FMLN met with Salvadoran government representatives in Mexico City in September, 61 union members were arrested, beaten and tortured; several of the women were raped, and 15 are still in prison.

The November 1 FENASTRAS and COMADRES bombings occurred a day after FMLN urban commandos attacked the Defense Ministry and the headquarters of the army's General Staff. The guerrillas' Radio Venceremos announced the attack was the start of a new military campaign, "All Against ARENA and the Tandona." The *tandona* is the class of officers who graduated from the Salvadoran military academy in 1966 and currently are in command of the armed forces. Immediately after the attack, Defense Minister Col. Ponce gave a press conference saying the military would retaliate.

After the bombing, UNTS leader Humberto Centeno declared, "We hold the fascist government of Alfredo Cristiani, where the real power is D'Aubuisson, and the military high command responsible for these actions of terror.... We must get rid of them. We will take whatever measures necessary" (quoted in the *Washington Post*, 1 November). What is necessary is a revolutionary struggle for power, for a workers revolution to sweep away all the factions of the blood-drenched Salvadoran ruling class and their military guard dogs.

Speaking at a protest in Boston against the bombings, Gregorio Osorio, a leader of the FEASIES union federation, reported that from June (when ARENA front man Cristiani took office as El Salvador's president) to September there were 453 assassinations, 75 "disappearances" and 603 arrests. Yet during this same period, the FMLN concentrated on seeking negotiations with the new government, offering to give up armed struggle in return for a mythical "self-purge" of the armed forces. The October 31 bombings were the military's answer.

At a November 2 protest march in Washington, D.C., Spartacist League supporters carried signs declaring: "Febe Elizabeth Velásquez—Salvadoran Workers Leader Murdered by Bush's Puppet Army!" "Negotiations with D'Aubuisson/Bush Mean Workers Blood" and "Death Squad Democrats, Republicans Bankroll War on Salvadoran Workers, Peasants and Students." As one of the SL placards proclaimed, "Workers Revolution Will Avenge Our Martyrs!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

East Germany in Upheaval

Spartakist

East Berlin, November 4: Well over 500,000 protest against hidebound Stalinist bureaucracy in largest demonstration in East German history.

Workers Soviets Must Rule!

NOVEMBER 7—So rapidly has the crisis of bureaucratic rule in East Europe developed that in the space of little over one month East Germany has gone from being one of the last bunkers of fossilized Stalinism to a land where mass upheaval is mounting day by day. After several weeks of anti-government protests, on October 18 Erich Honecker resigned as head of state and party of the German Democratic Republic (DDR). But this did not stop the unrest, and on November 4 considerably more than half a million people demonstrated in East Berlin, the largest protest in the history of the DDR. This was followed yesterday by a march of 500,000 braving driving rain in Leipzig. And today, on the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, all 44 ministers of the East German government resigned.

On October 7/8, Honecker returned from his sickbed to preside over the official celebrations of 40 years of the DDR. While a hundred thousand members of the Free German Youth (FDJ) marched in a torchlight parade, a few thousand opposition youth chanting slogans like "Happy birthday police state" were beaten and arrested by the cops. Interestingly, both supporters of the regime and dissidents chanted "Gorby, Gorby," looking to visiting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as their savior. In Leipzig, when officials of the *Volkspolizei* (People's Police) ordered the crowd to disperse, demonstrators shouted back: "We are the people!" And while more than 100,000 people have left East Germany since mid-August, leading to acute labor

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Army Bombs Union Hall—10 Dead

Murder in San Salvador

At half past noon on October 31, a powerful bomb exploded in the first floor entrance to the offices of the National Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) in the heart of downtown San Salvador, killing ten people and injuring 35 more. The building is located only two blocks from the National Police headquarters, infamous for its torture chambers in which countless leftists have perished.

Among the dead is Febe Elizabeth Velásquez, secretary of international relations of the federation and a member of the executive committee of the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), the largest grouping of leftist unions in the country. Also killed were FENASTRAS press secretary Juliana Tatiana Mendoza, finance secretary José Meléndez, bank workers leader Luis Gerardo Vásquez and water workers leader Vincente Melgar.

Earlier that same day, at 2:30 a.m., another bomb exploded at the office of the Committee of Mothers and Family Members of Political Prisoners, Disappeared and Assassinated of El Salvador (COMADRES), injuring four people, including an American woman.

These two attacks are nothing less than cold-blooded mass assassination. The FENASTRAS bombing was specifically directed at Febe Elizabeth Velásquez, who was widely known for her courageous opposition to the military butchers who have slaughtered more than 70,000 Salvadorans over the last decade of civil war. Behind the façade of Christian Democrat Duarte and now under Alfredo Cristiani of the fascistic ARENA (National Republican Alliance), the U.S. has poured in over $3 billion to prop up this "death squad democracy."

A few days before the October 31 attack, a "Civic Patriotic Committee," the voice of a hardline sector of the army, sponsored a TV propaganda spot directed at FENASTRAS and Velásquez. According to the Mexico City daily *La Jornada* (2 November), a video montage showed Febe Elizabeth walking in front of burning buses, while depicting the federation as a front for the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN):

> "The image freezes for some seconds on the trade-unionist's face and two red 'x's' appear on the screen, underlining the message of the spot."

FENASTRAS denounced this as a "death sentence." Today Febe is dead.

Febe Elizabeth Velásquez was 30 years old. She had three children, the youngest barely six months old. She had

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AP

FENASTRAS union offices devastated by army terror-bombing.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 490 24 November 1989

Mass Upheaval Deepens, Berlin Wall Opened

For Political Revolution in East Germany!

Wallis/Sipa

AFP

Berliners celebrate opening of the Wall (left). November 8: SED (Communist) party members' demonstration in East Berlin. SED ranks have demanded "return to Lenin."

After decades of enforced "peace and order," during which contradictions accumulated under the heavy-handed rule of East Europe's seemingly most entrenched Stalinist regime, this fall the lid finally blew off the East German pressure cooker. Beginning in August, tens of thousands of youth streamed west, first through Hungary, then Czechoslovakia and Poland. The 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in October was met with mass opposition demonstrations that escalated week by week. Hundreds of thousands marched in Leipzig and then up to a million in East Berlin. In order to head off the protests, ailing DDR chief Erich Honecker was ousted and replaced by his former protégé Egon Krenz. When this didn't stop the protests, the cabinet resigned en masse, followed by the Politburo. In a desperate effort to get a step ahead of events,

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Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Workers Party!

We print below the text of the statement issued by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), 200,000 copies of which are now being distributed in Berlin.

Workers throughout the world seeking the rebirth of genuine communism are watching the dramatic events in East Germany. "Russia was the spark—Germany will be the flame," proclaimed a banner, a slogan from the KPD of the '20s, in the massive November 4 East Berlin demonstration. The developments in the DDR [German Democratic Republic] pose pointblank *proletarian political*

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Penguin Books

For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

Anti-Abortion "Socialists"

October 19, 1989

To the Editor:

Under the banner of "Church and Family," religious bigots are using the emotionally charged abortion issue as part of a general program of social reaction to reverse all the gains of the Enlightenment. From the death penalty speedup to Congress' recent censorship of the "indecent" homoerotic art of Robert Mapplethorpe, the reactionaries are trying to destroy not just a woman's (already enfeebled) right to abortion but a whole range of cultural advances in civilization.

The barricades in the abortion rights fight should be raised high. Women are not incubators for the government. A woman should not be forced to stay pregnant against her will by a church, state, or father. Feminist "pro-choice" forces, however, duck for cover as the anti-abortion gangsters start shooting by granting the "pro-family," "pro-religious values" terms of debate to their opponents.

The National Organization for Women, for example, which regards women as a "special interest" pressure group on the Democratic Party, doesn't want to alienate anti-abortion but "pro-choice" Democrats, like New York's Catholic governor Mario Cuomo. In line with this bourgeois viewpoint, NOW failed to protest the cuts in Medicaid funding for abortions in 1976, which mainly affected poor, black women rather than its white, middle-class base.

Recent Planned Parenthood fund-raising ads also shamelessly pander to the forces of reaction: "The tragedy is that responsible family planning programs do more to actually avert abortions than the anti-choice campaign of violence and intimidation ever can" (*Ms.*, October 1989). My local Planned Parenthood chapter recently *called off* an independently planned rally in its defense, arguing that it didn't want to create publicity for the anti-abortionists who had been blocking the clinic.

The American replay of the Nazi "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church) campaign not only shifted mainstream bourgeois opinion to the right, it has also had a deforming effect on political currents and byways ostensibly to the left of liberal feminism.

Christopher Hitchens, for example, a well-known columnist with the left-liberal weekly, the *Nation*, offers a "socialist" anti-abortion program. In its 24 April issue, he called for a "historic compromise" that would "end the dialogue of the deaf between those who shout 'murder' and those who dully reply 'no problem'." Hitchens proposes to criminalize abortion, but also, good left-liberal that he is, to provide women with free contraceptives, sex education, a national adoption service and some health care.

Emboldened by the attacks of the Bible bigots, Hitchens essays an even-handed, reasonable "compromise" half-way between socialism and barbarism.

Hitchens wants to combat the "'Me Decade' possessive individualism" of middle-class women who wish to control their own bodies. Such women don't have "working-class women['s]... unforced revulsion at the idea of the disposable fetus." To this worthy end "society [will] make women a serious proposal." "Society," apparently devoid of women itself, will "claim a right and interest" in the "unborn child." Women will be "compelled to bear a child" (his phrase!) unless they are raped or their physical or mental health is endangered, but in return society will set up the "socialist" reforms mentioned above.

Well, I don't know what state Hitchens lives under but I'd hate to see what type of "Just Say No" sex education is supposed to come out of the Bush administration. The Catholic Church-inspired opposition to the French abortion pill RU 486, which would eliminate the need for many hospital abortions and give women greater sexual autonomy, shows that the anti-abortion movement is really anti-women. Given its religious motivation, any actual anti-abortion social movement in America existing somewhere other than the pages of the *Nation* would also be against sex education and health care.

We should also place the current anti-abortion mobilization in historical perspective. The Nazi Party in 1934 banned abortions for all "Aryan" women, on the grounds that women owed a duty to "the Aryan nation" to breed as many Germans as possible.

The clerical-fascist Meir Kahane (aka Mike King) calls abortions among Jewish women the "Second Holocaust," because he thinks Jewish women owe it to "the Jewish people" to make enough babies to replace those murdered by the Nazis. The Begin administration in Israel proposed a law, only narrowly defeated, that would require a woman who was considering an abortion to watch a slide show featuring pictures of dead children from Nazi concentration camps. Hitchens might wish to reflect on the past history of the idea that "society," "the nation," or "the state" has a right to use women as breeders.

Hitchens is not the first social democrat to combine anti-abortion laws with welfare reforms. Alva Myrdal, an influential adviser to the Swedish Socialist government in the 1930s, opposed the "Russian family ideology of the 1920's" and the "individual radicalism of the Russian abortion laws of the 1920's" in an effort to promote "increased aggregate fertility...and improved quality of the population stock" in Sweden (Myrdal, *Nation and Family*). To this end Myrdal recommended a "carrot and stick" approach to the Swedish population. The state would provide free health care and a welfare program including rent aid to poor families with children, combined with a complete ban on abortions except for rape, danger to the woman's health, or "eugenic grounds."

Planned Parenthood president Faye

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TROTSKY

LENIN

For Soviet Power in Germany!

In November 1918 the war-weary German masses rose up, toppling the Kaiser and forming workers and soldiers councils (soviets). The new Social Democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann sought to maintain the capitalist-imperialist order in the name of "democracy" (bourgeois parliamentarianism). The Spartacusbund led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg called for a soviet government allied to Bolshevik Russia. The Social Democratic regime and the military high command crushed the Spartacus uprising in January 1919, utilizing the Freikorps fascists who then murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

In the sequel, the beheading of the German proletarian vanguard—the absence of a hardened, tested communist party like Lenin's Bolsheviks to lead the mighty German workers movement to power—proved critical for Europe and the whole world. The German revolution of 1923 was defeated, leaving Soviet Russia isolated and prey to Stalin's Thermidor, while the terrified German bourgeoisie turned to Hitler's fascists. The German defeat led straight to the transformation of the revolutionary Comintern into an instrument of betrayal for anti-revolutionary gangsters like Stalin (and epigones like Walter Ulbricht) who murdered communists while refusing to fight fascists, as well as to Nazi genocide and the carnage of imperialist world war.

This quotation is taken from Liebknecht's speech to a mass demonstration in Berlin in mid-December 1918:

Comrades, fellow soldiers, and friends. Today, when the first Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils assembles, is a historic moment.

The first task facing the congress is to defend the revolution and defeat the counterrevolution by disarming all generals and officers, abolishing the previously existing military authority, forming a Red Guard to complete the social revolution, and rooting out the remaining counterrevolutionaries. And, I might add, even though it will upset some misguided and misled proletarians, that includes the Ebert-Scheidemann government....

What we have right now in Germany is not a socialist republic but a capitalist one. The proletariat must still bring the socialist republic into being through struggle against the present government, which is buttressing capitalism. We demand that the congress assume full political power so that it can institute socialism and that it not turn the power over to a national assembly, which would not be an organ of the revolution. We demand that the congress of workers' councils extend the hand of friendship to our Russian brothers and invite them to send their representatives. We want world revolution and the unification of workers of all countries under workers' and soldiers' councils.

—Karl Liebknecht, "The Congress Must Assume Full Political Power" (December 1918)

WV Photo

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Spartacists joined 600 abortion rights defenders at the Hillcrest Women's Surgi-Center, November 11. Early that morning, cops ordered NOW/NARAL "clinic escorts" away from the door, allowing "Operation Rescue" anti-abortion bigots to rush in and block access, after which police slowly removed the blockaders. The big turnout of women's rights activists showed a growing will to defend the clinics against the anti-woman fundamentalist squads. The big NOW rally the next day was designed to defuse this militancy into electioneering for Democratic—and even "pro-choice" Republican—politicians. NOW outrageously tried (but failed) to get the cops to ban the SL and other leftists from distributing literature at the Lincoln Memorial; we sold over 2,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard*, *Women and Revolution* and other Spartacist literature.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 490 **24 November 1989**

Democrat Dinkins No Answer for Workers, Minorities

Black Mayor Elected in New York, Barely

WV Photo

David Dinkins

The headquarters city of U.S. imperialism will soon have its first black mayor. On November 7, David Dinkins, the black Democratic Manhattan borough president, narrowly defeated his Republican rival, former federal prosecutor Rudolph Giuliani, in a New York City mayoral race that was as ugly as it was long. Claiming victory before a jubilant, integrated election-night crowd, Dinkins thanked the "gorgeous mosaic" of New Yorkers for his victory. Across town there was an orchestrated backlash rally: a ballroom of Giuliani's own lily-white supporters wouldn't let their Great White Hope concede and hollered "No!" as he preached his obligatory unity calls. As one observer put it, "What Koch is to loud, Giuliani is to mean."

Der Spiegel

Dinkins calls for more cops, here seen wading into August 31 protest against Bensonhurst lynch mob murder of Yusuf Hawkins.

Commenting on Dinkins' victory in New York, that of Douglas Wilder, the first black governor in Virginia, and black mayoral victories in Seattle, New Haven, Cleveland and elsewhere, the *New York Times* (9 November) attributed the results to the "maturing of white America." Hardly. Election day '89 revealed the dirty secret of American bourgeois politics—racism—as black candidates who polls predicted would win with double-digit margins barely squeaked by. But the fact that a number of new black Democrats were elected is indicative of a shift in the political winds away from racist reaction, and especially widespread opposition to the Republicans' anti-abortion line. Many had high-level backing of the bourgeoisie, who see hard times ahead and see "black moderates" as the ones who can push "sacrifices" down the throats of labor and minorities.

Dinkins' big win in the September 12 Democratic Party primary came with New York at the flash point after the murder of black youth Yusuf Hawkins by a racist mob in Bensonhurst. With a palpable sense of a city on the verge of race war, the legacy of 12 years of the loudmouth racist pig Koch, and the mean racist Giuliani in the wings, Dinkins campaigned as the "unifier" who could heal the escalating racial tension in the city. This mood had largely evaporated by the time of the general election.

Dinkins won by carrying more than 90 percent of the black vote, two-thirds of the Hispanic vote and about 30 percent of the whites. But in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans five to one, Dinkins' final margin of victory was barely two percentage points, the narrowest since 1905. Poll results released just the day before the election had Dinkins winning by 14 to 18 points. But when it came down to it, tens of thousands of whites who said they would vote for Dinkins wouldn't pull the lever for a black man. They even lied coming out of the voting booth—a *New York Times*/CBS News exit poll had Dinkins up by as much as 15 points. In the end, nearly nine out of ten Giuliani supporters were white, and he carried more than 60 percent of the Jewish vote, despite its being traditionally solidly Democratic.

It was precisely to pull a racist vote from Jews that borscht belt bigot Jackie Mason was brought in as Giuliani's honorary campaign chairman. No mere foul mouth, Jackie Mason is a supporter of the Zionist fascist Meir Kahane who wants to send the Palestinians to extermination camps. The *Village Voice* blew Mason out of the water by quoting him spouting racist filth such as telling Giuliani supporters during a fundraising lunch at the Plaza Hotel, "There is a sick Jewish problem of voting for a black man no matter how unfit he is for the job." It later came out, Mason had called Dinkins "a fancy *schvartze* with a mustache"—a racist term for blacks—in front of Giuliani and *Newsweek* reporters. Giuliani joined in the laughter and *Newsweek* sat on the story.

"Second Generation Moderates"

On November 7, black candidates won five major races where black voters were in the minority. In Seattle, New Haven, Cleveland and Durham, North Carolina, black Democrats were voted in as mayors. The question of abortion was a big issue in a number of contests, from Virginia to New York and even New Jersey's foul gubernatorial race. In Virginia, Democrat Douglas Wilder became the first elected black governor in U.S. history, in a Southern state with a small black population, by focusing on his opponent's anti-abortion stance. Dinkins stressed his "pro-choice" stand and even Giuliani shifted away from his long-standing opposition to abortion, claiming his position was the same as Dinkins, but nobody believed it.

The *Wall Street Journal* (8 November) declared: "Mr. Wilder's victory shows the way for a new generation of moderate black politicians." Wilder's campaign, according to the leading financial organ of American capitalism, "stressed his mainstream appeal to white voters," talking about "economic development, not economic empowerment" and avoiding racial issues. The victory of these "second generation" moderates does signal a new strategy in black bourgeois politics. The "first generation" of black mayors were installed in office in the wake of the 1960s ghetto explosions, precisely to cool out the ghetto with the promise of change through putting in a few "black faces in high places." Elected in predominantly black cities like Washington, D.C., Atlanta and Detroit, politicians like Marion Barry, Coleman Young and Andrew Young had come to prominence in the civil rights movement. With their electoral strategy based on pulling out an overwhelming black vote, they had to at least give lip service to black concerns, the better to co-opt them.

But this "new generation" doesn't disturb the "comfort factor" like Jesse Jackson who goes around walking picket lines, hugging Yasir Arafat and telling blacks "our time has come." Thus Douglas Wilder is for the anti-union "right to work" laws, which won him big business support. Many Virginia voters didn't even know Wilder was black, and he certainly never let on. Campaigning in the "white flight" suburbs of northern Virginia, Wilder declared he was against statehood for the District of Columbia, the 70 percent black capital whose citizens are still disenfranchised.

"They'll Take It From Me"

On October 29, the *New York Times* endorsed Dinkins for mayor, frankly laying out the ruling class' rationale:

> "The next mayor will have to ask for, and sell, sacrifice to all New Yorkers, most notably the poor citizens hurt most by reductions in city services. Mr. Dinkins seems better qualified to persuade all New Yorkers to share the burdens ahead."

In January, David Dinkins will become the mayor of a city where one in four is officially below the poverty line, where conservative estimates put the number of homeless at 90,000. Less than half the kids now in public schools will get a high school diploma. The NYC health system no longer guarantees rooms in its emergency wards. Those wards are in permanent trauma, due to the epidemic of AIDS, drugs, and "diseases of poverty" such as tuberculosis, once nearly eradicated. And every day the city's

continued on page 12

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Bay Area Quake Relief for the Rich

SAN FRANCISCO—In our article "Freeway Death Trap—A Capitalist Crime" (*WV* No. 488, 26 October) we detailed the criminality which led to the collapse of the Nimitz freeway and the deaths of dozens of people in the October 17 Bay Area earthquake. The criminality continues in the treatment of some 14,000 made homeless by the quake. Official relief efforts have been so blatant in their racist arrogance and class bias that one local newspaper headlined its scathing commentary, "A Tale of Two Cities." "While quake victims in other neighborhoods went hungry after the quake," reported the English-language Japanese American *Hokubei Mainichi* (26 October), "Marina residents were provided with gourmet pizza, mineral water and fresh strawberries."

The "nouveau homeless" yuppies of the largely white and wealthy Marina district have been pampered with everything from free caviar and oysters to free masseuses. But less than a week after the quake, more than a thousand people who had taken refuge in Moscone Convention Center were booted out and bused over to the Presidio army base and a Navy helicopter carrier, where they were then subjected to body searches. One Marine at the ship said, "I thought we were going to be heroes, but here we are acting like prison wardens" (San Francisco *Examiner*, 23 October). People deemed to be "pre-quake homeless" face eviction from shelters set up in schools by the Red Cross, as do some 2,500 people in Alameda County, many from condemned residential hotels in Oakland, made homeless by the quake.

Christian Science Monitor

Marina's "nouveau homeless" yuppies are pampered while poor, blacks and Hispanics get the shaft.

The residents of black West Oakland, whose valor saved most of the people who were pulled out alive from under the rubble of the collapsed freeway, are being *punished* for their heroic efforts. When they rushed out of their homes to rescue survivors, they were denounced as "looters" by cops with drawn guns. Then they were thrown out of their houses; some told how cops threatened to arrest them if they were not out of their homes in five minutes. On October 22, 100 homes had their power shut off by Caltrans (Department of Transportation) and Pacific Gas and Electric without notice. Penniless residents watched their food spoil *for three days* until the NAACP raised enough of a stink to get the power restored.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is doing everything it can to *obstruct* relief to working-class and minority families. A local FEMA official decreed that to qualify for assistance it was necessary to "verify that you were a victim living in transient accommodations, and you were there for over 30 days." So, if your "papers" aren't in good order, you can starve in the streets. Meanwhile, FEMA has prevented the use of readily available army barracks or mobile homes in Oakland and Watsonville (where thousands of mainly Mexican cannery and farm workers lost their homes). Then again, the only "emergency" the highly secretive FEMA is designed to manage is the establishment of martial law.

When the poor of France demanded bread 200 years ago, Marie-Antoinette contemptuously replied, "Let them eat cake." The vicious and arrogant American ruling class deserves the same historical fate as the decadent nobility which was swept away by the French Revolution. ■

Watsonville Homeless: Seize the Empty Condos!

In the aftermath of the October 17 earthquake that struck the Bay Area, we reported on the disastrous situation facing the heavily Mexican and Chicano working-class town of Watsonville, located less than 20 miles from the epicenter. By now it's commonplace even in the bourgeois press to note that while the posh Marina district of San Francisco grabbed all the attention, and most of the resources, black and Latino areas have been ignored. Hardest hit by the quake, Watsonville has also been hit hardest by the government's racist clearing-up effort.

But the thousands of agricultural workers in this area have a history of militant class struggle. Three years ago, predominantly Latina women workers in the frozen food packaging plants, organized in Teamsters Local 912, waged a bitter 18-month strike against an attempt by the agribusiness barons to crush their union. Last month, nearby Salinas was the center of a hard strike by Teamsters and agricultural workers against the Bud company, the largest lettuce grower in the country. Now Watsonville earthquake victims are organizing against vindictive federal and local government efforts to bury their plight...and drive them out.

Even before the quake put some 2,000 to 3,000 people on the streets, many Watsonville families were doubled up or paying $400 a month to live in vermin-infested garages. City officials, intent on turning Watsonville into a posh "bedroom suburb" for Silicon Valley yuppies, seized on the quake devastation to force out the poor and Mexican workers entirely. While homes in wealthier areas were given green tags meaning they could remain, many working-class homes were red-tagged for the wrecker's ball. As Alexander Cockburn observed in the *Nation* (27 November), "To observant citizens there seemed to be a politically coherent pattern to [city manager John] Radin's allocation of red tags."

When scores of families made homeless by the quake set up a tent city in Callaghan Park in the center of town, city fathers tried to remove this "eyesore" by cutting off food supplies. They wanted to force the homeless to relocate to the official shelter in Ramsay Park, supervised by the National Guard. Mexican workers justifiably feared that any undocumented immigrants would be sitting ducks for *la migra* once they registered at the official shelters. "They came to take us away to Ramsay Park, but we wouldn't go," said Rosa Maria Suarez, "You have to check in and check out." "It's like a concentration camp," added another Callaghan Park resident. But the people in Callaghan Park, many of them agricultural and cannery workers with a recent history of militant class struggle, refused to be cowed and fought back. On October 28, the city council pulled back from its attempt to sweep out the people.

The next day, some 400-500 people staged a march through Watsonville, headed by United Farm Workers leaders Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, demanding "*queremos casas*" (we want houses) and "*casas si, carpas no*" (houses yes, tents no). Amnestying the federal government's racist "relief" efforts, Chavez claimed "Congress has provided the funds," and pinned all the blame on racist city council officials. "If the city doesn't move," Chavez promised that the UFW "will file suits to make them give us the land" to build affordable housing (Watsonville *Register-Pajaronian*, 30 October). Chavez' hot-tom line was to vote in the good guys and vote out the bad in upcoming local elections on December 5 as the way to get federal earthquake money.

WV Photo

Watsonville, October 29: marchers demand decent housing and earthquake relief for dispossessed Chicano and Mexican workers.

The December 5 elections are the result of a successful challenge in the Supreme Court to an at-large voting system which essentially disenfranchised the Mexican community. But the challengers in the election, several backed by pro-Democratic Party leftists like the Communist Party or the League for Revolutionary Struggle/*Unity*, offer no concrete alternative policies. The LRS-backed candidate tried to wrap himself in the Mexican flag by sidling up to ex-presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas when he visited town on November 18. Meanwhile, thousands of Watsonville workers can't vote at all because they are "illegal" immigrants. Labor militants must demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families!

Two weeks after Chavez' disgusting apology for the federal government's racist "relief" effort, some 20 Latino and community organizations in the area filed a petition with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) charging that it discriminated against poor and non-English-speaking earthquake victims. "The Oakland Bay Bridge was put together in almost a month. The pavilions in Santa Cruz were put up over the weekend," said local health worker Maria Corralejo. "We're four weeks into this disaster and we still have yet to receive a trailer" for temporary housing (Watsonville *Register-Pajaronian*, 16 November).

What the working people of Watsonville need right now is not futile appeals to the federal government or hot air electioneering but some hard class struggle. The October 29 protest marched past a nearly completed development of more than 100 "executive style homes of distinction" (price tag over $200,000) off Pennsylvania Drive, while Pajaro Dunes on the other side of town is the site of a largely unused condo complex of summer homes. So let's put some teeth into the slogan "*casas si, carpas no*" by mobilizing the social muscle of Teamsters, UFW and other unions throughout the area to back up the homeless and *seize these empty luxury homes!* ■

Boston's Racist "Search on Sight" Dragnet

For the past six months, the black community of Boston has been subjected to a grotesquely racist "search-on-sight" policy in the area including Roxbury, Mattapan and parts of Dorchester. Under the policy, officially announced as part of a police campaign to "aggressively go after suspected gang members," thousands of black youth have been subjected to harassment, provocation and brutality by the cops. This is the contribution to the "war on drugs" by Boston's pseudo-populist anti-busing liberal mayor Raymond Flynn.

These "searches" are not mere pat-downs. Testimony in recent trials reveals a pervasive pattern of police behavior: gun-wielding cops have set upon black kids, grabbing their throats, forcing open their mouths so that they can be "inspected" for drug consumption. Black males are routinely forced to take down their pants in public so their genitals can be "inspected" for hidden weapons. If you're young and black and out after sundown, this constitutes "suspicion of criminal activity" in the eyes of the cops.

These dragnets have escalated in the wake of a heinous killing outside Brigham and Women's Hospital in Mission Hill October 23, where a black robber shot and killed a pregnant white suburban woman, Carol Stuart, and severely wounded her husband as they were leaving childbirth classes at the hospital. (The baby, delivered by caesarean section just before the mother died, itself died several days later.) Whipping up a racist furor, newspapers and television reports doted on every lurid detail of the heinous crime, which is being called the Boston version of the Central Park rape and mugging in New York City last spring.

Ttumacki/Boston Globe

Boston "war on drugs" means indiscriminate cop terror against black youth.

In the "media overkill," as the *Boston Phoenix* (27 October) called it, there was no outcry over a black man, James Moody, who was senselessly shot and killed that same evening as he sat in his car. The cop response to the Stuart murder was immediate and characteristically vicious. The racist search policy was escalated to the point where more than 200 black males per day were stopped, searched, frisked and "questioned" in the Mission Hill area alone. The white racist politicos raised a hue and cry to bring back the racist death penalty into the penal code of the "Commonwealth." The liberals' response has been to push for more gun control.

As the cop terror continues without respite, a wave of revulsion against the constant harassment is rising in the black community. Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler has announced that a court suit on behalf of at least 30 victims of cop provocation would be filed in federal court later this month. A public hearing has been scheduled for November 29 at the Roxbury YMCA for black youth to testify about their victimization. And state representative Bill Owens has announced a "community summit" at UMass-Boston on December 8 to discuss the cop abuse.

It is only by accident that the search-on-sight policy has not yet produced a racist killing by the cops. On October 10, Rolando Carr, a 30-year-old construction worker, was shot in the arm and in the side as he was forced to join a group of black men being searched near the Franklin Hill housing complex. Carr was ordered to empty his pockets, and when he reached for his keys, a trigger-happy cop fired, supposedly mistaking the keys for a gun. No weapons or drugs were found.

The search-on-sight policy is a gross violation of the Fourth Amendment which supposedly guarantees against "unreasonable search and seizure." On two separate occasions, Suffolk Superior Court Judge Cortland Mathers declared the searches unconstitutional, even as they continued unabated. On the second occasion, he petitioned Massachusetts governor Dukakis' attorney general James Shannon to review the testimony of the trials related to the searches. Even before the transcripts could be sent, Shannon concluded... that there was no such policy!

Now even supporters of the racist cop vendetta have set up a phony "hot line" to take calls from victims of the police attacks. Since May, when the search-on-sight policy was initiated, there have been voices in the black community buying the racist logic of the "war on drugs." Minister Don Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, always ready to raise a vigilante squad in conjunction with the cops, joined with the racists in blue in demanding Judge Mathers resign when he challenged the search policies. Similarly, spokesmen for the "Drop-A-Dime" community "crime watch" organization, being considered as a national model by the Bush administration, have denounced opponents of the cop terror.

On the other hand, those "leaders" who can at least recognize cop brutality have no program to fight it, especially since it was initiated and is backed to the hilt by the local and state Democratic Party machines. Roxbury state representative Owens could only meekly appeal to Dukakis to "review" the review which his attorney general had already made. The NAACP and the ACLU have asked for investigations. Yet now word comes from New York that Boston's black deputy police superintendent William Celester, the chief spokesman for the cop terror, is being

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Gays Under Attack in California

SAN FRANCISCO—The November 7 elections in California dealt blows to democratic rights for homosexuals and AIDS victims across the state. In San Francisco, the Domestic Partners ordinance which would have granted limited legal recognition to gay and non-married couples was defeated. In Concord and Irvine, local anti-discrimination laws already on the hooks were struck down. Behind this backlash was the Catholic church hierarchy and an Orange County-based outfit called the "Traditional Values Coalition." These same bigots are spearheading attacks on abortion rights, opposing the teaching of evolution in the schools and perpetrating racist terror.

A month earlier, on October 6, SF cops brutally moved on gay demonstrators, sweeping through the Castro district in an arrogant, menacing display of martial law. ACT-UP led 250 protesters in a rally at the Federal Building, part of a nationwide day of protest against the government's refusal to massively fund research on AIDS. The protesters then marched to the Castro and were harassed along the route by a huge cop deployment. After some demonstrators lay in the street, police waded in, making over 60 arrests. Dozens of cops backed by motorcycles and paddy wagons moved down the streets, clubbing bystanders at bus shelters and penning people up in stores, restaurants and movie theaters. The SF cops have it in for gays. They're still smarting from the "White Night" of rage ten years ago, when gays chased the police from the steps of City Hall in an explosion of anger over the light verdict Dan White got for murdering gay leader Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone.

Marc Getler

SF cops turn Castro district into martial law zone in brutal assault on gay protesters, October 6.

On October 7, hundreds protested the police quarantine of the Castro. Mayor Art Agnos was compelled to publicly condemn it—after all, gays represent a substantial voting bloc for the Democratic Party. And Police Chief Frank Jordan sent his brother Jack, responsible for the cop sweep, into early retirement; a few others were reprimanded or reassigned. The SF cops have been getting away with murder for years. Agnos won the mayor's office in 1987 with the backing of the police "union," but the cops still don't much like this liberal mayor. Even when they nearly killed his friend, Farm Workers union vice president Dolores Huerta, in a violent beating last year, Agnos carefully kept his hands off.

For years, San Francisco has cultivated the image of a civilized town where "alternate lifestyles" were tolerated. It became a "mecca" for gays. But as racist terror and cop brutality have mounted over the last decade, SF has also become the capital of "gay-bashing" by skinhead fascist punks, who take their cue from the cops. And even amid all the celebration of post-earthquake "togetherness," the gay rights ordinance was shot down. Meanwhile, the obituary pages of gay newspapers tell the grim story of thousands of young people who have perished from AIDS, which has also devastated the ghettos and barrios. The medical catastrophe has been compounded by the bourgeoisie's utter neglect and contempt for the victims.

Cop batons on the streets of San Francisco have pounded home the truth that the deep-seated oppression of homosexuals cannot be overcome by pulling the lever for the Democrats. The billions of dollars urgently needed for research on AIDS will not be forthcoming in a society based on medicine-for-profit. A revolutionary party must act as a tribune of the people in championing the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for a socialist society that will eliminate the root causes of the prejudice and discrimination that is inherent in this racist capitalist system. ■

Young Spartacus

Government—It's None of Your Business

Teens Do It

The Supreme Court, comprised of the evil Rehnquist and his gang, will soon decree whether teenagers needing abortions must first obtain parental consent. That's right—in reviewing Minnesota and Ohio "squeal rules," the Court could force a girl who's never even met her father to get his consent for her abortion. In many cases, a young woman faces parental vindictiveness and violence as the state drags her family into her private decision. If a young woman seeks consent by the court instead of her parents, then she must justify her entire sexual history before complete strangers who will decide the course of her future life. Parental consent laws—already on the books in 26 states—are nothing other than state-sponsored child abuse.

Sex is a lot of what being a teenager is all about, *and it's none of the government's damn business!* The hypocritical rulers of this country can't stop sex. But they can send teens who "do it" straight to hell—in this lifetime. The effect of these "squeal rules," which would require abortion clinics to fink on their young clients, is devastating. Soon after the law took effect in Minnesota, the birth rate for 15- to 17-year-olds climbed 38.4 percent, which means a lot of young women (and their babies too) were condemned to lives of poverty and ignorance. Of course, once the kid is born, the state doesn't care if you and it both drop dead. Only one in 50 teenage mothers finish college, compared to one in five among women in general. Last year in Chicago, while the clergy and the right wing mobilized to close birth control clinics in the public schools, a pregnant teenager *shot herself in the stomach* to induce an abortion.

Parental consent laws hit poor and black young women the hardest. In this racist society, black people are three times more likely than whites to be poor. Poor women are three times more likely to get an abortion—who wants to bring a kid into a world with no future? But to uphold bourgeois "morality," the state is essentially telling young women that they *must* bear children, and then denying them the right to exist. In 1988 alone, 364,587 teenage girls became mothers, and the vast majority of them are trapped beneath the poverty level. Meanwhile, welfare has been gutted to "workfare"—a "reform" pushed by the Democrats that is literally killing poor women by stripping them of welfare payments if they turn down a job, *any* job, even if it means slaving at substandard wages and abandoning their kids. As Arkansas' public health director aptly put it, a poor teenage mother is "captive to a slavery the 13th Amendment did not anticipate."

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent in July 5 New York abortion rights march denounces reactionary "parental consent" laws.

Parental consent laws come in the context of a mean and deliberate rollback of many democratic rights for youth. The Supreme Court has given school authorities a green light to trample the First Amendment protection of free speech by censoring student newspapers under dictatorial powers of *in loco parentis*. Incredibly, this is happening at the college level too. The administration at Georgetown University, a Catholic institution, barred the student paper from running an advertisement for the huge November 12 abortion rights march in D.C.

The right to privacy has been blown to smithereens for youth as school authorities and cops invade students' private lockers in search of pot, *Playboy* or socialist literature. After a much publicized stabbing at Harper High in Chicago's black South Side ghetto, students were met each morning by a phalanx of cops who swept each of them with metal detectors. Forced to enter the school through separate male and female entrances, Harper students were subjected to random body searches by the cops. Their IDs are taken when they

Racists Target Black Student Leader

UW-Madison

Normally we wouldn't give a hoot about charges of financial chicanery in a student government. Such tedious squabbles are the routine business of kept leaders of student sandboxes. But something deeply racist and threatening is going on at UW-Madison—a big school whose very few black students have been steadily insulted, provoked, threatened, and violently assaulted over the last two years. Michelle Goodwin, a black student and co-president of the Wisconsin Student Association, is the target of an impeachment campaign by right-wingers whose handiwork has the stink of overt fascists.

Posters featuring a defaced photo of Michelle Goodwin and the slogan "Impeach the lying, thieving, whining bitch!" and signed "Real men who hate whining bitches" with an "S" styled as a Nazi SS lightning bolt, appeared on campus. Posters for Goodwin's multiracial "Black and White Party" have been defaced with the Nazi SS logo and graffiti reading "Death to Race Traitors!" An anti-Goodwin group calling itself the "Point Blank Party" has taken rifle cross hairs as its symbol. Make no mistake: these campus contras employ the symbols of racist violence to incite the real thing. One student senator leading the anti-Goodwin campaign also faces two felony charges for harassing women outside abortion clinics.

From the moment she took office, Goodwin drew the ire of the ultra-right for being black and duly elected. Now the racists seek to fashion a noose out of adding machine tape and lynch Goodwin for using student government funds to attend a youth festival in North Korea and establishing an exchange program with Palestinian students in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The campus Zionists, who posture as the spokesmen for all Jewish people, quickly made common cause with unabashed Nazi-lovers running the "impeach Goodwin" campaign. While one right-winger provocatively asked Goodwin at a senate meeting if she planned to bring 100 Palestinian "terrorists" to UW-Madison, the Zionists, including the fascistic Jewish Defense League, called a demonstration against Goodwin and the Palestinian student exchange program.

The "Black and White Party" preaches reliance on the university administration as the answer to racist attacks, demanding in addition to a "vice chancellor for minority affairs"

Hunter/Daily Cardinal

Michelle Goodwin

and a "multi-cultural center," a ban against "offensive speech." This is bullshit—and dangerous besides. The job of the university administration is to enforce the racist status quo—and they've sure been doing it. Minority enrollment has plummeted at UW-Madison while the administration coddles racist frat rats who hold "slave auctions" and physically attack black students. The administration treats these bigots with velvet gloves, at most requiring them to take "sensitivity courses," while unleashing their cops on anti-CIA protesters who were beaten and jailed. Would you leave it to this administration to determine what speech is "offensive"? They would outlaw calling an imperialist pig "an imperialist pig" while giving an "A+" in "sensitivity" to some white frat rat who beat up Jews and blacks.

Amid protests against racist attacks at UW last fall, a whole busload of students, organized by the Spartacus Youth Club, rode 40 hours to participate in a labor/black mobilization which *stopped* the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead fascists from "celebrating" white supremacy in Philadelphia last November 5. If anti-racist students and labor were to mobilize in Madison today, the racist punks in and out of the student government would get the message real fast. As the Madison SYC stated in a leaflet last year: "These frat rats who groove on slave auctions and racist attacks should remember General William Tecumseh Sherman's 'march to the sea' which freed the slaves and wiped out all nests of white racist slavecowner resistance from Atlanta to Savannah. The racist scum can thrive today only because the tasks of that great revolution remain unfinished. To finish the Civil War will take a socialist revolution led by an integrated workers party."■

go to the bathroom or to a locker.

Jesse Jackson spoke at the school in defense of these jailhouse rules, peddling his timeworn rap of "hope not dope." But the students weren't going for it. On October 27, 80 students marched out of Harper High School in Chicago, waving banners and protesting that their school had been turned into a prison house for young people. Predictably, school officials labeled the leader of this action a "gang" member and are threatening to suspend or expel him. No reprisals! These students deserve not punishment but applause for courageously defending their rights—and ours.

On the economic front youth are also getting clobbered. A miserly minimum wage of $3.35 per hour (Congress just raised it by a pittance, but only with the condition of introducing a subminimum "training wage" for young new-hires). And the now pervasive "two-tier" wage scale in industry (a union-busting concession won by greedy bosses) has created a layer of second-class, lower-paid workers. All this to keep the cash registers ringing—sweet music for the future for big business, wage slavery for us. By keeping teenagers poor and without rights, they want to regiment the youth for the strikebreakers and warmakers so there won't be any fuss when the kids punch their first time clock or are shipped off as cannon fodder to die in some imperialist war. In fact, today's high school students show a "deplorable" tendency to demonstrate in solidarity with their striking teachers, like in Los Angeles last spring. From school authorities to Uncle Sam, the Big Brothers of this society figure "if teens screw, who knows what they'll do."

For many years youth have faced the grotesque injustice of being old enough to be drafted but too young to drink. First the hypocrites tried to cork the bottle (which drove kids to drink in cars instead of bars). Now they want to strap a generation into chastity belts (which will force kids to sacrifice their futures for the sex they will surely have today). The state is aggressively attempting to prop up, by force of repressive legal machinery, the institution of the family, the main means for the oppression and isolation of women from productive social life.

And it's a horrible "Catch-22"! The ruling class jabbers about the "crisis of the black family" and preaches about reinforcing it, yet at the same time it's doing everything to *wreck* families by running a racket where there are no jobs, no real education, no day care and no social services! As communists we fight to rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist hunglers and establish an egalitarian, planned and collectivized economy where there will be jobs for all, where education will be a right, not a privilege, where there will be free, 24-hour day care, communal kitchens and a socialization of housework—and where the consensual sexual activity of youth will be their business and nobody else's!

Bourgeois feminists like the National Organization for Women (NOW) don't do much on behalf of young people's right to abortion or privacy because their whole strategy is to pressure the Democrats who are trying to outdo the Republicans in posing as the best defenders of the prototypical (white) American family. The NOW feminists are so lame they can barely say the word "abortion"—with mealy-mouthed "pro-choicers" and deadly "pro-lifers" it's sometimes hard to remember who's on which side of the issue! *Seventy percent* of the "pro-choice" crowd is in favor of restricting abortion rights for teenagers—in their eyes, a kid is just a parent's property.

Down with the reactionary age-of-consent laws! Free abortion on demand! There should be free distribution of all birth control information, free pills and devices *on demand*, including the "French abortion pill" RU 486. *Squash the Squeal Rule!* ■

Howard Student Acquitted

Black Students Protest in Virginia Beach

VIRGINIA BEACH, November 15—Over 100 angry and defiant Howard students rolled out of Washington, D.C. in buses and cars before dawn this morning. Their destination was Virginia Beach, the now infamous resort where the National Guard and riot cops brutally attacked thousands of black college students last Labor Day weekend.

In September the students came to "Greekfest '89" to relax, party, see friends and spend hard-earned money. Instead they got ripped off, bullied around, beat up and put down. In the aftermath of Labor Day weekend, the media grotesquely attempted to paint the criminals as victims and the victims as criminals. Black students were labeled "rioters" and "looters" in what was in fact a premeditated, massive, racist police riot. But the 100,000 who came to Greekfest, the 1,200 arrested, and the scores injured know better. So this morning students returned in protest. They returned to support fellow student Quinton Stovall at his trial. They returned to put the city of Virginia Beach on trial with a symbolic "people's jury."

Repeated attempts were made after the Labor Day cop riot to organize protests in Virginia Beach. This racist crime has provoked a deep vein of outrage pulsing through all the East Coast black colleges. So why was the protest delayed two and a half months? Not because of lack of anger or initiative by the students. The nationalists in Howard's "Black NIA Force," the liberal NAACP, and the campaign staff of Douglas Wilder, the first black man to be elected governor in U.S. history, *actively intervened to quash any protest* or expression of outrage until after Wilder's election. Wilder, who is pro-death penalty and who, as lieutenant governor, helped orchestrate the violence directed against both Pittston miners and black college students, will be yet another black overseer on the decaying and increasingly brutal Reagan/Bush plantation. "Where were you, Doug?" chided one student's sign at the protest outside the courthouse today.

Students packed into the Virginia Beach Municipal Courthouse to stand by Quinton Stovall, a mechanical engineering student at Howard, whose summer vacation was turned into a racist nightmare. Holed up in an overpriced hotel room for 24 hours to avoid the police rampage in the streets. Stovall emerged into what looked like calm and walked to a restaurant for dinner. As he turned a corner, a wedge of riot-equipped cops in a V-formation ran toward him. Holding his hands up over his head, dangling his hotel key, trying to indicate he didn't want trouble, Stovall was tackled, beaten and arrested by five uniformed thugs. He was thrown into a paddy wagon and, despite a big gash in his head, held for hours in a tennis court the cops had converted into a concentration camp—the jails were already full of other innocent youth whose only "crime" was to be young and black in Virginia Beach. Finally at 4:00 a.m. he was informed why he had been arrested, given a court date and told to walk the two miles back into town.

"I refuse to tolerate the injustice and let Virginia Beach get away with indiscriminate beatings and arrests of black youths the way they did to me," said Stovall (*Washington Post*, 15 November). The courtroom burst into applause as the charges against him were dismissed this morning. Then students from Howard, Morehouse, Old Dominion and Norfolk State rallied outside to demand that the charges against all other Greekfest participants be dropped.

Later, at the "people's jury" held in the Mount Zion Baptist Church, students gave eloquent and bitter eyewitness testimony of the violent "welcome" they received by racists backed by "the Law" that weekend. Students told of being chased by baton-wielding police and by cops on horseback, of women being beaten. Helicopters swept overhead shining powerful spotlights into hotel rooms in the middle of the night. White vigilante gangs were reported, including a group of four whites on a store rooftop throwing pieces of concrete and bottles at the black students below. Many students were overcharged and there appeared to be special menus in restaurants for black students—with higher prices and limited selection (like $8.00 for bacon and eggs!). Many were forced to pay for their meals in advance!

The "people's jury" found Virginia Beach "guilty of conspiracy to commit racism, assault and battery, fraud and interference with the right to peacefully congregate and enjoy life, liberty and happiness." In fact Virginia Beach is the quintessential white backlash community—the residential reflection of "massive resistance" to school integration, beginning in the 1950s, whose flash point was nearby Norfolk. Now there's a running debate among black students over whether to return to Virginia Beach next year or not. Some argue against returning and for a boycott of the resort. Others argue that this would be a capitulation to the racists who want to keep the area off limits to blacks and vow to return unbowed next year. But many rightfully fear returning to another police trap.

We suggest a real *labor* day celebration next year. If the powerful and integrated Tidewater longshoremen's union (ILA) sponsored the party, the skinheads and vigilantes would slink back into their holes, faced with thousands of hurly dock workers enjoying the beach with students. And the cops would have to think long and hard before touching a hair on anyone's head: mess with the dock workers union and they could face a strike that would shut down ports up and down the coast. Students allied with labor—when organized independently in a class-struggle workers party, we'll have the power to topple this whole racist capitalist system. ■

Drop the Charges Against All Victims of Labor Day Cop Riot!

Young Spartacus

Virginia Beach, November 15: Howard University students protest racist frame-up of fellow student Quinton Stovall.

Virginia Beach, Labor Day: cops turn black students' "Greekfest" into racist hell.

Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!

Continued from page 1

revolution. This means ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and erecting in its place *real workers soviets*, like those established in the October Revolution, based on collectivized property. This in turn can be the spark for socialist revolution in the capitalist West.

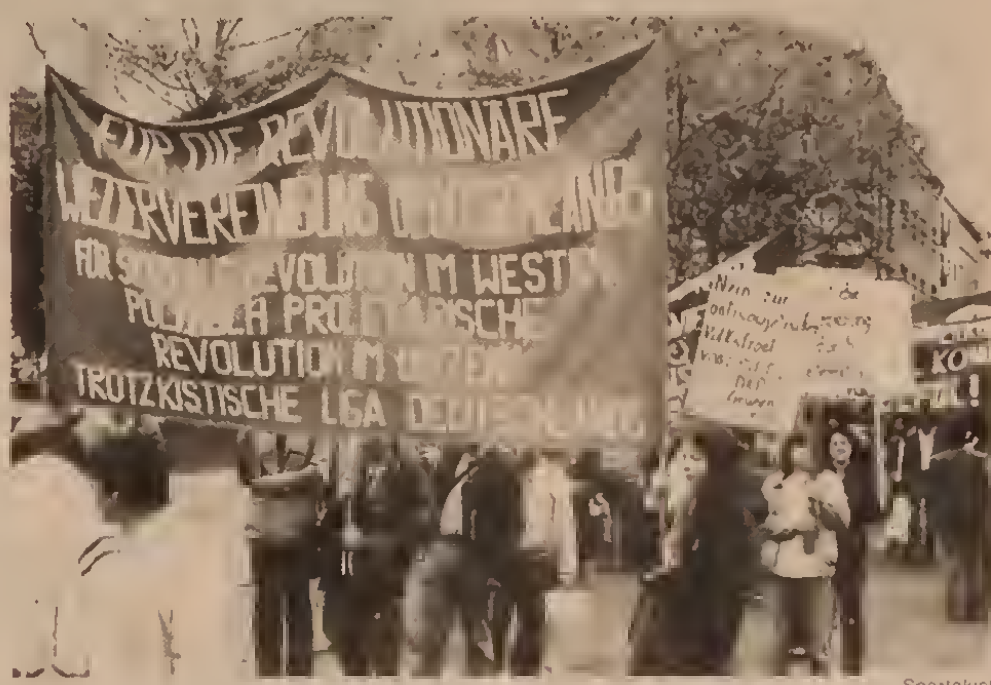
East Berliners flooded across the border into West Berlin on the night of November 9. Except for a handful all went back. Kohl tried to address a "victory rally" in West Berlin but was drowned out with boos and whistles. When he tried to strike up a chorus of "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," Brandt, Momper & Co. sang along, but the boos and whistles drowned them out. And an attempted Nazi march on the Brandenburg Gate led by Republikaner *Führer* Schönhuber was turned back by crowds shouting "Nazis out!" East German workers are jubilant that the Wall is coming down, but they don't want a revanchist capitalist reunification.

One placard on November 4 read: "Hungary '56, China '89," and the spectre haunting the bureaucracy was the 17 June 1953 East German workers uprising, the first in East Europe against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. West German revanchists have tried to usurp June 17, and the East German bureaucracy spread the same lies about the uprising. But it belongs to the German working class. On that day East German workers appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the West to rise up against their capitalist masters. At the train station in Halle, workers greeted a train from the West with a banner proclaiming, "We're cleaning house in Pankow [East Berlin], now you sweep out the crap in Bonn." Ulbricht was saved only by Soviet tanks. In any case, what was required then as well as today is fraternization with the Red Army. As Siberian and Silesian miners strike against the ravages of "market reforms," the East German workers can make common cause with their class comrades and be the springboard for proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Red Army crushed the Nazi regime and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state east of the Elbe. But the resurgence of German nationalism and fascist terror has not been restricted to the West German successor state of the Third Reich. There, the first victims of fascist terror are immigrant workers. And now similar attacks, for example on Vietnamese workers, are taking place in East Germany. Hostility to immigrant workers such as the Poles has been expressed even in the mass protest demonstrations, as in Dresden. Instead, as a banner on November 4 declared, "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" This means: *Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers East and West!*

Today a wing of the East German security forces shows its support for revanchist capitalist restoration under the watchword of German nationalism by cloning a new generation of fascist terrorist skinheads and scum, the existence of which the bureaucracy has done its best to deny. A banner of an anti-fascist contingent at the November 4 demonstration read, "Weimar: 160 Nazi Skinheads Organized a Manhunt." Even the perimeter of this massive demonstration was infested with fascists from West and East. Just as Russian workers must smash Pamyat, workers/minorities in East and West Germany had better organize to crush these vermin *now*!

A demonstration of 50,000 SED [Socialist Unity Party] members in East Berlin on November 10 demanded "No sellout of the DDR," for "real plans," and "return to Lenin." Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The East German economy is the most successful in Eastern Europe. Workers may chant "Gorby, Gorby, help us." But by and large they reject Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "market socialism," which have bred increasing misery and national conflict from the Balkans to the Baltic and Caucasus. East German workers are not about to surrender the social gains they have won. Attempts to form a Solidarność-style anti-Communist "free union" have fizzled.



Spartakist

TLD contingent in June 1982 anti-Reagan protest in Bonn denounced Social Democratic anti-Sovietism. Banner reads: "For the revolutionary reunification of Germany—For Socialist Revolution in the West, Proletarian Political Revolution in the East!"

Workers in the DDR have followed attentively the strikes against perestroika of Soviet miners. The factory committees the miners have organized are the *core of real workers soviets*, which are *the key* if economic planning is to be controlled by the working class. Although tremendous ferment exists in the plants, the working class remains politically atomized, e.g., there have as yet been no strikes, which would immediately be *political*. Workers councils must be established at the point of production with control over quantity and quality. Computerized input-output analysis (developed by Russian-born economist Leontief) can permit investments in line with the democratically controlled growth of investment and consumption.

When the Wall started coming down on Friday [November 9], the West German stock market went up, because Frankfurt bankers and their SPD [social-democratic] front men are dreaming of bleeding East Germany dry the way they have Poland and Hungary. To defend collectivized property and to attack the world market, East Germany needs a stable, readily convertible currency (e.g., based on the gold standard like the Soviet *chervonets* in 1923). However, an isolated revolutionary East German workers state would still be threatened by the power of cheap commodities, as Marx warned.

There can be no genuine socialism in half a country facing an economically far more powerful imperialist neighbor. From the podium of the massive November 4 demonstration writer Stefan Heym was enthusiastically received when he said, "Socialism, not Stalinist but the real thing, which we want to finally build, for our benefit and that of all Germany, is unthinkable without democracy." The defense of collectivized property in East Germany requires its extension to the West. That means the expropriation of the Frankfurt bankers by proletarian revolution in the West—to which immigrant workers are key. We Trotskyists call for the *revolutionary reunification of Germany* through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East. Because of the strategic weight of Germany in Europe, reunification, if it is not to recreate an imperialist behemoth, a Fourth Reich, can only be as part of a *Socialist United States of Europe*.

The huge protest demonstrations, impressive in their discipline, remain dominated by petty-bourgeois forces like Neues Forum and the Social Democrats (SDP). On November 4, Neues Forum called for "free elections" supervised by the UN, i.e., by imperialism, while the SDP, just like Helmut Kohl, called for a return to a "market economy." When the [West German] SPD and their hangers-on talk about "democratic socialism" they mean "democratic" counterrevolution, of which the SPD intends to be the general staff. While Kohl was booed down, Brandt and Momper were cheered. The Social Democrats are the main danger for East German workers.

The International Communist League and its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, uphold the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the social gains of the October Revolution and its extension from East Berlin to Havana against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. In contrast, the social democrats faking as Trotskyists such as Ernest Mandel and the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter [followers of the dubious David North] surrender these gains at every point they are challenged. They backed Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid in 1981 and opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against imperialist-backed clerical reaction in 1979.

To date no left opposition has surfaced within the SED. Yet there have been expressions of support for real communism in the DDR, such as the signs on November 4 calling "for a new communist party." As in 1953, what is lacking today is a proletarian internationalist vanguard party fighting for power. Forging such a party requires returning to the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky! Hail Rosa Luxemburg, the greatest founder of German Communism, murdered by the Freikorps at the behest of the SPD leadership! The German Revolution, East and West, needs a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! ■

Verlag Haus am Checkpoint Charlie

17 June 1953: East German steel workers march through workers' district of West Berlin. DDR workers rose up against Stalinist misrule, called on their West German class brothers to "sweep out the crap in Bonn."

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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For Political Revolution in East Germany!

Continued from page 1

on November 9 the new rulers opened up the Berlin Wall.

Suddenly, East Germans could cross into West Germany with no more than a stamp on their personal ID card. Over the following days, several *million* people—somewhere between a quarter and a half of the entire population of the DDR—took the opportunity to visit "over there." Downtown West Berlin was jammed at all hours as East Germans spent the 100 DM ($55) "welcome money" doled out by the West German government...and went home. By eliminating travel restrictions, the DDR succeeded in stopping the mass outmigration. But it didn't quell the explosion of social unrest at home. Scores of protests took place around East Germany, with slogans calling for free elections and an end to the ruling Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED) political monopoly. On November 17, some 10,000 students demonstrated in East Berlin. We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) distributed thousands of leaflets (see translation, page 1) which were eagerly snapped up, and a French student comrade addressed the rally.

The opening of the Wall and the continuing upsurge in East Germany sent shock waves through the world. East Germany is the pivot of what has heretofore been known as the Soviet bloc: Berlin has been the focal point of the Cold War for more than four decades. The crisis of Stalinist rule in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe has reached the flash point. Already in the summer, the bankrupt Polish Stalinists began bailing out, giving way to an openly counterrevolutionary Solidarność-led cabinet. This fall the Hungarian Stalinists split as leading elements laid plans to sell off the nationalized economy to international capitalists. In Bulgaria, arch-Stalinist Todor Zhivkov has been ousted. And now, inspired by the mass upheaval in the DDR, a quarter million people demonstrate in Prague against the hardline Communist Party leadership installed in the suppression of the 1968 "Prague Spring."

The changes at the top in East Germany were clearly egged on by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. And behind the turmoil in East Europe stands the troubled "reform process" in the Soviet Union opened up by Gorbachev's policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring). Expanded freedom of the press and political life in general has produced enormous intellectual ferment, including an intense interest in the ideas of Leon Trotsky. The miners strikes last summer demonstrated the power of the Soviet proletariat and have given rise to independent workers organizations, which in many cases have affirmed their commitment to genuine socialism.

Yet four years of attempts to impose market-oriented economic policies have unleashed centrifugal forces throughout the USSR. From Central Asia to the Western borderlands, national antagonisms threaten to tear the multinational USSR apart. In the Caucasus and Moldavia conditions are close to civil war. And in the Baltics pro-capitalist nationalists are driving hard for counterrevolution behind the slogan of independence. Meanwhile, attempts to invigorate the economy after the Brezhnev "years of stagnation" are backfiring. Lines grow longer in front of stores with no consumer goods. Workers seethe with anger at price-gouging by private "cooperative" enterprises. And Vorkuta coal miners are again on strike, now in direct violation of anti-strike laws.

Imperialist ideologues are crowing about the supposed "death of Communism." West European Common Market rulers meet to lay plans for "reintegrating" East Europe, i.e., for a capitalist takeover of their socialized economies. U.S. president George Bush and French leaders earnestly discuss the implications of a capitalist reunification of Germany, as West German companies draw up plans for reopening their pre-1945 plants in the DDR. The would-be participants in the imperialist feast are already celebrating, licking their chops at the prospect of carving up the socialized economies of the Soviet bloc.

The Stalinist bureaucracies are certainly at the end of their rope, but as was seen in the Beijing spring and with the Soviet miners strikes over the summer, the *working class* is entering the battle. And the workers sure aren't fighting to reintroduce capitalist exploitation! At the same time, from the USSR to China to the DDR, what is crucially lacking is a proletarian leadership organizing on a genuinely communist program of defense of the socialized economy against capitalist restoration, shattering the burcaucracy and establishing workers democracy based on soviets, fighting for communist unity against imperialism and for international socialist revolution.

The bourgeoisie has swallowed its own lying equation of Stalinism with communism. Their eyes have been fixed on counterrevolutionary movements like clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność and on pro-capitalist elements in the Stalinist burcaucracy. During his recent tour of the U.S. seeking to entice imperialist investment and aid, Lech Walesa "told a press conference that the government owns 90 percent of the Polish economy, and 80 percent of it is for sale" (*Washington Post*, 18 November). To make Poland attractive for Western capital, the Solidarność-led government is insisting on an end to strikes. But it will take more than a strike ban to rein in the Polish working class as it faces 30 percent unemployment, the elimination of food subsidies and an end to social services. In order to overcome popular resistance to a "shock" austerity plan engineered by Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, one Polish economist commented that the government would need "a safety net of the Chilean type: the military would have to do it" (*New Yorker*, 13 November).

Poland under Solidarność is no rags-to-riches capitalist success story—on the contrary, it's on the brink of collapse. Already there are soup kitchens, and as part of privatizing urban transport to make it profitable they're talking about raising fares from 70 zlotys to 1,070 zlotys. Now the formerly official Stalinist-led union federation OPZZ is vowing to resist the government's starvation policies. Polish workers *will fight* to resist the ravages of capitalist immiseration. Meanwhile, in neighboring Hungary capitalists are flocking to Budapest in hopes of buying up state properties at fire sale prices, while the workers are driven literally to the brink of starvation. A *New York Times* headline noted: "Capitalism Comes to Hungary With a Vengeance." Even right-wing cosmetics tycoon Ronald Lauder, who owns two outlets in Budapest, says: "It's inevitable.... Two, three years, and there will be a backlash against this capitalist exploitation."

And in East Germany, the overwhelming mass of the people have no desire to restore capitalism. The *Wall Street Journal* (6 October) reported why "many—perhaps most" East Germans don't want to leave or see their country swallowed by the capitalist West:

> "One reason is that it's easier to find a true believer in socialism here than perhaps anywhere else in Eastern Europe. And while many now decry the kind of communism they've got, they still admire the theory while also fearing what life would be like under capitalism. They see capitalism as possibly

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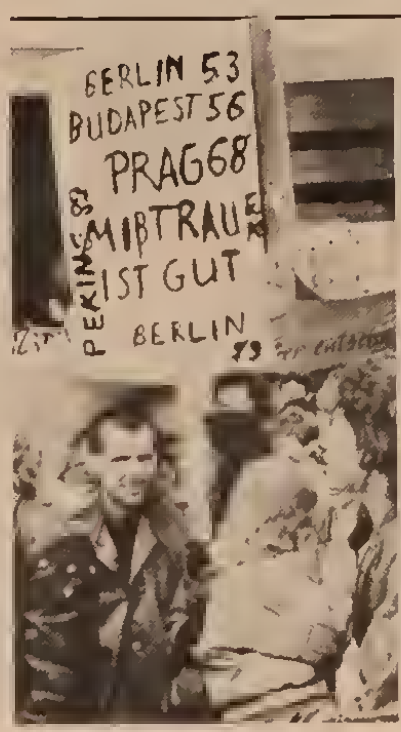
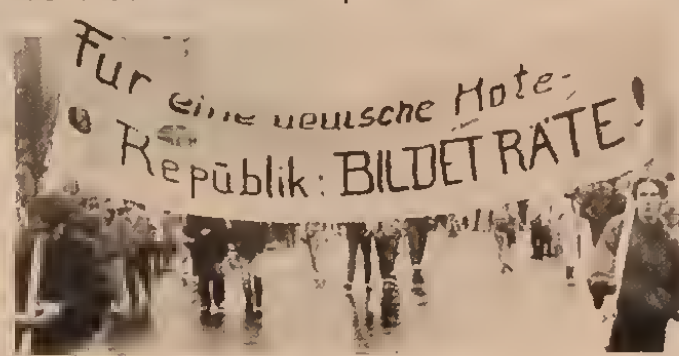
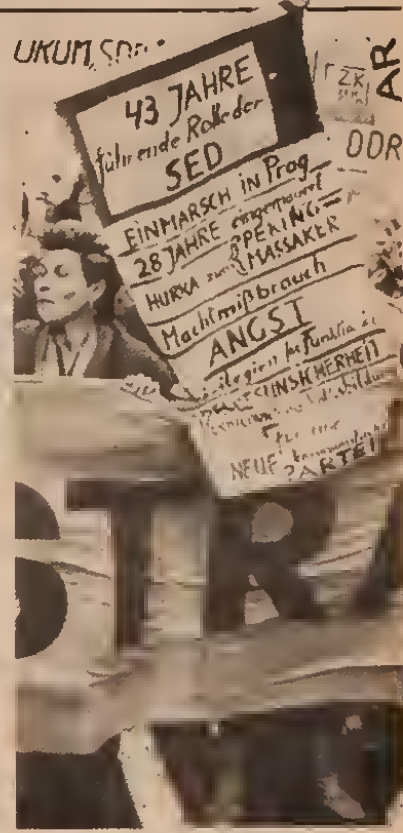


Placard recalls earlier challenges to bureaucratic rule—'53 East Berlin uprising, '56 Hungarian revolution, '68 Prague Spring, Tiananmen massacre. "Mistrust is good."

Banners at November 4 protest read: "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges" (above), "For a German Soviet Republic—Build Soviets!"





Demonstrator calls "For a New Communist Party!"

Spartakist Photos

Pix Incorporated

East German Stalinists erected Berlin Wall in 1961 as bureaucratic defense of deformed workers state to stop flow of skilled workers to capitalist West.

French Trotskyist Student Speaks at East Berlin Rally

On November 17, several thousand students from across East Germany rallied in front of the historic Georg Humboldt University in East Berlin, calling for an independent student association. A student comrade of the Ligue Trotskyste de France spoke from the speakers platform.

"In 1986, we had a big student strike. But what was lacking was to link up with the proletariat. It's the same thing here. The East German students must ally themselves with the proletariat. What is on the agenda is political revolution. Political revolution means throwing out the bureaucracy. In France, we have to make a socialist revolution, here a political revolution. If East Germany makes its revolution, West Germany will also make its revolution—there will be reunification on a revolutionary basis."

"We remember 1953 when the East German working class began a political revolution. Today, we have to do the same thing—and win...." Calling for an international revolutionary struggle, she noted that "behind Germany stands Europe and the world." She concluded with greetings in the name of the International Communist League.

Help Raise the Banner of Trotskyism in Germany

Give to the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund

"The extermination of capitalism, the establishment of the socialist order of society, is possible only on an international scale—but, of course, it cannot be carried out at a uniform pace in all countries. The work has begun in Russia, it must be continued in Germany...."

Thus declared Karl Liebknecht in November 1918. But the movement toward socialist revolution in Germany was crushed by the Social Democrats and later sabotaged and perverted by the Stalinists. This led to Hitler's bloody victory, as a prelude to World War II and the imperialist Cold War. Today we are seeing a historic opportunity to raise the banner of genuine communism in the industrial heartland of Europe. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—committed to continuing the work of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—is now engaged in an intense campaign to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party in all of Germany.

In 1953, East German workers were the first to rise up against Stalinist bureaucratic rule while calling on their class brothers in the West to join them. Today Stalinism is wounded, but communism lives—from Soviet coal miners to East German workers to Salvadoran insurgents. For proletarian political revolution in East Germany and socialist revolution in West Germany! For revolutionary reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

The International Communist League has already produced 200,000 copies in German of our leaflet, "Workers Soviets To Power!" The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the ICL, has reprinted its pamphlet "'Market Socialism' in East Europe." Your contribution is urgently needed to carry out this vital work. Make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, P.O. Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Earmark for: "Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund" (or simply "3-L's Fund").

German Trotskyist leaflet calls for "Workers Soviets To Power!"

East Germany...

(continued from page 9)

threatening the comfortable system that guarantees their jobs, low-cost housing and free health care and education."

Moreover, the SED ranks have begun to rebel. On November 8, tens of thousands of party members demonstrated outside the Central Committee meeting. They succeeded in forcing a party congress (to be held December 15) where they can vote out the leadership, and local SED units dumped four out of the eleven recently appointed Politburo members. When a party official tried to get them to sing the old German social-democratic anthem, the demonstrators responded by singing the *Internationale*.

Last October 9 in Leipzig, events came perilously close to a Beijing-style massacre, as Honecker ordered the army to shoot demonstrators. He was overruled and then ousted. But the ruling bureaucracy, including Gorbachev-ite "reformers" like Prime Minister Hans Modrow, cannot produce the "socialist renewal" they talk of. Events in East Germany point to a proletarian *political revolution* that would defend the existing social gains and open the way to genuine socialism. The Stalinist and infuriatingly Prussian bureaucracy is stifling the development of the most industrially advanced state of the Soviet bloc. What's needed is the proletarian democracy of soviets (workers councils), led by a genuine communist party based on the Bolshevik internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky. A political revolution in the DDR would send out a clarion call to workers from Hungary and Poland to the Soviet Union, and would have an electrifying impact on West German workers and throughout capitalist West Europe.

West German rulers dream of a unified capitalist Fourth Reich.

Spartakist

West Berlin, June 1983: Trotskyists call for workers militias to crush fascist attacks on immigrant workers.

But a little bit of political revolution is a chancy thing. At bottom, either the workers take political power or capitalist counterrevolution takes the ascendancy. In the regular Monday night demonstration in Leipzig on November 20, for the first time right-wing nationalist slogans appeared calling for a capitalist reunification of Germany. "*Deutschland—Ein Vaterland*" (Germany—One Fatherland) proclaimed one banner. Meanwhile, in West Germany reactionary forces have been venting their rage against DDR immigrants: in Hannover, two "Trabis" (the East German Trabant car) were burned. And in Göttingen, anti-fascists who confronted neo-Nazis were assaulted by police, who drove one woman to her death in the path of an oncoming car. German workers, East and West, must mobilize their class power to smash the fascist threat.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

No sooner had euphoric East Germans poured across the Berlin Wall to go window-shopping on the Ku'damm and gorge themselves on chocolates than every leading capitalist politician started talking about reunification. What separates East and West Germany are fundamentally counterposed social systems, not mortar and brick. Since its erection in 1961 the Wall has been Western imperialism's favorite Cold War symbol. As we wrote in *WV* No. 459 (12 August 1988):

"The imperialists hate the Berlin Wall because it was erected as a barrier to the capitalist reunification of Germany. The Wall was a measure, albeit a bureaucratic one, to defend the collectivized economy against imperialist pressure, specifically the massive hemorrhaging of state-trained East German professionals and skilled workers to the West...."

But what brought the Wall down in the end was not imperialist revanchism, but social struggle by the East German masses. Today, free passage across the Wall can also serve as a springboard for revolutionary unity and common struggle by the working masses of the capitalist West and the East German deformed workers state.

Yet many of those who believe in socialism for East Germany are convinced that a socialist revolution is impossible in West Germany, or at any rate so remote as to have no bearing on current politics. Consequently many DDR oppositionists see the Social Democracy (SPD) as the only alternative in West Germany. But the SPD has only administered German capitalism on behalf of the Krupps and Thyssens, including presiding over mass layoffs such as at Rheinhausen last year, while acting as a cornerstone of NATO in building up the Bundeswehr as the strongest imperialist army in Europe. Toward East Europe, and East Germany in particular, the Social Democrats under Willy Brandt were the architects of the *Ostpolitik* that has become the common policy of German imperialism. This was symbolized by the Bundestag rising to sing the *Deutschlandlied* when the Wall was opened, and by the consensus program presented by Christian Democrat Kohl demanding the DDR dismantle the planned economy as a prerequisite for Western financial aid.

Today the West German SPD leaders are assiduously cultivating DDR oppositionists, bringing over the head of the newly founded East German Social Democratic Party (SDP) for "consultations," passing out advice to Bärbel Bohley of the Neues Forum not to push too fast. This line was summed up in a recent article by former SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt (*Die Zeit*, 17 November) calling for pumping in "many billions of D-marks...over several years," for joint ventures and "training of managers and unions." In Schmidt's scenario for counterrevolution, "The property question is

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For the Communism of the "Three L's," fighters for world revolution: V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg.

"AFL-CIA" and $olidarność

Even as Solidarność prime minister Mazowiecki was demanding that Polish miners work mandatory Saturdays to speed up production, Solidarność leader Lech Walesa was in the U.S. trying to drum up capitalist investment for Poland. On November 13, Walesa was the guest of honor at a White House banquet, where Bush gave him the Medal of Freedom. Two days later he was greeted with a standing ovation at a joint session of Congress. But the highlight of Walesa's visit was his triumphal appearance at the AFL-CIO convention, where AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland belatedly gave him the 1981 "George Meany Human Rights" award, appropriately named after the rabid anti-Communist who supported every U.S.-backed right-wing dictatorship in the world. As a film on the rise and triumph of Polish Solidarność flickered to an end, the spotlight shifted to the balcony and Mr. Solidarność himself.

Walesa quipped to the AFL-CIO fat cats: "Such is the fate of a Polish trade unionist—he has to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship." At a press conference afterwards, he promised American capitalists that they "could make business deals of the century" by investing in Poland. (Last August, Walesa baldly called for going "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism.") The next day, the convention hosted Walesa's godfather, former CIA director and now commander in chief, George Bush, who said more than he intended when he offered "thanks to the AFL-CIA" (then snickered about his "Freudian slip"). Labor reporter Ken Crowe, the only one to report the incident, noted:

> "The AFL-CIO foreign affairs department, which gets the bulk of its funding directly from the federal government or indirectly from the government via the National Endowment for Democracy [NED], often is accused by critics of being an arm of the CIA overseas."
>
> —*Newsday*, 16 November

Bush appealed for "a partnership for progress in Poland." But the Kirkland gang's partnership with the CIA for counterrevolution in Poland goes right back to the founding days of Solidarność.

WV Photo

"AFL-CIA" chief Lane Kirkland (at front podium) fêtes Solidarność counterrevolutionary Lech Walesa (nearest to Kirkland) and boss George Bush (right).

Now that Poland has a Solidarność-led cabinet and a reactionary Catholic prime minister, the anti-Communist backers of Solidarność are crowing. A few months ago, the *Washington Post* (27 August) ran a story, "How We Helped Solidarity Win" by one Adrian Karatnycky, coordinator of "East European programs" for the AFL-CIO's "Department of International Affairs." His braggadocio underlined the fact that Solidarność was funded by the CIA virtually from its inception. While sundry fake "leftists" were touting this pro-Western "free union," the Spartacist tendency denounced the imperialist spy agency operation as well as the Solidarność leaders' counterrevolutionary aims.

Karatnycky says that as early as 1980-81, "hundreds of thousands of dollars" of aid for Solidarność "poured into the AFL-CIO headquarters." Where those big bucks came from is no doubt part of the "much of the story" which he says "will have to be told another day"—but it sure wasn't collected at factory gates. In later years, Karatnycky admits, "millions of dollars" for Solidarność were laundered by the AFL-CIO, money which came from the NED. This congressionally funded agency was created in 1983 as a thinly veiled cover for the CIA. These dirty dollars bought "scores of printing presses, dozens of computers, hundreds of mimeograph machines, thousands of gallons of printer's ink... video cameras and radio broadcasting equipment."

Karatnycky notes that this operation "caught the attention" of the Polish government, which banned Kirkland and the head of the AFL-CIO's International Department, Irving Brown, from attending Solidarność' first congress in 1981, which consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program. Brown, better known as "Mr. AFL-CIA," spent more than four decades in anti-Communist, union-busting subversion around the world before he finally died this year. In France after World War II, he paid Corsican mafia thugs to attack "red" dockers unions. In Latin America, the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" set up yellow "unions" and helped overthrow leftist governments from Guatemala in 1954 to Chile in 1973. In Poland this outfit set up a real Company "union."

Lane Kirkland is himself a top labor lieutenant of American imperialism and anti-Soviet Cold Warrior. He graduated from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and worked as a speech writer for Harry Truman. Kirkland has been a high-level intelligence "overseer" on "Company business": together with Ronald Reagan he was on the 1975 Rockefeller Commission which tried to whitewash CIA assassination plots and spying on domestic dissidents. (Kirkland is also a member of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation.) The AFL-CIO leader was part of the 1984 Kissinger Commission which called for billions to smash leftists in El Salvador and to fund contra mercenaries in Nicaragua. Today this friend of Solidarność is on the NED board.

Now that Walesa & Co. openly call for restoring capitalism in Poland, the "left" tails of this Trojan horse are suddenly trying to distance themselves from Solidarność. But already in September 1981, we noted the significance of Solidarność' ties to the AFL-CIO, which had supplied a $300,000 printing press and sponsored a Solidarność office in New York. We proclaimed "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" and "Down with the Solidarność-'AFL-CIA' Axis!" and picketed the opening of this office (located in the Manhattan headquarters of superhawk Al Shanker's UFT). Solidarność' CIA connections and counterrevolutionary intentions were always there to see for anyone who wanted to see them. The fake-left hid the truth in order to jump on the Cold War "Solidarity with Solidarity" bandwagon. We Trotskyists told the truth about Solidarność when that was unpopular, and when it counted. ■

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not yet important, for now. Rather what's immediately posed is the independence of enterprise management" and "competitive markets," to eliminate the "centralized bureaucratic command economy."

Deputy SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine, meanwhile, says "the democratic opposition" in the DDR "wouldn't be helped by us putting it under suspicion of being handmaidens of the West," so don't complain that they talk about "democratization and reform of socialist society" rather than a return to capitalism (*Der Spiegel*, 25 September). But many who speak of socialist democracy in East Germany genuinely don't want to be a front for social-democratic counterrevolution. However, it is *impossible*—Stalin to the contrary—to build socialism in one country. And that impossibility is even more manifest for East Germany because of its intimate economic relation with a powerful West German capitalism.

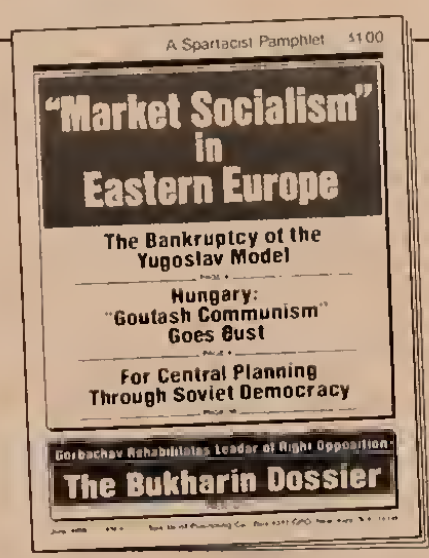
We recognize that East German workers and leftist intellectuals, however much they would love to see a socialist revolution in the West, are convinced this is an utterly utopian prospect. But here they are truly underestimating their own capacity to change the world. And they also do not fully understand the degree to which it is the hideous deformations of Stalinism, and not the purported viability of capitalism, which have strengthened bourgeois, especially social-democratic, ideology among the West European working class.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia—a backward country then at war with Germany—*radically and instantly* changed the political consciousness of the German working class. During the 1920s the Communist Party embraced the best, most militant, most idealistic elements of the German proletariat, especially the youth. Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were inspirational figures for millions of German workers and leftist intellectuals in the Weimar Republic. However, the treachery and cowardice of the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies enabled the Nazis to take power and crush the strongest and best-organized proletariat in Europe.

In the early post-World War II years the Stalinized Communist Party (KPD) was still a force to be reckoned with in what is now West Germany. Between 1946 and 1948, *70 percent* of the enterprise councils in the Ruhr coal mines were headed by KPD militants. In 1947 the KPD won 14 percent of the vote in North Rhine-Westphalia, the industrial heartland of West Germany (Ute Schmidt/Tilman Fichter, *Der erzwungene Kapitalismus* [1978]). It was only *after* the Stalinist bureaucratization of East Germany, and given the KPD's failure to lead militant struggles when they had mass support, that the Social Democrats, agents of Western imperialism, gained political hegemony over the West German proletariat.

If the East German working class takes political power on the basis of soviet democracy and in the name of communist internationalism, the political consciousness of the West German working class will be overwhelmingly transformed. And not only the West German working class. The revolutionary reunification of Germany will change the world. As we pointed out in a statement by the international Spartacist tendency on the occasion of Ronald Reagan's 1982 grand tour of Europe:

> "Germany is the leader of Europe—for socialism or barbarism.... Only the workers of the world, who in Marx's words 'have no country,' can establish an equitable and harmonious international division of labor based on socialization of the means of production. The alternatives are nuclear barbarism or revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a *socialist* united states of Europe." ■



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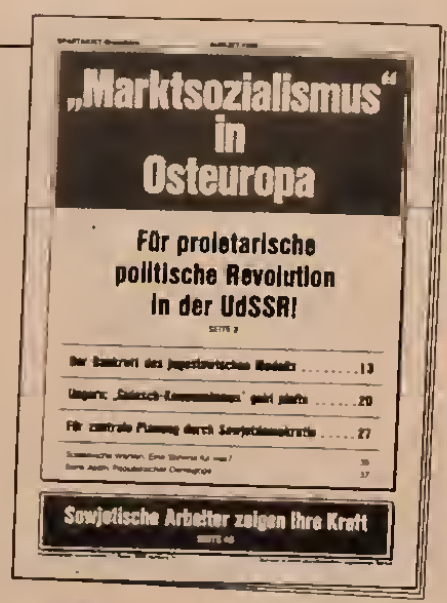

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New York City Elections...

(continued from page 3)

infrastructure crumbles further. If it's not a ruptured asbestos-coated water pipe under Eighth Avenue, it's the Williamsburg Bridge falling apart.

But it's going to get worse. The junk-bond-fueled "prosperity" of the '80s is over. New job cuts on Wall Street have been announced. On inauguration day Dinkins will inherit a budget deficit of half a billion dollars, projected to rise to $2 billion by 1993. It will be Dinkins' job to take this out of the hides of New York's workers, minorities and poor. As he addressed potential Wall Street contributors just prior to the election, Dinkins assured them he could handle labor and minorities: "So it may well be that I'll have to tell some of my friends they cannot have all the things they want. But they'll take it from me" (*New York Times*, 30 October).

David Dinkins did manage to unite both sides of the bitter '68 teachers strike, both the Shankerite United Federation of Teachers and the "community control" black nationalists Jitu Weusi and Sonny Carson. They are united on a program to control and hold back labor, to channel the just outrage of the black community into mainstream bourgeois politics. The Dinkins campaign was run out of the Hospital Workers 1199 union hall on West 43rd Street. A member of the Democratic Socialists of America, he is supported by the social-democratic apparatus that has control of NYC labor, extending from Dennis Rivera, newly elected president of 1199, to CWA district president Jan Pierce, currently trying to ram a sellout contract down the throats of 40,000 striking NYNEX telephone workers. Rivera pronounced it the rebirth of "the old Democratic Party coalition—the coalition of John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey and Mario Cuomo." In this he is right: the Dinkins coalition is the quintessential "popular front" of class collaboration.

McNamee/Newsweek

Virginia Democrat Douglas Wilder, first elected black governor, was "pro-choice" on abortion, but also for the racist death penalty.

Some reformist "leftists" tried to peddle their wares in the shadow of the Dinkins popular front. Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party spent the primary campaign "doggin' Dinkins," i.e., following the black Democrat around to his public appearances and pressuring him to "do the right thing." Socialist Workers Party candidate James Harris ran on a straight reformist platform. As for Fred Mazelis and the sinister Workers League, their campaign program only mentioned the racist murder of Yusuf Hawkins to denounce David Dinkins for trying to exploit it. No wonder they could campaign in Bensonhurst.

Break with the Democrats—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

After the election, one 1199 hospital worker proudly displayed his union button and Dinkins button on the lapel of his jacket: "We helped David Dinkins," he said. "I'm happy about that, not just because I'm black, but for my union and the whole city." It's for damn sure that the union men and women who were the lifeblood of Dinkins' campaign didn't volunteer in order to get more racist cops and more cutbacks. They want a city where you can walk into any neighborhood you want, buy a slice of pizza, or a used car, and not fear for your life. They want jobs, an affordable apartment, a decent education. But they won't get this from the racist Democrats who are planning austerity not liberation for their constituents.

WV Photo

Striking Eastern, NYNEX and Local 1199 hospital workers march through New York, August 14. Labor tops derail vital strike struggles, push votes for Democrats.

Today in New York, there's more action in the labor movement than in years. And the situation in New York cries out for the integrated workers movement to mobilize in defense of blacks and other minorities, to defend their basic rights. As we wrote in "New York at the Flashpoint" (*WV* No. 485, 15 September), "As racial tensions boil in New York, the most integrated social force in the city is organized labor. Transit workers, hospital workers, city employees, hotel and restaurant workers are all heavily minority and many unions now have black and Hispanic leaderships. And this workforce is growing in consciousness...." We have called for class-conscious and anti-racist militants in New York to begin organizing committees within the unions for a workers party to galvanize labor in struggle to champion the cause of minorities and all working people.

The aspirations of thousands of blacks, Hispanics, of city unionists awakened by the Dinkins campaign, can never be realized within the confines of electoral politics in this racist capitalist system. Newark, New Jersey, now into its second generation of black mayors, stands as a monument to the ruling class' contempt for and abandonment of the black population in this country. There, they even came with the wrecking ball and *knocked down the public housing projects*. Where were people relocated—in nice new garden apartments the city planners consider more "livable"? No, they're on the streets, the subway gratings, and the shelters, and the morgue. New York—with its vast forgotten expanses of the South Bronx, Bushwick, Loisaida—will face the same fate.

Desperately needed is a struggle that breaks out of the stranglehold of the two capitalist parties, based on mobilization of the blacks, Hispanics, all working people in a fight for *power*, against the Wall Streeters, junk bonders, real estate speculators, the runaway industrialists who produce nothing of value—in short, nothing less than a socialist revolution that overturns the whole framework of this racist capitalist system. ■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

Wattleton also supports a restriction on abortion rights. She stands by "the Supreme Court decision of 1973, that set forth the trimester structure in which the state could take a compelling interest [in the fetus], as the gestation progressed" (ABC-TV *Nightline*, 3 July). Marxists, on the other hand, support a woman's right to free abortion on demand, and oppose the intervention of the state at any point in a woman's pregnancy.

Hitchens' anti-abortion column provoked a big debate in the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, reflecting the SWP's capitulation to the bourgeois feminist currents mentioned above.

On April 28, *Militant* editor Doug Jenness wrote a "pro-choice" column meekly criticizing Hitchens' proposal for its inability to "guarantee women's equality *and* protection for all human embryos" (his emphasis). But a week later he boldly defended Hitchens against an attack by Meredith Tax, who didn't want to give "the rights to my body to any state" (*Nation*, 8 May). Jenness claimed that abortions involve "mental distress," and argued that:

> "Tax gives Hitchens' proposal the back of her hand without probing into some of the questions it raises that deserve answers.
>
> "The problem with Hitchens' proposed social solution for eliminating abortions by attempting to do away with the need for them is that it assumes a very different society than the system of capitalist exploitation we live under today...."

Under "a society that truly respects the interests of women," Jenness writes, "abortions will over time likely decline and may even disappear" (*Militant*, 5 May).

In a later column (26 May), Jenness even expresses his concern for "unborn babies." If I understand Jenness correctly, he thinks that in a "very different society" Hitchens' proposal to make women into incubators for the state *will* be possible. Jenness agrees with the "pro-life" movement that abortion is an evil—involving "mental distress" and lack of concern for "unborn babies"—he just thinks that socialism is the best way to eliminate it. Perhaps we'll soon see an article in the *Militant* telling us "Where Operation Rescue Goes Wrong in the Fight Against Abortion"!

Even anti-abortion Surgeon General C. Everett Koop confessed that the scientific data "do not support" the view that abortion causes "psychological problems" (*New York Times*, 10 January).

I was glad to see that Jenness' columns sparked several protest letters (by SWP members?) to the *Militant*. I urge these spurned letter writers to check out the Spartacist League's consistent *working-class* program in defense of abortion rights. Rather than cling to NOW's skirts, SL marches under the banners of class struggle, such as "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." Labor has a vital interest in defending women's rights, for instance Local 1199 hospital workers who mobilized repeatedly last summer, and CWA strikers, whose union has organized clinic workers. A couple of hundred determined unionists defending the clinics like they ought to defend the picket line, and Operation Rescue types like Randall Terry might have to think twice about blockading the clinic doors.

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Leon Trotsky emphasized the importance of abortion rights, and saw the anti-abortion laws of the 1930s as a horrible result of the conservative Stalinist political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union:

> "One of the members of the highest Soviet court, Soltz, a specialist on matrimonial questions, bases the forthcoming prohibition of abortion on the fact that in a socialist society where there are no unemployed, etc., etc., a woman has no right to decline 'the joys of motherhood.' The philosophy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme.... In reality the new law against women—with an exception in favor of ladies—is the natural and logical fruit of a Thermidorian reaction."

Doug Jenness seems to have the Stalin/Soltz line to a "T"!

After examining the views of several leftist organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialist Organization, I found that only the Spartacist League maintained an uncompromising and consistent class-struggle approach to abortion rights. I hope the *Militant* letter writers, and all others searching for a revolutionary approach to women's liberation, will find their way to the Spartacist League.

Comradely,
Jeffrey S. Vogel

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Texas Plastics Plant Explosion: 23 Dead

A Case of Company Murder

"It was like being inside a bomb," said Clay Howell, who was knocked out of his chair 350 yards away from the explosion at the Phillips Petroleum plastics plant in Pasadena, Texas on October 23. Twenty-three workers were killed by the blast, which registered between 3.5 and 4.0 on the Richter scale! Over 120 others were hospitalized, many in critical condition. When the plant blew up, pieces of sheet metal a foot long rained down on drivers five miles away. A week later the plant was still burning.

This was no "industrial accident." Workers were slaughtered because of Phillips' greed for profit—the Pasadena plant was a time bomb ticking away. In testimony before a Congressional subcommittee on November 6, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) vice president Robert Wages described what happened when the highly explosive isobutane and ethylene gases used in manufacturing high-density polyethylene (HDPE) escaped the 16-story-tall reactor No. 6:

> "Within two to five minutes the vented process gas and product created an open air vapor cloud that engulfed the reactor complex #4, #5 and plant five finishing building. The vapor cloud was ignited by an unknown source and exploded with the force of ten tons of TNT."

In the seconds before the explosion, workers ran for their lives. But many were trapped by the razor wire on top of the fence Phillips had ringed the plant with.

Phillips refused to allow union safety experts into the plant until a court order forced them to. The company's history of safety violations and gross negligence of safe maintenance procedures had already resulted in one worker's death in an earlier "accident" in August. And union safety reps quickly pointed to the causes this time: to maintain high production, Phillips continued to run the HDPE reactor while its "dump legs" (outflow pipes) were being unclogged. Poorly trained, non-union maintenance crews working on reactor No. 6 failed to "lock out" and disable the valve which allowed the explosive gases to escape. And as the OCAW official told Congress, the "reactor was designed with no automatic safety systems that could shut a valve venting to [the] atmosphere."

About 500 of the 900 workers at the Phillips plant were members of OCAW Local 4-227, the rest drawn from the non-union outfits that charge Phillips only two-thirds of union wages. In the August fire, which killed one worker and injured four, *the same maintenance subcontractor* in the October 23 explosion was cited for failure to "lock out" valves. For the death of that worker, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) fined Phillips a lousy *$750*—and the butchers are contesting that! These workers died because of Phillips Petroleum's relentless drive for profits through destroying union jobs and a calculated, deadly disregard for workers' lives. The Board of Directors and top management of the Phillips plant ought to be on trial for murder.

Reuters

Pasadena, Texas: Fire rages at Phillips plastics plant following deadly explosion.

The chemical and oil processing industries have fought off tougher safety restrictions while compliance with existing laws has plummeted; the last comprehensive inspection of the Phillips plant by OSHA was in 1975. "Rash of Fires at Oil and Chemical Plants Sparks Growing Alarm," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* (7 November), noting a recent wave of deaths and injuries across the country: Quantum Chemical outside Chicago, Chevron in Richmond, California, Shell Oil in Norco, Louisiana. This mouthpiece for finance capital noted that some plants are running *over* 100 percent of rated capacity, as industry analysts admit: "Refiners simply 'don't want to stop the equipment' when gasoline and chemical profits are high.... 'People are putting in minimum investment and minimum maintenance'." And the workers pay with their lives.

Even after the massacre in Bhopal, India in December 1984, where deadly methyl isocyanate from a Union Carbide plant killed over 3,500 and injured more than 200,000, not one family has yet received a rupee. Flaunting a racist, imperialist arrogance, Union Carbide's legal strategy was to have the case tried in India, because "Life is cheap in India" (*Washington Post*, 19 February). Compared to awards by American juries, "India was a bargain," the article noted. as Union Carbide will only pay $470 million to over 500,000 victims and their families, who will be lucky to see any of it. But in the U.S. as well, the capitalists don't pay for their industrial crimes.

In 20 years of OSHA's existence not one capitalist has ever spent even a day in jail as a result of an OSHA investigation into the death of a worker on the job. The largest producer of asbestos, Manville Corporation, knew since 1935 that the fibers were deadly to those who worked with it. They used bankruptcy court to escape with a paltry average payment of $38,000 per victim. And now the Manville asbestos trust has "almost run out of money. As a result, tens of thousands of people... will have to wait 25 years" (*New York Times*, 24 October). Now the bourgeoisie is going to "reform" the Warsaw airline convention, exempting union-busting airline bosses from having to pay big bucks in punitive damages when their 20-year-old flying jalopies fall out of the sky.

The OCAW tops, like the rest of the labor bureaucracy, place their faith in their phony "friends of labor" politicians. But whether it's a Democrat or Republican in the White House or Congress, neither capitalist party will put worker health and safety before corporate profits. The urgent issue here is the need for power—workers power—to enforce safety. The United Mine Workers' safety committees once wielded real power before they were eroded under pro-Labor Department UMW "reformer" Miller and his successors. OCAW workers must fight for elected union safety committees with the ability to shut the plants down at any time *they* decide it's necessary.

To prevent horrors like the Pasadena, Texas disaster, the working class must take out of the hands of the capitalists the factories and plants which the workers have built. A workers government will run the economy in the interests of the producers, not the greedy profiteers for whom a worker's life is worth no more than the increase in their insurance premiums. And the world will be a safer place for everybody. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 5)

considered by mayor-elect David Dinkins for the top cop post in NYC.

This latest wave of cop terror comes at an ominous point in the city's history. This fall, Mayor Flynn and his buddies took the first steps in burying the corpse of the Boston busing plan. Long dead as an instrument for effective school desegregation, having been killed by racist vigilantes and liberal backstabbers, the plan essentially moved black kids to different parts of town while white kids went to private schools. Flynn got his start in city politics with the Southie racist opponents of desegregation and has now instituted a "controlled choice" plan for kindergarten and grades one and six. He hopes this will lead to a renaissance of the "neighborhood," i.e., segregated, school.

After Boston became notorious in the mid-'70s for the racist rampages against school busing, in recent years efforts to integrate public housing have also been met by mob violence. While some families have courageously moved in, this September bricks came crashing down on black residents in the McCormack project in South Boston. A caller from the shadowy outfit called the "South Boston Defense League" took credit for this outrage. And in October, bullets were fired into the apartment of Mary Bullock, one of the few black residents of the Old Colony project in Southie.

Racist terror in Boston has deep roots. But repeatedly, with both housing and school segregation, those who oppose it have looked for redress to the capitalist state. Since it's obvious they'll get nowhere through Boston's racist electoral politics, many turn to the courts. Yet the gross discrimination against minorities continues and the racist terror spreads, most recently against the Asian population. Meanwhile, the liberal Democrats, whether Beacon Hill Brahmin ex-mayor Kevin White, "lace curtain" Irish Raymond Flynn, or Kennedy in the Senate and Dukakis in the State House, turn a blind eye to the victimization of minorities.

At the height of the busing struggle, while reformists along with black politicians like Bill Owens called for federal troops, the Spartacist League fought for a program of mass mobilizations of labor and blacks to defend busing. Even in this deeply class- and race-divided city, there are important sectors of organized labor which can be drawn into the fight, such as the school bus drivers who have long stood for school integration. Hotel workers have waged struggles against racist humiliation of maids at the haughty Copley Square Hotel. If there had been labor/black mobilization during the battle for busing, Boston schools would be integrated and the likes of Mayor Flynn wouldn't be sitting pretty in City Hall while his cops are marauding in the ghetto. An intransigent fight against racist oppression is central to building a workers party in America. ■

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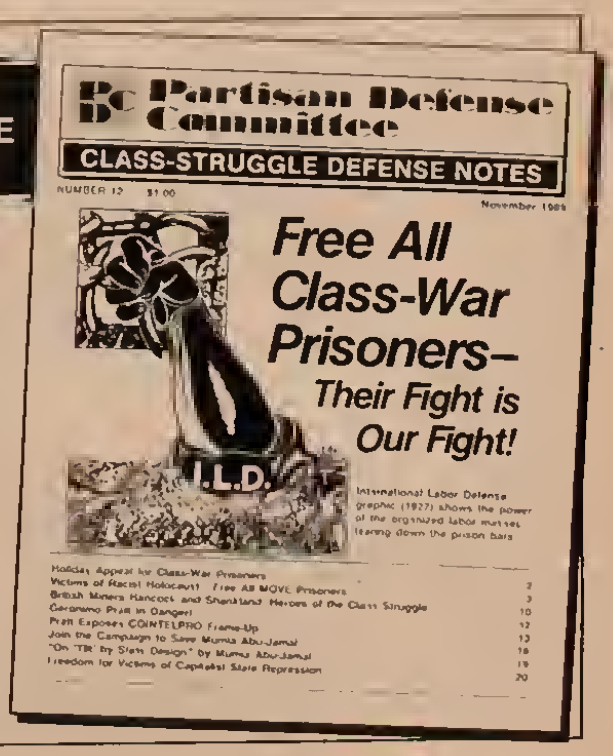


El Salvador...

(continued from page 16)

guerrilla fighters, together with FMLN urban commandos and newly recruited irregulars, took up positions in the city before attacking the presidential palace, the headquarters of the general staff, military barracks, the military airport and other targets. Entrenching themselves in working-class communities on the outskirts of San Salvador, they threw a cordon around the capital. At the same time, major assaults were launched on government positions in Santa Ana and San Miguel, the second and third largest cities, as well as smaller provincial capitals. Altogether more than 50 targets came under simultaneous attack. The slogan of this spectacular offensive is "Fascists Out! Febe Elizabeth Lives!" It was named after the union leader who was killed along with nine of her compañeros when a death squad bombed their union hall on October 31.

While the initial objective was to "pressure the government" of right-wing president Alfredo Cristiani to negotiate in good faith, the success of the operation quickly led the FMLN General Command to call for a popular uprising. A November 13 "Manifesto to the Nation" broadcast over the FMLN's Radio Venceremos called on units fighting in San Salvador to "organize the general uprising of our people and to carry out all the tasks of security and defense of the population as well as measures for seizing and distributing food." This call must respond to the deep-felt desire of the rebel combatants to finish off once and for all the hated regime, which has murdered 70,000 people over the last decade. Reporters noted that numerous civilians willingly joined in digging trenches and building street barricades.

"Our mission is to win or die. This is the last battle," declared one guerrilla fighter. Fighting from trenches, behind barricades of burnt-out cars or on rooftops, the insurgents have repeatedly turned back army counterattacks, inflicting heavy casualties. They quickly took the districts of Mejicanos, Soyapango, Metrópoli, Zacamil—more than a third of the capital with a population of over half a million people. Rebel units opened the doors of supermarkets in several areas under their control, seeking to counteract the regime's attempts to starve the populace into submission.

The offensive has demonstrated once again not only the great courage of the FMLN fighters but also their tactical ingenuity. The insurgents have countered the army's massive superiority in air power by using sewers and connecting tunnels:

> "As in the Vietnam war, the guerrillas have been able to minimise the effects of the superior firepower of their opponents by, literally, moving underground. As government counterattacks have advanced into the suburbs, troops have reportedly found guerrillas suddenly appearing out of the ground behind them. Tunnels have been discovered that link houses to the sewers."
>
> —*Financial Times* [London], 18 November

In one important sense the current FMLN offensive resembles the 1968 Tet Offensive in Vietnam, the turning point of that war. As in Vietnam, the Salvadoran guerrillas have been willing to risk enormous casualties in order to shake the confidence of the local rulers and their American overlords. For months Washington has been saying that the FMLN insurgency is isolated, impotent, finished. When the offensive began, State Department chief James Baker dismissed it as a "desperate" last gasp; the U.S. ambassador in San Salvador predicted the army would mop up the rebels in a few days. Most of the American press followed the Foggy Bottom line.

For the first time in the decade-long civil war, the Salvadoran oligarchy has felt the heat of battle only a few miles away from their mansions. And the cowardly killers who guard them have been stunned. "We didn't imagine the attack of the delinquent terrorists aided by foreign forces was going to be such a big thing," exclaimed a paratroop major. Interestingly, U.S. General Fred Woerner, who until recently was head of the Southern Command in Panama, paid a soldierly tribute to the FMLN fighters:

> "I hold the FMLN in high regard professionally for their staying power.... This urban attack is the latest in a series, albeit the biggest and best, of spectaculars to reestablish their credibility as a power that has to be reckoned with, that cannot be ignored, nor can the problem they represent be solved militarily."
>
> —AP dispatch, 17 November

Doug Hostetter

November 2 protest in Washington against Salvadoran army bombing murder of FENASTRAS leader Febe Elizabeth Velásquez (inset) and nine other unionists.

WV Photo

From afar we cannot judge whether the FMLN's spectacular action is a bold adventure or could turn into the final push for victory. But we can say no less of this move than Lenin said of the 1916 Irish Easter uprising led by James Connolly against British imperialism. Lenin observed that anyone who would condemn such a rebellion "is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon."

"Free World" Death Squads in Action

In striking contrast to the courage and boldness of the FMLN forces is the demoralized state of the Salvadoran army, largely made up of conscripts "recruited" at gunpoint. Reports from the eastern city of San Miguel state that the troops of the 3rd Infantry Brigade have refused to obey orders, leading to "chaos and confusion" (*El Dia* [Mexico City], 15 November). And there have been scattered reports of National Guard and police units fleeing in the face of FMLN gunfire.

Since its conscripts won't fight, the government has relied on its air power. A-37 attack planes have made constant sorties to drop rockets and 500-pound bombs in the densely populated neighborhoods. Helicopter gunships and C-47 airplanes equipped with high-velocity Gatling guns used in Vietnam make strafing runs. Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega has denounced this massacre, comparing the bombings to the "genocide of the dictatorship's air force" which attacked Managua on orders of the tyrant Anastasio Somoza during the 1979 revolution which overthrew that bloody U.S. puppet.

On the ground, the government refused Red Cross appeals for brief cease-fires in order to allow civilians to evacuate the war zones. And the notoriously brutal Treasury Police have prevented church volunteers from providing shelter for families whose homes have been destroyed. When one such volunteer protested that children were going hungry, the commander replied, "Why do they have to eat if they're going to die anyway?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 November).

In its frustrated rage the Salvadoran ruling class is moving to exterminate anyone and everyone considered remotely sympathetic to the rebel cause. The most prominent victims to date are the six liberal Jesuits associated with the Central American University. Ironically, one of those killed, university rector Ignacio Ellacuría, recently wrote an article on "Dialogue During the First 100 Days of Cristiani" (*Estudios Centroamericanos*, August-September 1989) in which he praised the ARENA president for his willingness to "end the war soon by political means." But the real policy of this party of the death squads is "total war." And for more than a dozen years the army has been guided by the slogan, "Be a patriot! Kill a priest!"—particularly what they call "Jesuit communists."

Remember that the ARENA was founded by Roberto "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, who ordered the assassination of Archbishop Romero in 1980. For El Salvador's crazed rightists, the ideological root of the leftist insurgency lies in a humanistic concern for the poor. Two days after the Jesuits were killed, the ARENA regime issued an open death threat to liberal church leaders unless they left the country immediately. In a letter to the Vatican, attorney general Mauricio Colorado stated, "I fear for the lives of some bishops who have persisted in keeping alive this questionable ideology of the church of the poor." El Salvador is ruled by men who think that Hitler was too soft, at any rate toward liberal churchmen.

El Salvador is *not* a typical Central American banana republic. The oligarchy feel themselves fully capable of killing communists by themselves, and they have a long history of it. In the 1932 Matanza (massacre) they killed 2 percent of the country's entire population, and *refused* the aid of U.S. and Canadian warships standing by offshore. They despise the Americans, whom they regard as bleeding-heart liberals soft on reds and pinks. The Salvador regime's idea of "land reform" is that the more land your family already has, the more you get. The economy is a hopeless wreck: most of the millions a day sent down by Washington go straight to Swiss bank accounts, while the main source of dollars is repatriated wages from Salvadoran workers in the U.S. In this land ruled like a private club by the legendary "14 families," the U.S. ambassador ranks only 15th.

For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!

Yet the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FMLN propose to reach a "negotiated solution" with the 14 families and their American paymasters. The rank-and-file FMLN fighter wants to *defeat* the enemy, *now*. The Salvadoran masses have not shed their blood, enduring ten years of war, to produce another stalemate. The working people want their day of reckoning with the military butchers and bloodstained oligarchy. Yet an enormous obstacle to victory remains the program of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FMLN, which, in one form or another, has *always* counterposed to the burning needs of the revolution its call for a "negotiated solution" to form a "government of broad participation" with the bourgeoisie.

In its latest and most extreme form, this has meant the FMLN proposing to lay down its arms and "integrate" into the U.S.-stage-managed "political process" in return for an illusory "self-purge and professionalization of the army"—whose *profession* is killing workers and peasants in the service of the "14 families." Shortly before the offensive, FMLN Comandante Leonel González stated: "We are going to put our military factor into play at the negotiating table" (*Excelsior* [Mexico City], 9 November).

The FMLN's "Manifesto to the Nation" at the start of the offensive calls on "all political and social forces, popular organizations and private businessmen" to "assume the historic role of promoters and builders of a democratic national solution that will bring lasting peace to our country." The "Manifesto" makes a "patriotic exhortation to officers and troops" and ends with a reference to the national anthem. This is not just some tactic to pull in those prone to patriotic sentimentality—as if *class war* could be patched over with national colors. FMLN spokesmen have insisted time and again that class collaboration is the *strategic* line. And they have bent over backward to make clear that their program is *not* for a social revolution of the workers, peasants and urban poor.

While appealing to the patriotism of Salvadoran capitalists and military men, key to the FMLN's strategy is pressuring the liberal wing of U.S. imperialism—concentrated mainly in the Democratic Party—to secure peace and democracy in El Salvador. However, the Democrats—a majority in Congress—have voted repeatedly for massive military aid to the Salvadoran government, not only under the "centrist" Duarte but also the fascistic ARENA. Right after the offensive began, Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd—baited by the Republicans as "Mr. Sandinista" in Congress—sent a message to the FMLN: "We intend to support the government down there, and they should know that. That despite their efforts to the contrary we are not going to abandon President Cristiani." At best, a few, like California Senator Alan Cranston, take a "curse on both your houses" line.

Like bourgeois liberals, the petty-bourgeois radicals of the FMLN speak of classless "democracy." For example, Comandante Francisco Jovel defined the movement's goals as installing "a truly democratic system" or "the establishment of an authentically democratic society" (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, September 1989). Yet the most basic democracy for the working people is *impossible* so long as the coffee barons, factory owners and their military guard dogs retain their *class power*. Only a social revolution which *expropriates the bourgeoisie* can establish even the most basic freedom for workers and peasants.

Even the reputedly "hardline" comandante Joaquín Villalobos, who has become the main spokesman of the current FMLN offensive, has made it very clear that his program aims at class collaboration:

> "In El Salvador we don't have to invent the bourgeoisie like in Nicaragua. We have to come to an understanding with it, to bring our interests together, seek-

ing forms of coexistence, even if they become the opposition."

—*Pensamiento Propio* [Managua], January-February 1989

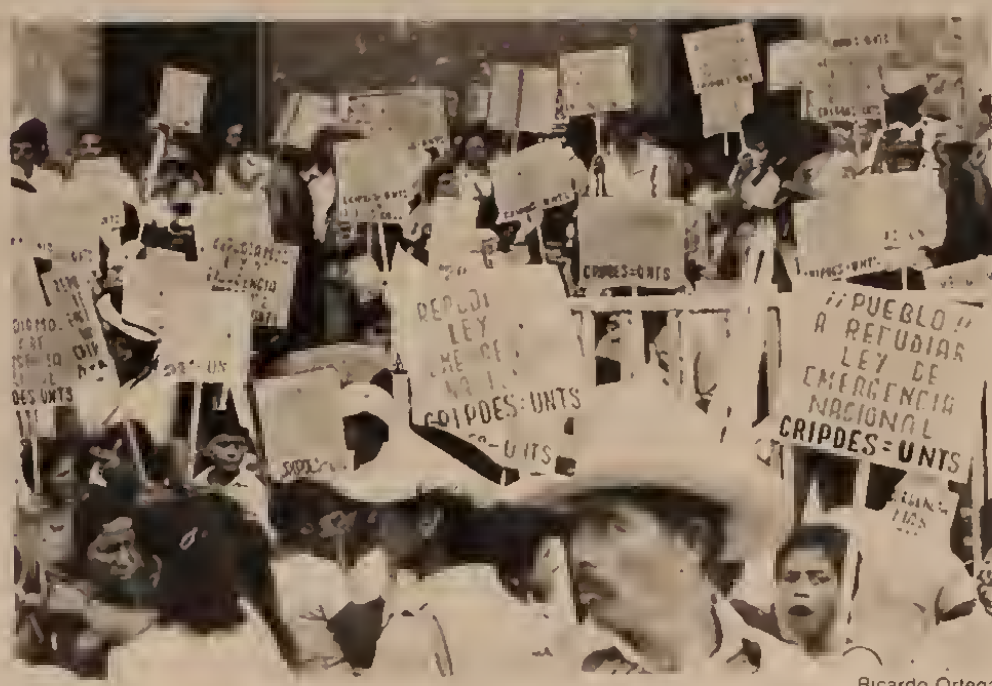
In Nicaragua the Sandinistas' bourgeois allies soon went into opposition, and became...the *contras*. One of their former coalition partners, Violeta Chamorro, is now financed by the CIA to the tune of millions of dollars as the contra candidate for president.

Compared to Nicaragua under Somoza, the working class in El Salvador has far greater social weight and a higher level of political consciousness. During the past few years, tens of thousands of workers have repeatedly marched on May Day and other occasions in protests defying the guns of the military. Immediately after Cristiani took office in June—completing ARENA's domination of the formal government structure (executive, legislative and judicial) while the military is now solidly controlled by hardliners of the *tandona* (the military academy's class of '66)—kidnappings, arrests and murders of trade unionists began escalating. This terror culminated in the October 31 bombing of the FENASTRAS labor federation, and since then union militants are still being kidnapped and murdered daily. But in response, workers courageously mobilized to bury their leaders, surrounding and disarming secret police who had infiltrated the crowd. Salvadoran workers certainly have both the combativity and organizational capacity to launch a powerful insurrection in San Salvador.

Yet while the FMLN called for a popular uprising, neither its 1981 "general offensive" nor the present one was accompanied by an insurrection. That is not for lack of popular support, as the U.S. embassy pretends. Rather, in the guerrillaist strategy mass participation is purely auxiliary, to be turned on and off as it's convenient. And as petty-bourgeois bonapartists (who have more than once settled internal disputes by assassination), they fear the formation of workers militias, workers councils and other organs of *proletarian class power*. Seven years ago, Villalobos admitted that in the spring of 1980, when hundreds of thousands of workers and slum-dwellers took to the streets, the FMLN let the opportunity for mass insurrection *pass by* because "sectors of the bourgeoisie willing to establish alliances with us" weren't willing (see "El Salvador: Workers Revolution vs. Guerrillaism," *WV* No. 325, 11 March 1983).

The guerrillas' political program is *class collaboration* with the "patriotic/democratic bourgeoisie." Currently they are trying to get Washington to engineer a "government of national salvation" with everybody except ARENA and the *tandona*. But this was already tried with the 1979 "revolutionary junta" (including such guerrilla allies as Guillermo Ungo and Rubén Zamora), which immediately led to killings of striking workers and peasants. It would be tragic if after a decade of civil war, this were to occur again today.

While events *may* move beyond the limits imposed by the FMLN's class-collaborationist program, the key remains the mobilization of the proletarian masses as a *class*, fighting for workers power. The urgent necessity of forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard based on the program of international proletarian revolution is underscored by the deepening economic crisis and continued contra aggression in Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas' pipe dreams of "pluralism and mixed economy" have meant misery for the working people and dangerous encroachments by Washington's internal contras; by the continued social turbulence in Mexico with its many-million-strong proletariat; and by the social explosions rocking a series of South American countries.



Ricardo Ortega

San Salvador, July 1988: Union demonstration against "state of emergency" law. In the face of brutal government repression, defiant working class has repeatedly taken to the streets to protest strikebreaking and death squad terror.

Central America: Achilles' Heel of U.S. Imperialism

The American ruling class has convinced itself that with nice Mr. Gorbachev running Russia, Communism will be replaced by capitalism in East Europe and all conflicts in the world will be settled in Washington's favor—total global victory. But Central America is not going according to this triumphalist scenario. An editorial in the Baltimore *Sun* (15 November) blames it all on the doctrinaire and irrational radicalism of an out-of-step Latin left:

> "Eastern Europe's message hasn't gotten through to the Central American left. As Soviet-style communism disintegrates, El Salvador's Marxist-oriented insurgency launches a Tet-like offensive and Nicaragua's Sandinista regime cancels a 19-month cease-fire to go after what remains of the right-wing contra rebellion...."

The editorial concludes that "the Latin left faces increased isolation and irrelevancy in this brave new Gorbachevian world."

American ruling circles (except for some ultras like Jeane Kirkpatrick) seem willing to recognize that the Russians have been backing off in the world. Thus they're talking about cutting the military budget by $20 billion—a decrease of about 3.5 percent!—and have toned down the Reaganite posture of fighting "Soviet surrogates" around the globe. But not in El Salvador. When an old woman heckled Bush about supporting the murder of priests, he told her to shut up and shouted back, "the left-wing guerrillas must not take over El Salvador" (*New York Times*, 21 November).

Washington hopes and expects to enlist Gorbachev in preventing such a takeover. State Department chief James Baker complained: "Soviet behavior toward Cuba and Central America remains the biggest obstacle to a full, across-the-board improvement in relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union." There is a rather nice irony here. For decades Washington denounced the Kremlin for trying to subvert "the free world." But now the U.S. rulers regret that Gorbachev cannot lay down the law, as in Stalin's day, to the likes of Castro, Ortega and Villalobos.

Certainly, Gorbachev wants nothing more than class peace and class collaboration in Central America. The Soviet foreign ministry in effect *denounced* the FMLN offensive, arguing that "the present correlation of forces tends toward a standoff which the new wave of violence cannot alter and which will only cause new civilian victims" (*La Jornada* [Mexico City], 14 November). But the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin *cannot* damp down the revolutionary turmoil in Central America, which is rooted in the *fierce hatred* of the workers, peasants and urban poor for Yankee imperialism and its bloodthirsty local exploiters. People in the street, peasants on the farm routinely refer to the army, the government, the U.S. as "the enemy."

These days there are a lot of illusions about "free world" capitalism in East Europe. Many Poles and Hungarians think that in exchange for anti-Communist declarations Washington and Wall Street will shower them with billions of dollars. But Salvadorans and Nicaraguans know that anti-Communism means starvation for them and billions of dollars for the death squads and contra terrorists. For the moment George Bush may be welcomed enthusiastically when he visits Gdansk, Warsaw and Budapest. But Bush—the boss man of the contra killers—wouldn't dare walk through the barrios of Mexico City, Managua and San Salvador without massive police protection.

The workers and peasants of Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean do not have to be told by "delinquent subversives" that Yankee imperialism is their mortal enemy. From the invasion of Mexico in the 1840s to the savage austerity programs dictated by Wall Street today, the U.S. rulers have raped the Mexican people for over a century. During the 1920s the U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua, murdered nationalist leader Augusto Sandino and installed the bloodsucking Somoza dynasty for the next half century. In El Salvador, over the past half century, from the Matanza of 1932 to the present civil war, the U.S.-backed Salvadoran oligarchy has killed a larger proportion of its own people than any ruling group in Latin America. Even the Archbishop of El Salvador now describes his country as "in first place in terms of barbarity." In Batista's Cuba, before the revolution, Havana was a giant Mafia-owned whorehouse while the countryside was a vast sugar plantation, much of it owned by United Fruit.

Reagan and Bush have ceaselessly proclaimed Central America, indeed all of Latin America, as their front yard. Well, the U.S. is a military superpower. So why don't they just send in their army and Marines to wipe out the Salvadoran guerrillas and to overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, a poor, backward country of three million? Because everyone knows the Americans would encounter ferocious popular resistance and take heavy casualties. An invasion of Central America would be no Grenada-style walkover. And even flag-waving Reaganites don't want to risk their sons dying in Central America adventures.

The long shadow of Vietnam still hovers over this country. The U.S. no longer even has a draft army. Today's pampered yuppies have never experienced boot camp or been chewed out by an angry drill sergeant. As for the black and Hispanic soldiers who joined the armed forces to escape the nightmarish conditions of the ghettos and barrios, many would rightly recognize their enemy as the *men in Washington* who sent them to fight in Central America, not the FMLN and Sandinistas. U.S. combat forces in El Salvador or Nicaragua would be demoralized and potentially mutinous from the get-go. Opposition on the home front to direct U.S. military intervention in Central America would be massive and instant. A small sign: a spokesman for the United Mine Workers—a union not usually given to supporting radical causes—participated in last weekend's Boston protest against U.S. support to the Salvadoran regime.

El Salvador is a small country with little strategic economic significance in the world. However, after the humiliating loss in Vietnam and the Nicaraguan Revolution, under Reagan U.S. imperialism decided to make El Salvador the site of its renewed anti-Communist crusade. El Salvador was to be the *anti-Vietnam*, the place where the leftist guerrillas were wiped out by U.S. puppet forces. Washington has given $3.5 billion to the death squad regime, amounting to a bounty of *$50,000 for every man, woman and child killed*. The civil war in El Salvador has taken on a global significance far greater than the small Central American country in which it is being fought. A victory for the leftist rebels over the Salvadoran rulers would be a stunning defeat and humiliation for U.S. imperialism with repercussions from the barrios of Mexico City to the factories of East Berlin and beyond. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

Spectacular Offensive by Salvador Rebels

NOVEMBER 21—Shortly before dawn this morning, leftist rebels burst into the luxurious Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador, occupying the VTP tower, a known CIA/embassy haunt sealed off to regular guests. In the process they trapped up to 12 heavily armed U.S. military "advisers" who were housed there. These "advisers" have been identified as part of a 14-man elite team of Green Berets, the notorious gang of murderers who have cut a swath of terror from South Vietnam to Central America. The FMLN has stated they are being treated as "prisoners of war," and has offered to turn them over to the U.S. embassy. But the U.S. has initially refused to negotiate with the rebels.

The Sheraton is located in the elite Escalón neighborhood, home of all the leading capitalists, politicians and generals. As a CBS journalist reported, "The war in El Salvador has arrived on the doorstep of the oligarchy." The guerrillas said that they had taken Escalón "to show that the government would not dare to bomb the homes of the rich, as it did last week in slum neighborhoods." As we go to press, elements of the "Delta Hostage Rescue Force," based in Fort Bragg, have reportedly been given an order to "move into position for a possible rescue mission." If Bush now tries to send his boys in to get these professional killers out, the FMLN will be doing the world a service by sending the lot of them to kingdom come.

Military Victory to FMLN! For Workers Revolution!

AP

Heroic FMLN guerrillas take large section of San Salvador and other areas of country. Workers insurrection must sweep away tottering death squad regime.

While the American ruling class is celebrating "the death of Communism," the Salvadoran leftist insurgency now has shaken to its core one of the most bloodthirsty of all U.S. puppet states. On Saturday, November 12, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) launched coordinated attacks across the country and occupied the densely populated working-class barrios around the capital. With great heroism and brilliant tactics, for over a week the rebel forces have fought to a standstill the Salvadoran army massively supplied with Pentagon weaponry. Indeed, the death squad regime in El Salvador has received more U.S. military aid than any country in the world except Israel and Egypt.

As people throughout the world marveled at the raw courage and boldness of the leftist rebels, they were sickened and outraged by the barbarism of the U.S.-backed forces. Having no stomach to fight the guerrillas house to house, the Salvadoran army has bombed and strafed the barrios. Doctors at Las Rosales hospital in San Salvador report that most of the wounds are from shrapnel, not bullets. As the civil war raged, 30 uniformed military men tortured and killed six Jesuit priests, outspoken supporters of social justice who had been targeted by the right-wing death squads. The crazed killers who rule El Salvador are capable of massacring tens of thousands to "avenge" their humiliation at the hands of the FMLN guerrillas. They *enjoy* killing peasants. But an attempted massacre in San Salvador's barrios just could spark a desperate working-class uprising, finally bringing down this barbaric regime.

For some months Washington and Wall Street have been reveling in the supposed dismantling of Communism in East Europe and throughout the world. State Department "theoretician" Francis Fukuyama proclaims that the "American way of life" is triumphing everywhere and forever. But as the American ruling class dances on the grave of Marxism, the spectre of Communism armed and militant now rises up in its own backyard. As Fidel Castro said, the Salvadoran offensive is teaching "euphoric" imperialism a lesson.

Washington's death squad regime in El Salvador is tottering. To bring it down what's needed is not just a bold military move by guerrilla units but a workers insurrection backed by the peasantry and urban poor. For the Salvadoran masses there can be no "negotiated settlement" with the pathological killers who have already slaughtered tens of thousands by mass assassination, indiscriminate terror and now bombing their own cities. The real alternatives are *revolution or death*. And the overthrow of the blood-drenched ruling class by the leftist rebels and armed workers could open the way for social revolution, sparking a conflagration throughout Central America and into Mexico with its powerful industrial proletariat.

Chauvel/Sygma

Bocxe/Sipa

Army massacred six Jesuit priests for speaking out against death squad regime (left). "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson and Salvadoran president Cristiani, leaders of fascist ARENA party, death squad organizers.

A Salvadoran Tet Offensive

Descending from the San Salvador volcano, an estimated 1,500 seasoned

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 491 8 December 1989

East Europe in Turmoil, Czech Workers Move

The Prague Autumn

DECEMBER 4—The political convulsions shaking the Stalinist regimes of East Europe continue to gather momentum as they roll from one country to another. Even as world attention was focused on the dramatic upheaval in East Germany, virtually overnight neighboring Czechoslovakia exploded in mass protests. Here, the potentially decisive force of the working class entered the stage. On the eve of a two-hour national general strike on Monday, November 27, Prague government officials resigned en masse. Only six days later, following an angry mass demonstration by the ranks of the East German Stalinist party, the leadership (the recently installed Politburo and the entire Central Committee) was likewise forced to resign. The *New York Times* (4 December), flagship organ of U.S. imperialism, worried aloud, "There is a smell of anarchy in the air."

Actually, it is the smell of workers political revolution, which the imperialists fear even more than do the ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. These upheavals express massive and deep popular hatred for Stalinist oppression, parasitism, mismanagement and self-satisfied hypocrisy. From Wall Street to the Frankfurt banks, capitalists are salivating at the prospect of once again exploiting East Europe. But

continued on page 6

For Workers Political Revolution— For Lenin's Communism!

English/AP

Prague, November 27: general strike brought Czechoslovakia to a standstill, toppling discredited Stalinist leaders. Workers soviets must fill the vacuum of political power.

Reuters

Leftist fighter against U.S.-backed death squad troops after FMLN assault on armored vehicle in San Salvador.

Bush Squawks to Gorbachev as...

Salvador Rebels Strike Again

While George Bush gloried in the "death of Communism" during his summit-at-sea off Malta with Soviet premier Gorbachev, in America's "backyard" U.S. personnel were ducking for cover and scrambling onto planes to get out of El Salvador. It brought back images of the embassy roof in Saigon in 1975, as the defeated imperialist staffers hung madly onto the rails of "the last helicopter out."

There have now been more than three weeks of almost continuous offensive in the capital of San Salvador by the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN). On Thanksgiving Day, President Cristiani held a press conference to announce he was "in full control." He had to break off in mid-sentence and leap to his feet as the rebels detonated bombs a few blocks away.

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As West German Bankers Dream of Reunited "Fourth Reich"

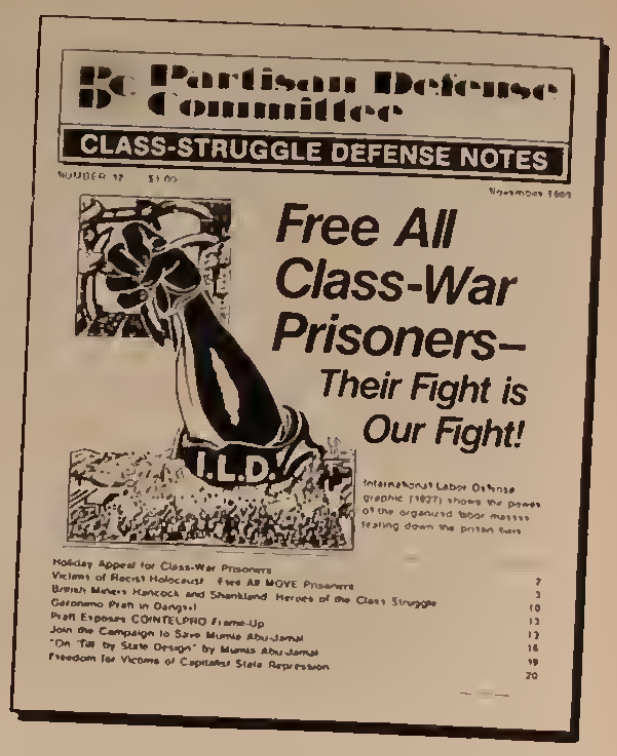
For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe....8

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

With your contribution of $5 or more, receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy of issue Number 12, send $1.00 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.



Streetcorner Santas ring their bells. TV stations showcase reruns of "Miracle on 34th Street" and "It's a Wonderful Life." But for the class-war prisoners—those men and women locked in this system's jails for opposition to class, racial and social oppression—the holiday season marks the end of another 365 days away from their families and their comrades, away from the living social struggles which first brought down the state's repressive fist upon them. Now it must be our struggles and our solidarity which will help sustain their fighting spirit.

More than 60 years ago, the founder of the International Labor Defense (ILD), upon whose best traditions we seek to base ourselves, voiced our solemn duty to the fighters victimized for their activism in our common cause:

> "The men in prison are still part of the living class movement. The Christmas Fund drive of the International Labor Defense is a means of informing them that the workers of America have not forgotten their duty toward the men to whom we are all linked by bonds of solidarity."
>
> —James P. Cannon, 1927

In this spirit, the PDC four years ago revived the early ILD's practice of sending monthly stipends to the class-war prisoners. This month we begin our fourth annual Holiday Appeal to raise money for stipends and holiday gifts for the prisoners and their families. Joining with us this year are fraternal defense organizations launched in Canada, Australia, France, Britain and Germany.

These modest gifts and holiday messages of solidarity are a concrete reminder to these brothers and sisters that they are not forgotten, and that we are dedicated in every season to waging the fight for a powerful movement of legal and social defense in support of their battles against the racist frame-up system. We proudly stand with these 19 prisoners—their fight is our fight:

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) (B40319, P.O. Box 1902B, Tehachapi, CA 93581), former Los Angeles Black Panther leader, has spent 18 years behind bars, framed under the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO. In the past six months the state's rejection of parole, denial of appeal on a legal technicality, and retaliatory transfer from San Quentin prison starkly confirm that there has been no letup in the COINTELPRO conspiracy against America's foremost class-war prisoner. Geronimo continues to fight back including through his pending lawsuit challenging the transfer from San Quentin and his classification as a maximum security prisoner.

Mumia Abu-Jamal (AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652) is a death row political prisoner. Framed for the killing of a Philly cop in 1981, Jamal was sentenced to the chair because as a former Black Panther Party spokesman, popular Philadelphia journalist and prominent supporter of the MOVE organization, he has fought racist oppression since the age of 14. Jamal's eloquent column from death row regularly appears in papers around the country, including *Workers Vanguard*. The fight to save Mumia's life can become the focus for a powerful international struggle against the racist death penalty in America.

W.M.E. we Langa (David Rice) (27718, P.O. Box 2500, Nebraska State Penitentiary, Lincoln, NE 68502) and **Ed Poindexter** (Lino Lake Facility, 7525 4th Avenue, Lino Lake, MN 55017), former leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism and Black Panther Party supporters, are in the 19th year of life sentences. Targets of COINTELPRO, Rice and Poindexter were framed for the 1970 killing of a cop in a bomb explosion.

Hugo Pinell (A-88401, P.O. Box 3456 SHU, IVB2R-24L, Coreoran, CA 93212-8310), prison activist, who as one of the San Quentin Six was framed on assault charges arising from the melee which erupted after the state's prison yard murder of Black Panther Party spokesman George Jackson in 1971. In prisons for nearly 25 years, Pinell recently walked out of his parole board hearing, telling the star chamber panel, "You cannot be my injustice and justice too."

After hearing that Mumia's appeal was turned down in March 1989, Pinell wrote to him:

> "My heart is in pain and it cries for you and the likes of you, for all of us, but the sun will shine bright for our humanity and thanks to you for the company along the difficult but rewarding road to freedom."

Scattered in prisons in Pennsylvania and around the country are members and supporters of the **MOVE** organization. Janet Africa, jailed since 1980, is one of seven MOVE women imprisoned at Muncy (P.O. Box 180, Muncy, PA 17756). For this country's rulers MOVE's crime was the willingness to defend their alternative naturalist lifestyles and dignity as human beings against racist attacks. Janet writes: "these have been the best years of my life despite all the injustice, prejudice, persecution spit on MOVE by this system. I wouldn't give up my belief for *nothing* this system is got to offer." **Sue Leon Africa** (6325) and **Carlos Peres Africa** (AM7400, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612) are behind bars on charges arising from the May 1977 "guns on the porch day" demonstration, which resulted in a siege of the MOVE home by 200 cops.

William Phillips Africa (41685-066, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048), **Delbert Orr Africa** (AM4985, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612), **Janine Phillips Africa** (6309), **Janet Holloway Africa** (6308), **Michael Davis Africa** (AM4973, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652), **Edward Goodman Africa** (42079-066, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048), **Chuck Sims Africa** (41793-066, U.S. Penitentiary, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436), **Merle Austin Africa** (6306) and **Debbie Sims Africa** (6307) are serving sentences of 30-100 years on charges of killing a cop (actually shot by another officer) during the August 8, 1978 siege of their Powelton Village home by over 600 cops. **Consuewella Dotson Africa** (6434), was tried separately and sentenced to 10-20 years.

William Phillips Africa, Edward Africa and Chuck Africa were transferred to the federal prison system and shipped cross-country following last October's upheaval at the notorious Camp Hill prison in Pennsylvania. A reported force of 700 heavily armed guards vindictively "retook" the facility, burning half of it down and terrorizing the inmates. Men were then handcuffed, shackled to each other, held for three days outdoors in the prison yard, tortured and degraded. Chuck was beaten bloody before being hurriedly transferred to Lompoc, California; Phil and Eddie are now at Leavenworth.

Ramona Johnson Africa (7564) is serving a seven-year sentence for being the sole adult survivor of the May 13, 1985 bombing of the MOVE Osage Avenue home. The bombing of MOVE, ordered by black Democrat Mayor Wilson Goode, was a message to black America and all who dare to stand up to their oppressors in this "free world" bastion of reaction. Five children and six adults were incinerated, 61 homes turned to ash and rubble. But the killer cops walked free—only Ramona is behind bars. Like other MOVE members Ramona has been told that she will never be considered for parole unless she agrees to accept the special condition that she no longer associate with MOVE.

Alfonso "Mo" Robbins Africa (Y-5522, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612), was sentenced in 1985 to seven years on

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Rosa Luxemburg and the Bolshevik Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

Protesters in East Germany have recalled the slogan of the early Communist International: "Russia was the spark, Germany is the flame." Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jew and German Communist leader, was the embodiment of the internationalist axis linking the Russian, Polish and German proletariats. While Stalinists and nationalists malign her, the Social Democracy which was responsible for Luxemburg's murder now seeks to portray her as a "democratic" alternative to Bolshevism. Yet Luxemburg hailed the Bolshevik Revolution at the December 1918 founding congress of the Communist Party of Germany, whose formation came excruciatingly late, too late to lead the revolution of 1918-19. Today the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party is the key to proletarian political revolution in East Germany and socialist revolution in the West.

Comrades! Our Party Congress, the Congress of what I may proudly call the only revolutionary socialist party of the German proletariat, happens to coincide with a turning point in the development of the German revolution....

The Revolution of November 9 was characterized by inadequacy and weakness. This is not surprising. The revolution followed four years of war, four years during which, schooled by Social Democracy and the trade unions, the German proletariat had behaved with intolerable ignominy and had repudiated its socialist obligations to an extent unparalleled in any other land....

The moment had come for the collapse of imperialism, a colossus with feet of clay, crumbling from within. The sequel of this collapse was a more or less chaotic movement, one practically devoid of a conscious plan. The only source of union, the persistent and saving principle, was the motto: "Form Workers' and Soldiers' Councils." That was the key notion in this revolution which, in spite of the inadequacy and weakness of the opening phases, immediately gave it the stamp of a proletarian socialist revolution. We should not forget this when we are confronted by those who shower calumnies on the Russian Bolsheviks, and we must answer: "Where did you learn the ABC's of your present revolution? Was it not from the Russians that you learned to demand workers' and soldiers' councils?"

—Rosa Luxemburg, "Our Program and the Political Situation" (December 1918)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 491 **8 December 1989**

"Ground Rules" for Coups, Assassinations

Bush Unleashes "The Company"

Der Spiegel

After FMLN guerrillas coolly walked away from the posh San Salvador hotel in which they had trapped a dozen Green Berets two weeks ago, George Bush bragged on Air Force One that a U.S. Delta Force "special operations" team had "liberated" the hotel. When asked if Salvadoran president Cristiani had requested U.S. troops, Bush replied haughtily: "No, I told him what we were going to do, and he acquiesced in it." Bush ended up bumping his head in his macho attempt to "stand tall," as CBS-TV news (22 November) reporter Leslie Stahl bluntly commented, "Truth is, the U.S. forces never even entered the hotel.... Mr. Bush may be seen as having tried too hard to look tough."

Bush has a lot of egg on his face over the FMLN's latest spectacular offensive, but Washington's imperial arrogance is no joke. "There's a message in all of this," Bush warned ominously, "this president" is going to use U.S. forces "wherever we can, and go to any end we can" to "protect American citizens"—Washington's cover for the invasion of Grenada in 1983. A week after Bush's tirade, U.S. fighter jets were flying over Manila to provide air cover for the tottering Aquino regime against yet another military coup attempt.

Especially since the latest botched attempt to overthrow Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega, Bush has been angling to alter his wimp image. After the Panama fiasco, a bipartisan crowd of Capitol Hill politicians has been pushing to loosen up the ground rules for U.S.-sponsored coups, particularly Gerald Ford's 1976 executive order banning CIA assassinations of foreign leaders, instituted as a post-Watergate sop to quiet critics of "The Company." The *San Francisco Examiner* (22 September) reports how Congressional Democrats are "leading an effort to restore assassination to the U.S. arsenal," while CIA director William Webster crows about a new "willingness in the Bush administration and Congress to reinterpret" the ban (*New York Times*, 17 October). The new "reinterpretation," explains the *Washington Post* (4 November), allows the CIA to "assist an attempt to remove a foreign leader who was then killed accidentally."

While screaming for "free elections" in East Europe and Nicaragua, Washington is breathtakingly brazen about its "manifest destiny" to send American troops or CIA hit squads to overturn governments wherever and whenever it can get away with it. Of course, the "ban" did not prevent the 1986 bombing raid on Libya which killed 100 people, aimed at assassinating Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, or the CIA's "psy-ops" pamphlet for contras which outlined ways to "neutralize" Sandinista officials. And after Contragate, Oliver North walked without having to spend a single day in jail, while Reagan and Bush were never even indicted. Now the former CIA station chief in Costa Rica, Joseph Fernandez, who was the contras' control on the ground, just got his criminal charges dismissed by a federal judge after the Justice Department withheld evidence in the name of protecting "classified information."

And while the CIA runs an international Murder, Inc., what they've got for people who get too "uppity" at home is concentration camps. As we reported some time ago in "Reagan/North's Plot for Military Coup" (*WV* No. 433, 24 July 1987), the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was transformed under the Reagan administration into a sinister agency for implementing martial law. James Ridgeway, writing in the *Village Voice* (14 November), described how the transformation came when Reagan appointed Louis Giuffrida, who along with Ed Meese was "at the heart of early urban counterinsurgency efforts" and was

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U.S. News & World Report

Reuters

Panamanian strongman Noriega (inset) targeted by CIA hit squads, as U.S. troops in Panama (right) practice for coup.

Letter

45 Years for Overbooking?

Toronto, Canada
13 November 1989

Dear Editor:

Fleecing the gullible may not be against the law, but it's a crime in my books, the real crime of Jim Bakker and his associates. So he got nailed for fraud instead. His brand of overbooking was indeed fraudulent, being several orders of magnitude greater than that of the hotels and airlines who, when they leave you high and dry, don't get paid for services not rendered.

Bakker and Swaggart turned the tide of public opinion against themselves with their blatant sexual hypocrisy. A sop to this anti-fundamentalist sentiment, Judge "Maximum Bob" Potter's punishment was admittedly harsh, especially when measured on the Oliver North scale of sentencing. But the anti-fundamentalist backlash is not analogous to the frenzy of vindictive anti-Semitism whipped up over the Dreyfus affair. In many ways it's just the opposite. Jerry Falwell, Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart are discredited, and the Moral Majority has folded. Their revenues down, the televangelists' late night time slots have been taken over by secular hucksters. These developments are good things for supporters of Enlightenment and rationalism, as well as those opposed to the fundamentalists' all-round bigotry and reactionary political agenda.

Socialist greetings,
Mark L.

WV replies: Yes, it is a good thing that the blatant hypocrisy of the televangelists has been exposed, and that the sinister "Moral Majority" has fallen on hard times in the twilight of the Reagan years, as we noted two years ago in "Gospelgate" (*WV* No. 425, 3 April 1987) on the fundamentalist sex scandals. But some of our readers missed the point of our recent article, "Jim Bakker, Oliver North and Bourgeois Hypocrisy" (*WV* No. 489, 10 November), which is that it's a bad thing when justice is meted out arbitrarily and selectively. Of course, the "justice" of this racist, capitalist state is inherently discriminatory and vindictive. Why should anybody care when some high-living white Pentecostal Christian con artist gets jobbed? Well, as we noted, the fundamental question is equal application of the law to all. Jim Bakker got *45 years in the pen* (and was sent directly to jail in chains) for a "crime" capitalist enterprises regularly commit with impunity.

This case also raises the question of separation of church and state, a historic gain of the bourgeois revolutions which these days seems to be left to us communists to defend. There is a taint of the religious bigotry which surrounded the Dreyfus case here. In sentencing Bakker, Judge Potter said, "Those of us who do have a religion are sick of being saps for money-grubbing preachers and priests" (*New York Times*, 25 October). Well, what's a "religion" is a matter of opinion—and that's just what it should be, not a question of official state persecution or privilege.

Organized religion in the service of the state has been recognized as an enemy of human freedom ever since the French Revolution. The capitalists cynically use Catholic popes, Muslim ayatollahs, Jewish rabbis and raving Protestant fundamentalists as props to their rule, when convenient. (Sometimes it's not; is it accidental "Gospelgate" was blown up by the media just as televangelist Pat Robertson was posing a challenge to the Bush Republicans in the last election?) Our task is to break that reactionary connection through smashing official state privileges for *any* religion.

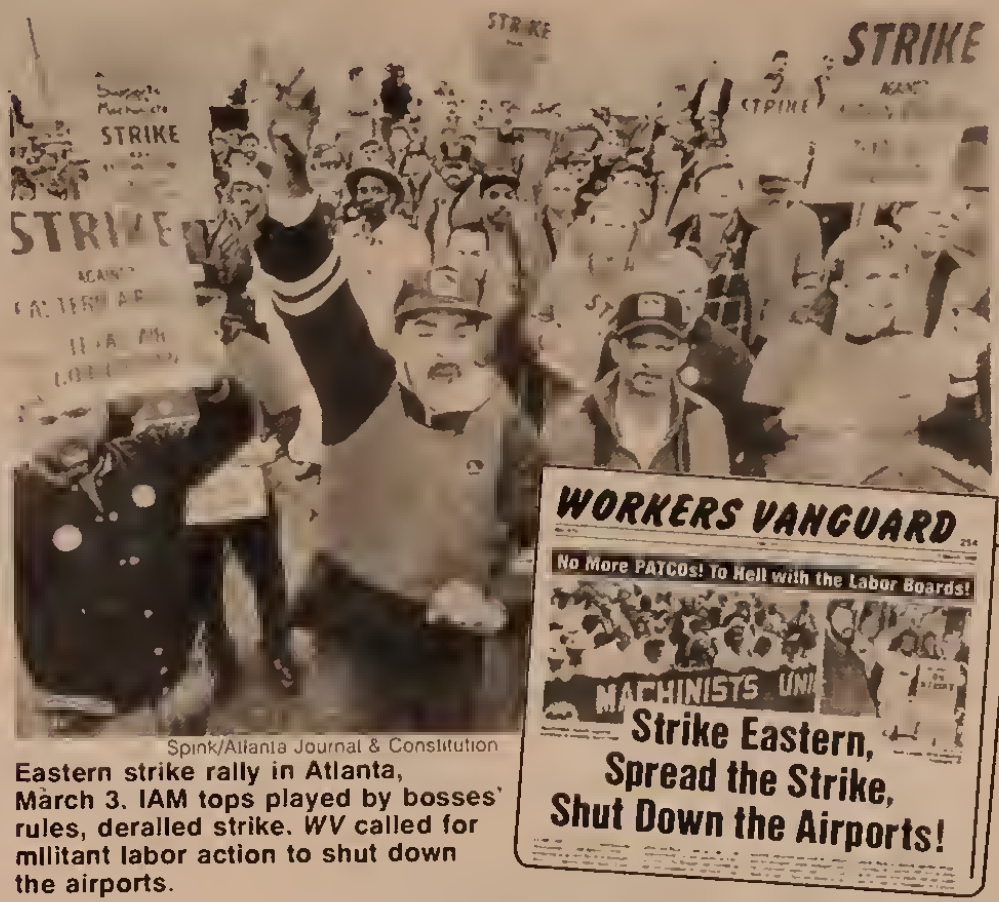
As Marxist materialists, we also understand that at their base religious beliefs reflect the desperate attempt of the poor, uneducated and dispossessed to make sense of a seemingly senseless, oppressive world. So Bakker fleeced his flock. Well, maybe the flock had their reasons—and of course it's not just fundamentalist TV preachers that rake in the bucks. As Karl Marx noted in *The Civil War in France*, the Paris Commune sought to break the reactionary power of organized religion by the "disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors." The idea that backward ideology is combatted by jailing its individual purveyors is a fantasy and a totalitarian one at that. The only real way to get rid of the P.T. Barnums of the religious airwaves is to build a better world in this life—and that means getting rid of this capitalist system of oppression, not cheering on its judges. ■

Reliance on Courts, Congress Sinks Eastern Strike

From the moment that members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) decided to go into battle against Frank Lorenzo and Eastern Airlines, workers had to face the key question: would they allow their strike to be isolated, like PATCO was, or would they aim to spread the strike beyond Eastern to *shut down the airports*? Every striker bitterly remembered how PATCO was crushed by Reagan—because the AFL-CIO and IAM tops refused to mobilize solidarity strike action. Preventing another PATCO meant taking the strike out of the hands of the Winpisinger bureaucracy and electing a strike committee with a core of militants willing to buck the bosses *and* the bosses' government—the courts, the cops, Congress, the president.

When the *New York Times* (24 February) ranted, "Labor Threatens the President," and announced that sympathy strikes would bring down the wrath of the government, it was speaking for the entire capitalist class. To avenge PATCO, to beat Lorenzo, the Machinists had to mobilize *their* class power—to extend the strike, shut down the airports and appeal to all of labor to back them. From the railroads to the other airlines, workers were ready, waiting for Eastern pickets to call them out. But the pickets never showed up, because Winpisinger and his lieutenants like District 100 head Charles Bryan stopped them.

Now the Eastern pilots and flight attendants, who struck with the IAM for nine months, have voted to go back. Lorenzo, rubbing salt in the wound, says there are no jobs left. Their "leaders" had placed the fate of the strike in an empty resolution from Congress, and when Bush vetoed that, the bureaucrats offered to crawl back.



Spink/Atlanta Journal & Constitution

Eastern strike rally in Atlanta, March 3. IAM tops played by bosses' rules, derailed strike. *WV* called for militant labor action to shut down the airports.

This strike was sabotaged by the labor traitors who run the IAM and the chieftains of the entire AFL-CIO. For nearly nine months union officials have ballyhooed about how the Eastern strikers are fighting for all of labor, but their words of solidarity were empty. No *labor action* was ever taken to back up the Eastern strike. The IAM tops *refused* to set up picket lines to stop the scabbing and shut down the airports. The IAM along with the rest of the AFL-CIO told the workers to wait for Bush to impose a 60-day "cooling-off" period; to wait for the bankruptcy court to give Eastern to a nicer capitalist; to wait for Congress to pass a law to set up a bipartisan committee to investigate the strike. The strike was bled dry: the fanfare "solidarity" rallies were carefully crafted to let militants blow off steam while *stopping* workers throughout the country from taking the *action* necessary to win the strike.

Now the IAM ramp workers, machinists and cleaners are striking alone, while Hudson-General workers, Machinists from District 15, work Eastern planes! Angry IAM strikers picketed the District 15 office near La Guardia Airport on November 20, protesting the bureaucrats' scabbing. And rumors circulate of a despicable deal, where jobs of mainly minority ramp service workers and cleaners will be wiped out, while some machinists are taken back.

The Eastern strike electrified workers around the country, who marched and demonstrated by the thousands for a strike victory. And a victory at Eastern would have been a major victory for all labor—the springboard for a labor offensive to take back the concessions and giveaways of the last decade. But the union bureaucrats knifed this strike in the back. And they had plenty of help from phony "socialist" outfits, including Wimpy's own Democratic Socialists of America, or the Socialist Workers Party who cheered on the empty "solidarity" rhetoric while whitewashing the IAM tops' capitulation to the government's injunctions against secondary picketing. The Spartacist League said "Rip Up the Injunctions! Spread the Eastern Strike—Shut Down the Airports!"

The fight to regain the jobs of all Eastern strikers must be waged. But it would be a valuable gain coming out of this defeat if Eastern and other workers, particularly the miners still on strike against Pittston, see the union bureaucracy as the labor traitors that they are; the Democrats and other "friends of labor" as the agents of capital; the government and all its agencies as the enforcer of the capitalist system of racism and exploitation bent on breaking the working class for profits. Only with this lesson can workers begin to build a new class-struggle leadership in the unions and a workers party that will lead the fight to take power out of the hands of the capitalist class. ■

Immigrant Workers Organize in L.A.

Strike Hyatt Union-Busters!

LOS ANGELES—The 13,000 members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 11 are in a battle to defend their union against the giant Hyatt hotel chain. HERE members have turned out for spirited demonstrations at the Hyatt Regency and at Hyatt hotels on Wilshire and Sunset. Coming on the heels of the hugely popular teachers strike here last spring, a victory for the hotel workers would reverberate throughout the L.A. labor movement, especially among the hundreds of thousands of superexploited immigrants who work in the restaurants, garment factories, meat processing plants and construction industry.

Local 11, which is over 70 percent Latino, has organized the 14 major hotels in downtown L.A. which make up the Hotel Employers Council. Recently, Hyatt reopened the newly renovated Regency by hiring many non-union workers, and is now demanding that its already low-paid employees work up to ten days straight without overtime rates. A despicable provision in the contract known as the "most favored nations clause" requires the union to extend any concessions granted one boss to the entire council. With 21 new hotels proposed for downtown, this means the outcome at Hyatt will determine the future of the whole union. Strike the Hyatt union-busters! Victory to Local 11!

Long a bastion of the open shop and low wages, with only pockets of union power in specific industries like aerospace, longshore and filmmaking, Los Angeles has seen a surge of union organizing among Latino workers. Many of them are Salvadoran refugees who fled from the U.S.-backed death squads, and they bring with them years of experience in militant labor organization. Local 399 of the SEIU is organizing janitors in downtown office buildings, who have seen their paychecks cut by half in the last decade. Latino cemetery workers at the Catholic Archdiocese started signing up with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers last year after the Archbishop "appropriated the workers' modest annual bonus to help pay for Pope John Paul's visit" (*LA Weekly*, 1 September). After a bitter fight, they have won union certification. Even the jingoist "Buy American" International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which in the past refused to organize undocumented workers, has today recognized the need to organize them.

Los Angeles Times

Largely Hispanic hotel workers in militant protest outside Hyatt Regency Hotel, Los Angeles, November 8.

The battle at Hyatt comes as foreign-born workers here and across the country fight to defend their jobs and their rights. In Southern California communities, Latino and Asian immigrants gather on street corners to hire out as day laborers, often for as little as $10 or $20 per day. The Simpson-Rodino "Immigration Reform and Control Act" has driven these immigrant workers onto the streets, as it made it illegal to hire undocumented foreign-born workers. To qualify for "amnesty" under the act's "reform" provisions—which "legalize" a tiny proportion of those who made it to this country and have worked, paid taxes and Social Security for years—immigrants must travel a maze of bureaucratic, discriminatory and expensive requirements. A missed deadline, not enough money, a positive AIDS test and you can be disqualified. When the act went into effect in 1986, we warned:

> "The racist immigration 'control and reform' act is a threat to everyone. It is not only producing a wave of discrimination against anyone who 'looks foreign,' the law is already being used against *all* workers.... This is the first step to a monstrous South African-style pass system."
>
> —*WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987

Even Congress' General Accounting Office reported last year that more than

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Amnesty for Victimized NYNEX Strike Militants!

New York and New England Communications Workers union (CWA) members stayed out for four months in their strike against the profit-bloated NYNEX giant. They marched and demonstrated by the thousands for a strike victory. But the CWA tops weren't interested in a strike victory half as much as they were in an election victory for anti-union Democratic Party politicians. A week after election day, CWA president Morton Bahr jumped the gun and announced the "end" of the phone strike at the AFL-CIO convention in Washington, D.C., in order to "share...a little bit of euphoria" with the rest of the Kirkland gang (*Newsday*, 14 November). Bahr's high quickly crashed when even the regional bargaining committee threw the contract back.

But two weeks later, CWA District 1 VP Jan Pierce, a Jesse Jackson Democrat, and the CWA bargaining team returned to sell the ranks the same bill of goods. The central issue of the strike was over NYNEX's demand that workers pay a big chunk of medical costs. Bahr's contract simply means that phone workers pay for their medical insurance with a huge drop in real wages—a lousy 3 percent wage "raise" the first year, and half that in the second and third contract years. And like the rotten deals that CWA workers at AT&T and other regional Bell Operating Companies were stuck with last summer, retirees will be shafted with health insurance payments when the contract expires.

It didn't have to end like this. The CWA could have hit NYNEX where it hurt—in the wallet—and won the active support of millions of phone users at the same time by occupying key switching centers, pulling the plug on NYNEX's billing operation and waging a national phone strike. But that would have upset the bureaucrats' cozy relations with the bosses. Instead, Gerry Horgan, the CWA steward run down by a scab on the picket line in New York State, lies dead and at least 140 NYNEX workers were suspended or fired—and for what? Criminally, the CWA bureaucrats have refused even to demand amnesty for these victimized workers and the others NYNEX may go after now. In Southern California, high-seniority strikers and union officials returned to work to be met with a rash of suspensions and firings. Rescind the suspensions and firings! Hands off union militants!

WV Photo

White Plains, New York, August 17: NYNEX strikers at memorial rally for Gerry Horgan, murdered on the picket line by a scab.

Las Vegas: Shut Down the Strip!

On the famous Las Vegas strip, 150 members of Musicians Local 369 are fighting for the life of their union in a strike which is important for all labor in "right to work" Nevada. The five biggest casino hotels are out for blood—they hired the same union-busting law firm used by Texas Air chief Frank Lorenzo. Last spring, after quietly settling with the other unions, the hotels went after the Musicians.

The hotels opened "negotiations" by declaring that taped music would replace live orchestras for the big production shows, and that musicians for the smaller star shows would lose guaranteed hours. These mass firings were implemented when the old contract expired June 1; Local 369 struck the Tropicana on June 3, and shut down Bally's, the two Hiltons and Caesar's Palace during the summer.

The big hotels are evidently willing to lose a lot of money to break this small union in Las Vegas, a rare labor town in the Southwest. But these two-armed bandits can be stopped. Key to that is bringing out the more than 20,000 culinary workers and bartenders, members of the Hotel and Restaurant union (HERE). But the HERE union tops have scandalously ordered their members to cross the picket lines; so have the union construction crews working on the remodeling of Caesar's. Pickets told *WV* that Joan Rivers and Bill Cosby had also scabbed.

The musicians have already been out longer than the bitter 77-day strike in 1984, where the hotel casino unions went out together and fought vicious scab/cop attacks on the picket lines. The musicians must not fight alone. Many performers, including Frank Sinatra, Dionne Warwick and Diana Ross, have honored the picket lines. Everyhody should—picket lines mean don't cross! The hotels must be shut down tight!

Machinists Tops Cave In to Boeing

Before the Boeing strike began, Machinists (IAM) Local 751 president Tom Baker hoasted that "if we can't break the bonus strategy and get the wage increase, with all we have going for us, then no one ever will." The Boeing workers sure could have, and somebody will—but to do it they'll have to scrap Baker and the rest of the pro-capitalist IAM bureaucrats.

Here was the perfect opportunity to land a powerful hlow for all labor: the aircraft giant is dripping in profits—$614 million last year alone—and their order books are filled into the 1990s. In October, the Seattle Kingdome shook with chants of "Strike, strike!" as 40,000 IAM members voted six to one to shut Boeing down. After six years without a wage increase, Machinists were determined to destroy Boeing's "lump" pay increases (which don't go toward benefits) and win a huge jump in wages and benefits.

But 48 days later, ground down by the IAM tops, who let supervisors finish planes and ship them out, IAM members accepted a barely sweetened version of the same offer the company made in October. Hearing that the terms were only 10 percent in wages over three years, with another 19 percent in the hated "bonus," one striker bitterly remarked that he "didn't spend 47 days out here for nothing." The grinding overtime, over 50 hours per month, was barely reduced at all. But with over a third of the IAM membership having less than two years seniority, many workers swallowed the "lump."

A class-struggle leadership of Boeing workers would have led plant occupations and real working-class solidarity by hooking up with IAM workers at Lockheed and UAW members at McDonnell Douglas, whose contract is being extended day to day, for a national aerospace strike. Instead, the exceptional opportunity of the Boeing strike to crack open a national labor offensive was lost.

In a cynical and self-damning indictment, recently retired IAM president William Winpisinger, the "seat of the pants socialist" who began the Reagan years by scabbing on PATCO in 1981, lamented: "We've stuck by the Democratic Party through thick and thin, whether the candidate was a dog, a dead horse or a winner." Well, Wimpy's certainly no winner, and he was never a socialist. But from PATCO to Eastern to Boeing, it's the workers who pay the price for the class collaboration of these labor lieutenants of capital. Break with the Democrats! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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a half million companies admitted discriminating against "foreign looking" workers.

Recently, a city-sponsored project to establish a half-dozen "hiring sites" for laborers drew *la migra*'s fire—and threats that they might raid the sites. In Topanga, north of L.A., the town council set up a racist fink line to inform on "illegal" immigrants looking for work! Immigrant rights activists called it the "Topanga Gestapo." In L.A., activists have set up their own hot line to aid workers harassed and ticketed for "loitering" by the LAPD. The LAPD has been doing *la migra*'s dirty work, as joint LAPD/INS "anti-crime" raids target undocumented workers. In one supposed "drug raid" last June through MacArthur and Lafayette parks in the Salvadoran community, over half of the arrests were for being undocumented. The INS created four hours of panic as it dragged in scores of soccer players, homeless and children who were later released.

With almost half of those eligible for "permanent resident status" under Simpson-Rodino living in Los Angeles and Orange counties, the state AFL-CIO has set up an "associate" membership organization, the California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA), to assist immigrant workers in becoming "legal residents." Over 3,000 Latino workers have joined CIWA—but they want real unions, not just a dues collection agency, and have sparked organizing drives in the Clothing Workers and Machinists unions. The *Christian Science Monitor* (15 November) notes that as "1.3 million farm workers nationwide" legalize their immigration status, it "may presage more militant labor activity among Latino workers." A recent example is the strike by the 3,200 members of Teamsters Local 890 against the Bud Company agribusiness giant in Arizona and California.

Myers/Monterey Herald

Strikers picket Bud agribusiness giant in Salinas, October 27.

Immigrant workers are now the fastest growing component of the AFL-CIO, and already make up 10 percent of its 14 million members. And they have fought for union membership in the face of the deeply chauvinist AFL-CIO tops, who applauded the racist Simpson-Rodino bill for its "employer sanctions" against hiring undocumented workers. From Cold Warrior Albert Shanker to Farm Workers president Cesar Chavez, who called on the INS to arrest "illegal aliens" hired as scabs by the growers, the labor traitors are the enemies of united working-class struggle.

The unions must use their power to defend foreign-born workers: Smash the racist immigration law! Full citizenship rights for anyone who has made it to this country! Integrated into the unions, alongside their black and white class brothers and sisters, Latino workers can play a key role in the battle for a revolutionary workers party, one that will sweep away the dying racist capitalist system. ■

Prague...

(continued from page 1)

while illusions about Western-style parliamentary democracy are widespread, particularly in the Czech protests, the workers of East Europe are not longing to experience the alleged benefits of capitalist exploitation—wage-gouging, speedup, layoffs, inflation.

While Lech Walesa begs American businessmen to invest in Poland, Polish workers are desperately resisting the Chilean-style economic "shock treatment" which the Solidarność-led government is trying to impose on them. Soviet workers have become ever more hostile to Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika and exhibit violent hatred for the petty-capitalist entrepreneurs spawned by this program. In East Germany there is strong opposition among both workers and intellectuals to reunification with West Germany on a *capitalist* basis.

The gut-level resistance of East European workers to capitalist restoration must be organized through the formation of genuine communist parties, leading the struggle to sweep away the tottering Stalinist bureaucracies and establish workers governments based upon soviet democracy. Proletarian political revolutions in the East would electrify the workers of the West. Then Bush, Mitterrand, Kohl and their ilk, instead of celebrating "the death of Communism," would be trembling over the end of capitalism.

Strings Cut, Czech Stalinist Puppet Collapses

The Czech leadership of Milos Jakes & Co. was the last remaining old-line Stalinist regime in East Europe apart from the backwaters of Romania and Albania. That regime was especially hated by its own people because it was imposed after the 1968 military invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet-bloc forces, which overthrew the liberalizing Stalinist government of Alexander Dubcek. Ironically, the impetus for toppling what the Western press called the "orthodox Communist" regime in Prague, and also in East Berlin, now came from Moscow. It is not simply that Czechs and East Germans no longer fear that any oppositional movement will be crushed under Soviet tanks. For his own, far-from-noble reasons, Gorbachev has pushed for greater liberalization in East Europe.

When the Soviet leader visited East Berlin in early October for the 40th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), he was greeted by tumultuous crowds chanting "Gorby! Gorby!" Polish Communist leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski turned to Gorbachev on the reviewing stand and quipped: "It looks as if they want you to liberate them again." Little more than a week later "hardline" Stalinist Erich Honecker resigned. With Honecker gone, everyone knew the days of his kindred spirits in Prague were numbered, though nobody thought they'd be numbered quite so low.

Even before any big protests, the Gorbachevites greased the skids under the hapless Prague leaders. In early November Leningrad TV ran a documentary on Czechoslovakia which featured a sympathetic interview with Dubcek. And dissident Prague bureaucrats told the Western press that Soviet leaders had urged the formation of a "radical reform movement" in the Czech CP (*New York Times*, 8 November). Knowing that this time the Kremlin was on their side, the oppositional Civic Forum took to the streets. The Forum is an amorphous umbrella formation covering dissidents ranging from Dubcek, who still talks about "socialism with a human face," to outspoken advocates of capitalist restoration.

The first, relatively small protests were broken up as the police liberally bashed heads. This brutality, especially a widely believed report that one protester was beaten to death, fueled ever larger demonstrations—200,000, then 500,000. The immediate and overriding goal of the protesters was to free themselves from the dead hand of a stultifying little tyranny. One student wore a sign saying simply, "I don't want to live in a cage."

The besieged hardliners made a last-ditch attempt to appeal to the working class against the predominantly intellectual- and student-based protests. Prague party boss Miroslav Stepan called on "the workers of Prague" to "stand firmly" against the opposition's "hysteria" (*Washington Post*, 22 November). But when it became clear that the workers of Prague as well as Bratislava, Brno and every other city in the country were preparing to participate in a two-hour general strike called by the Civic Forum for Monday, November 27, Jakes, Stepan & Co. were axed and replaced by obscure "reformers." The general strike itself became a victory celebration. Nearly half the population—six to seven million people—participated as one contingent of workers after another marched under the banners of their state-owned enterprises.

The caretaker Stalinist regime agreed to form some kind of coalition government with the Civic Forum, and "free elections" are to be held next year. But the Czech Stalinist bureaucracy is so discredited and internally fractured, the Civic Forum is so ineffectual, ill-organized and itself divided, that Czechoslovakia today is closer to a complete *vacuum of political power* than any other country in East Europe. At the same time, Czechoslovakia has proportionally the largest industrial proletariat, historically well organized and highly class conscious, in East Europe. The political vacuum in Czechoslovakia today can and must be filled by workers power.

Koudelka/Magnum

Reuters

Above: Warsaw Pact tanks roll over 1968 "Prague Spring" of liberal Stalinist Alexander Dubcek. Below: Dubcek is cheered as he speaks at rally of nearly one million, November 25.

A New "Prague Spring"?

Now, everyone is saying that "the spirit of 1968" has been reborn. Alexander Dubcek has emerged from obscurity to become a national hero, greeted by chants of "President Dubcek" whenever he speaks. Dubcek maintains that what is happening today is but a continuation of "the democratic process which had been introduced in 1968" but cut short by Brezhnev's tanks: "It's you, the younger generation, that is still giving life to this idea that was born 20 years ago" (*New York Times*, 24 November).

However, what is happening in Czechoslovakia today, not to speak of the rest of East Europe, is in fact *very different* from what happened in 1968. The impetus then for the "Prague Spring" came from above, from a liberalizing and technocratic wing of the bureaucracy and affiliated intellectuals. Initially the workers were wary of the Dubcek regime for proposing marketed-oriented economic "reforms." However, many workers came to believe that "good Communists" like Dubcek would usher in genuine socialist democracy through which the working class could defend its economic interests. In the end the working class was the main social force in the passive resistance to the Soviet-bloc military intervention.

Today, all wings of the bureaucracy and official Communist Party are discredited among the working class. At the same time, the socialist idealism—albeit of a vague, woolly sort—which was pervasive in Czechoslovakia in 1968 has dissipated. The watchwords of the "Prague Spring" were "socialist democracy," "socialist humanism," "socialist morality." But the seven-point manifesto ("What We Want") of the Civic Forum does not once mention the term socialism. The political center of gravity of the Czech intelligentsia has shifted sharply *to the right*, toward Western liberalism and social democracy. Thus the Civic Forum's leading figure, playwright Vaclav Havel, summed up his program on the night Jakes resigned: "we want democracy, we want to rejoin the European Community, we want social justice and a free-market economy" (*Newsweek*, 4 December). In one of the protests, a speaker quoted from the American Declaration of Independence, implying that the United States of George Bush and Donald Trump still embodies the bourgeois-democratic ideals of Thomas Paine.

One of the most striking and significant differences between the "spirit of 1968" and Czechoslovakia today is the changed attitude toward American imperialism. In 1968 practically the entire working class and intelligentsia were *morally outraged* over U.S. war crimes in Vietnam. Yet there is no report that any of those now chanting "freedom" and "democracy" in Prague and Bratislava condemn U.S. support to the blood-drenched regime in El Salvador, which has killed 70,000 workers and peasants.

It is important to emphasize that it was not until the general strike a week ago that the organized working class entered the political stage. What the Western media presents as the voice of the Czechoslovakian people has in fact been only the voice of the intelligentsia. Moreover, the sense of popular unity against the hated Stalinist regime, followed by popular euphoria over the fall of that regime, has muted and postponed political and class *differentiation*. But that differentiation exists and will soon come to the fore.

A recent poll indicates that almost half the population wants to retain a fully state-owned economy, while only *3 percent* favor restoring capitalism. Yet the economic brain trust of the Civic Forum consists of a coterie of dogmatic "free marketeers." One of them, Milos Zeman, advocates substantial privatization, an austerity program to repay Czechoslovakia's debts to Western bankers and an aggressive campaign to attract foreign investment. The London *Financial Times* (29 November) describes this program as "the trading of democracy for a period of a fall in living standards—perhaps, Mr. Zeman thinks, by 30 to 50 per cent"! But, says the "democrat" Zeman, they will "tell the people the truth" only "after the next election."

Well, Mr. Zeman is soon going to find out that the Czechoslovakian working class has a very different idea of democracy. The conflict between the working class and advocates of market-oriented "reforms" far more moderate than Zeman was a central factor shaping the 1968 "Prague Spring." Brezhnev did *not* send half a million armed men into Czechoslovakia simply to suppress a few thousand "socialist humanist" intellectuals but to cut short a *developing* proletarian political revolution.

Czechoslovakia: From Masaryk to Novotny

To understand the 1968 "Prague Spring" it is necessary to consider the history of modern Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak state was cobbled together by the bourgeois-nationalist Thomas Masaryk, under the aegis of Woodrow Wilson, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated at the end of World War I. Even today, liberal Czech intellectuals proudly proclaim that their country was the only democracy in interwar East Europe. However, Ma-

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saryk's state was based on Czech domination over two large national minorities—the Slovaks and Germans.

While closely related ethnically and linguistically, the Czechs and Slovaks have a long history of very different national development. The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia were drawn into the economic and cultural orbit of late medieval Germany. In the 15th century the radical religious movement led by Jan Huss in Bohemia became the forerunner of the Protestant Reformation in central Europe. While the Hussite movement was bloodily suppressed, the authority of the Roman Catholic church has always remained weak in Czech lands. In the late 19th century Bohemia and Moravia underwent substantial industrial development, generating a proletariat with a high level of class consciousness and an intelligentsia proud of its secular humanist culture. After the Bolshevik Revolution, the Czech Social Democratic party *in its majority* voted to join the Communist International.

During this period Slovakia remained a rural, traditionally Catholic region ruled by the decadent Hungarian nobility. Following the formation of a unitary state in 1919, the Czechs looked down upon their Slovak cousins as priest-ridden country bumpkins. In turn the Slovaks resented the dominance of the smug, arrogant Czechs who dubbed themselves the "Yankees of Central Europe." During the late 1930s Hitler exploited the national resentments and grievances of the Slovaks as well as the Germans to dismember the Czechoslovak state. The Nazis were able to build a mass movement among the Germans of the Sudetenland. At the 1938 Munich conference Britain and France appeased Hitler by sacrificing their Czech ally and accepting the annexation of the Sudetenland by Germany. The bitter memory of Munich contributed in no small measure to the popular authority which Stalinist Russia enjoyed in Czechoslovakia after World War II.

The horrors of the Nazi occupation produced an enormous strengthening of the left, especially the Communists, among both Czechs and Slovaks. In 1945 the Communist Party of Klement Gottwald won an *absolute majority* in an incontestably free election. When the Stalinists took power in the 1948 "Prague coup," they did so on the basis of a solid general strike and the use of armed workers militias. (Needless to say, these militias were kept under tight bureaucratic control.)

The Stalinists soon eroded their popular authority by totalitarian police-state terror often linked to anti-Semitism, such as the 1952 show trial and execution of the prominent Jewish Communist Rudolf Slansky. At the same time, consumption levels were driven down to provide ever more investment for heavy industry. Antonin Novotny, who took over when Gottwald died in 1953, blocked even the limited "de-Stalinization" which took place in the Soviet Union with the "Khrushchev thaw" after 1956. The victims of Stalin-era terror—both living and dead—remained unrehabilitated. Their executioners, torturers and jailers remained in power until 1968.

Claude Salhani

Prague protests were fueled by outrage over police beatings of student demonstrators.

Dynamics of the "Prague Spring"

During the early '60s Czechoslovakia experienced a sharp economic decline. In fact, per capita income was *lower* in 1965 than 1950! Its high level of industrial development made the Czech economy especially susceptible to bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement. Czechoslovakia had to raise its overall level of productivity through technological renovation and retooling. However, the Stalinist trade-union bosses were so powerfully entrenched they prevented closing down any factory, no matter how old and obsolete. To put an end to this state of affairs, a section of the bureaucracy advocated scrapping centralized planning, ending state subsidies and forcing enterprises to operate on the basis of market profitability or shut down. The principal spokesman for this technocratic tendency was Ota Sik, a pioneer theorist of "market socialism," who became deputy premier under Dubcek.

The economic stagnation also aggravated Czech-Slovak tensions, which Stalinist rule had in no way resolved. When in 1963 Dubcek became head of the party apparatus in Slovakia, his main quarrel with Novotny was about money for his bailiwick which, Slovaks argued, remained seriously underdeveloped. And when he replaced Novotny in January 1968 as party leader, Czech chauvinists spoke of a Slovak cabal. While the intelligentsia welcomed Dubcek as a liberal, the working class was wary, if not hostile, to all talk of economic "reforms." The American liberal journalist Harry Schwartz reported:

> "In many of the nation's factories and mines, the conservatives fared well during the early weeks after the Dubcek take over. To the mass of workers, talk of democracy and other abstract freedoms meant little. On the contrary, many were fearful of reform, apprehensive that the new regime would shake up the economy and end the old comfortable ways."
>
> —*Prague's 200 Days* (1969)

However, the factional turmoil within the bureaucracy and the pressure from below paralyzed the whole repressive apparatus. Workers found themselves free to set up independent organizations, to take over the official trade unions, to strike and protest. Sik's "reforms" never got off the drawing board. Instead, the main effect of the "Prague Spring" was to establish de facto freedom of political organization. Given the social weight and socialist consciousness of the working class, independent organs of proletarian power were bound to develop.

It was this prospect that Brezhnev, Walter Ulbricht and the other East European Stalinist rulers feared most. Of course, they claimed that the Czechoslovakian working class was being threatened by "anti-socialist forces." In fact, there were hardly any anti-socialists in Czechoslovakia at that time, aside from a few assertively pro-Western types (like playwright Pavel Kohout, who was militantly pro-Zionist and strongly supported Israel in the 1967 war). Indeed, many—if not most—Czech students identified with the New Left radicalism then current in West Europe and the United States. In early 1968 the Czech delegation to an international youth festival in Sofia, Bulgaria joined with the West German SDS to picket the American embassy in protest against the war in Vietnam.

Reuters

Vorkuta miners vote to renew strike, November 3. Soviet workers must find the road back to Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky.

The real class dynamic of the "Prague Spring" was perhaps best revealed by the Warsaw Pact invasion. While military resistance was clearly suicidal, whatever resistance occurred was centrally proletarian. Railway workers sabotaged the transport of military equipment. Printers clandestinely ran off leaflets protesting the intervention. The 14th congress of the Czech Communist Party was held in secret, under the guns of tanks, in the huge CKD factory in Prague. Delegates came disguised in work clothes and were protected by an armed workers militia. Some Czechs appealed to the Soviet-bloc soldiers and officers to support their cause. There were numerous reports that soldiers in the occupying forces were deeply shaken. However, conditions in Brezhnev's Russia and Ulbricht's East Germany were such that it was impossible to even protest peacefully against the crushing of the "Prague Spring."

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Today Stalinist rule is in disarray from Siberia to East Berlin. The workers are groping, albeit with much ideological confusion, toward their own political power, toward a just and egalitarian society which answers the promise of communism. Far from being isolated as in 1968, a proletarian political revolution in Czechoslovakia or East Germany can be the spark which brings down the entire rotten edifice of Stalinism in East Europe.

In its overwhelming majority, the highly industrialized and educated population of East Germany is adamantly pro-socialist. And while the proletariat has yet to assert its class interests as a distinct, organized force, it is notable that the party ranks have become increasingly active and vocal in protesting against the bureaucratic apparatus. Even in Poland, now under the rule of an explicitly pro-capitalist Solidarność-dominated cabinet, the prospect looms of explosive workers struggles, as the regime seeks to implement a draconian economic program aimed at slashing social subsidies and privatizing major industries. One of Poland's new up-and-coming capitalist advisers, Andrzej Wroblewski, complained, "Our people hate Communism, but when you start talking about privatization, many of them act like Communists" (*New York Times*, 30 November).

Most significantly, the sleeping giant of the Soviet proletariat has awakened after decades of Stalinist repression. Last summer's strike by coal miners, which rapidly spread from Siberia to the Ukraine, sent tremors through the Gorbachev bureaucracy. In November miners in the Vorkuta region walked out again, insisting that the demands agreed to by the government had not been implemented. Notably, coal miners in various regions have begun forming independent organizations in the aftermath of the July strikes. These organizations, not surprisingly, reflect all the political confusion and amorphousness which has been evident throughout Soviet society generally since Gorbachev's glasnost pried open the lid of heavy-handed repression. Ominously this includes Great Russian nationalism and even the sinister anti-Semitism of the fascist Pamyat.

Thus, one leader of the Vorkuta strikers, Nikolai Trekhin, is an avowed anti-Communist. Trekhin, quoting tsarist reactionary Alexander Solzhenitsyn that "only absolute resolution can defeat the Communist rulers," even appealed to AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland to help him organize a pro-imperialist "free trade union" in Vorkuta. Meanwhile, the nationalist Trekhin denounces the Soviet Union for sending aid to "fraternal totalitarian regimes" like Cuba. Fortunately, Trekhin's voice is only one of many being heard among the Soviet miners.

On the other hand, miners in the Kuznetsk Basin (Kuzbass) in southwestern Siberia recently organized a Union of Workers of the Kuzbass which is explicitly pro-socialist. Rupert Cornwell reported in the London *Independent* (17 November) that since the July strike, "Across the Kuzbass, local worker committees have sprung up, embracing not only miners but men from industries such as building, transport and metallurgy." At its founding congress on the weekend of November 17-18, the Union adopted a platform which called for abrogating the constitutional clause sanctifying the "leading role" of the Soviet Communist Party and declared it would "welcome the emergence of a new party defending the principles of socialism and the interests of the working class" (*Le Monde*, 23 November).

The key task facing workers and pro-socialist intellectuals in the Soviet Union and East Europe now is precisely the forging of new parties defending the principles of authentic socialism, the principles of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. Decades of Stalinist bureaucratism and terror, of betrayals of proletarian revolutionary struggle internationally in the name of an all-sided lie of building "socialism in one country," of stifling repression and dogmatic pseudo-Marxist catechism, have wreaked havoc on the socialist ideals of entire generations of communist militants. Stalinism is wounded, but communism lives—from East Berlin to Siberian coal miners. The program and ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution can and must be revived, embodied in Leninist-Trotskyist parties fighting for proletarian political revolution to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies as part of a perspective of world socialist revolution. ■

As West German Bankers Dream of Reunited "Fourth Reich"

For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!

DECEMBER 4—As travel barriers came down at the Berlin Wall, stocks shot up in the Frankfurt market. For while millions of East Germans came over to look at the glittering show windows of the West, West Germany's capitalist rulers were salivating at the prospect of gobbling up the German Democratic Republic (DDR). Industrialists see the prospects of cheap labor and new markets. Financiers talk of multibillion Deutschmark loans, of establishing a forward base for massive penetration of the heretofore Soviet bloc. Politicians in the Bundestag applaud Chancellor Kohl's ten-point program for counterrevolution in stages. But while the German imperialists aggressively pursue their *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East), the Stalinist regime in East Berlin is tottering in the face of a mass upsurge.

The very existence of the DDR is at stake: the question is posed, which class shall rule? Either the proletariat takes political power from a parasitic bureaucracy whose corruption and gross mismanagement are being daily exposed, or the masters of Mercedes Benz/Messerschmidt will establish an imperialist Fourth Reich, lording it over the working people and threatening the world. The East German masses have shown through repeated mobilizations that they are fed up with tutelage and prepared to fight to determine their fate. And while voices are heard calling for a capitalist reunification of Germany, many more are saying they don't want to live in a Deutsche Bank republic but a society of justice and equality. The ranks of the SED (Socialist Unity Party) have risen up to bring down the Politburo and Central Committee, proclaiming "We are the party!" and "Down with Stalinism!"

Although the East German workers state was bureaucratically deformed from birth, its collectivized economy is a historic achievement that must be defended to the hilt. It has been built up from the ruins with years of sweat and sacrifice by the working people of the DDR. It was the product of the victory over Nazi tyranny by the Red Army, at the cost of 20 million Soviet lives. And it lays the basis for a socialist future, not only for Germany but for all Europe. But the bankruptcy of Stalinism demonstrates the impossibility of building "socialism in one country," much less half a country. We Trotskyists declare that the alternative to domination by the same banks who financed Hitler on the road to imperialist war and the Holocaust, is *world socialist revolution*. Then an internationally planned economy can produce for human needs instead of profit.

Der Spiegel

Mass protest in Leipzig, October 9: Honecker ordered bloodbath, but Stalinist regime backed down.

No to a Deutsche Bank Republic!

As the pro-capitalist Solidarność cabinet in Warsaw and Hungarian Stalinists rebaptized as "socialists" try to auction off state industry at summer close-out sale prices, the French minister of industry called on French businessmen to "rush" into East Europe. But already West German capitalists are far in the lead in "joint ventures" and the D-mark is becoming the common currency in the region. And now they want East Germany as their base of operations in the East. Volkswagen wants to build a factory to produce Polos with low-wage East German labor. Siemens offers to supply switching equipment for the DDR's decrepit phone system. The Dresdner Bank dreams of returning to Dresden, as they and their competitors offer billions in loans and credits. The London *Financial Times* (23 November) explained the West German bankers' largesse: "One day, they believe, they will be running East Germany's economy as well as that of the Federal Republic."

In an interview with *Der Spiegel* (20 November), Deutsche Bank chief Alfred Herrhausen declared: "In the case of the reunification I want, the DDR would not even be a state anymore." Thuringia and Saxony would just become *Länder* in a new *Grossdeutschland*. Herrhausen was also chairman of the board of Daimler-Benz and engineered its acquisition of the Messerschmidt arms manufacturer. In response to his assassination last week, reportedly by a commando of the Red Army Faction, Kohl called him "a good comrade" and "a German patriot." While the killing was an act of individual terror, a misguided response of those who despair of revolutionary action by the masses, Herrhausen certainly symbolized and most crassly expressed the ambitions for a Fourth Reich.

While the revanchist right wing in the Federal Republic (BRD) loudly beat the drums for immediate capitalist reunification of Germany, the Social Democrats (SPD)—reflecting more sober imperialist forces—talk of beginning with a "confederation" between the BRD and DDR. Christian Democrat Kohl embraced this proposal in his "ten points" speech to the Bundestag, which was endorsed by the SPD. The response of DDR leader Krenz, having opened up the Wall, was to hold out the possibility of confederation "so long as you begin with the existence of two independent, sovereign German states." Supposedly preserving the DDR's independence, such schemes amount to subordinating the East German workers state to imperialism. Growing economic penetration would foster pro-capitalist forces, leading (sooner rather than later) to bloody counterrevolution.

Following the opening of the Berlin Wall, concern has grown about the economic threat by the capitalist West to the very existence of the DDR. On November 28, dissident socialist writer Stefan Heym read a statement "For Our Country" signed by well-known writers, artists, scientists, churchmen, SED "reformers" and managers, and supported by the various opposition groups. The appeal warned against the danger of a "buyout of our material and moral values" which would sooner or later lead to West Germany "taking in" the DDR. Condemning the party leadership and "structures shaped by Stalinism," it reasserted "anti-fascist and humanistic ideals" and insisted: "We still have a chance—side-by-side with all the states of Europe—to develop a socialist alternative to the Federal Republic." The next day Prime Minister Hans Modrow and then SED chief Egon Krenz signed the statement.

It is clear in the DDR that talk of "socialism," "democracy" and anti-Stalinism means vastly different things to different people. For those in the orbit of the SPD, it is a social-democratic cover for counterrevolu-

Panorama GDR

Computer factory in East Germany. For central planning based on workers democracy—workers councils must make key economic decisions.

tion. But in the best of cases—those who genuinely don't want to abandon what has been achieved in the DDR and who seek a "socialist alternative" to the capitalist Federal Republic—their vision doesn't go beyond the nationalist concept of "socialism in one country." As long as that narrow framework is accepted, it will not be possible to open the path to genuine socialism, a classless society based on abundance. For the origin of the privileged bureaucracy lies in the attempt to administer scarcity. As Leon Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936):

> "The basis of bureaucratic rule is the poverty of society in objects of consumption, with the resulting struggle of each against all. When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait."

This pressure becomes even more acute in the face of more powerful imperialist states with a higher level of development of the productive forces. The only real defense of the gains embodied in the DDR is to extend them through socialist revolution in the West.

Danger of a Buyout of the DDR

For years, East Germany was considered the "economic miracle" of the Soviet bloc. Levels of income and consumption in the DDR are not only the highest in East Europe, they are significantly higher than Britain and Italy as well. Housing is cheap ($30 per month rents are typical), food shortages are rare. Its health and social security systems have been a source of pride and there are more students in higher education than anywhere on the continent except the Netherlands. From the mid-1960s to the mid-'80s, its economic growth exceeded that in the West. Yet the economic security of East Germany is overwhelmingly affected by one main factor: it's next door to the Federal Republic, the imperialist power with the highest standard of living in the world. Speaking the same language, with virtually the entire DDR able to receive West German TV, the lure of an imagined El Dorado across the border is a daily temptation.

During the 1950s, more than 3 million people (out of a total of 17 million) left the DDR for the West. It was this tremendous bloodletting, threatening the survival of the East German economy, which led to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. For 28 years this bureaucratic defensive measure stabilized the country. But this last summer, the exodus of tens of thousands of young people, most of them well educated and highly trained, threw the Stalinist regime into crisis. It was a giant brain drain: one Western expert estimated that the loss of 500,000 young workers would bring the DDR to collapse—so far this year about 270,000 have left. Partly the mass flight was instigated by

Der Spiegel

Stalinist mismanagement casts a pall over East Germany. As USSR raised oil prices, obsolete plants turned to low-grade lignite fuel.

the West German media and facilitated by the West German state, but these "dropouts" had their own reasons. With the exception of some professionals, (particularly money-grubbing doctors), most didn't leave for economic reasons. Rather it was out of frustration with bureaucratic arbitrariness, boredom, "cell fever" and fear of the gate slamming shut.

And once the Wall opened up, the outflow suddenly stopped. Millions went to West Berlin and West Germany on the weekend, and then returned to work in the DDR on Monday morning. But then new economic threats appeared. Suddenly Western papers which for years had denounced it as the embodiment of "Communist totalitarianism" discovered "The Economic Basis of the 'Wall'" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 15 November). To begin with, more than 3 billion Ostmarks left the DDR in a week as people cleared out savings accounts to buy Sony tape decks. Money speculators went to work, driving down the black market rate of the DDR mark to 16:1 against the D-mark (official rate is 1:1). Many East Germans thereupon took the 100 DM per person "welcome money" and after buying a few bananas changed the rest back into DDR currency (for a four-person household this amounted to 6,400 marks, a good *four months* salary). Even West Germany's tax-money-purloining former finance minister Count Lambsdorff began warning of a "buyout" of the DDR, saying East Berlin would have to impose rigorous customs controls.

Then there is the smuggling of goods bought (with black market East marks) in the DDR at highly subsidized prices to be resold for hard currency in the West. In West Berlin there is an outdoor "Polish market" where smugglers offer good quality meat, chocolates, fruit, children's clothes, shoes, watches from East Germany. Allied soldiers are also big into this racket, since under the Four Power agreement governing Berlin they may not be searched at the border. Altogether this has drained tens of billions of marks from East Germany's economy this year, often cleaning out department store shelves. And now there are fears that thousands of people will daily cross over to West Berlin to work, while living in the East. There is a danger of a two-class society developing: those who have access to D-marks and those who don't. This would have a profoundly demoralizing impact on East Germany.

What can be done about this external onslaught that is hemorrhaging the DDR's economy? Some of the biggest

Der Spiegel

Imperialist economic penetration undermines East German collectivized economy. After Wall was opened, currency speculation drove DDR Ostmarks down on West Berlin black market.

drains are connected with subsidies (56 billion East marks a year) which range from meat to cut flowers for bureaucrats' desks, and a crazy-quilt policy of pricing consumer goods. Thus you can see in the same store window a fancy baby carriage for 200 marks (subsidized, to encourage having children) and a stylish track suit at 300 marks (even though it costs a tiny fraction of that to produce). Electronics products in particular are astronomically priced to soak up excess money. Some of the subsidies (such as housing) represent sensible social priorities, while others (e.g., meat, clothing) may be difficult to maintain with a porous border to the West. But the overall effect is so arbitrary that it gives people the impression that there is no relation whatever between the price of goods and the value they embody.

A rational determination of subsidies and prices is badly needed in which the working people, not a capricious bureaucracy, has the say, through workers councils (soviets), elected from below and extending up to the highest levels of government. It would be possible to determine the real production levels, and then decide what should be specially aided. Involving the workers in the administration of the state, such councils would make it possible to effectively control the economy and discover early on grave distortions, such as the reported 130 billion mark budget deficit, instead of the endemic cover-ups which characterize the government apparatus from top to bottom. This would also make possible a thorough investigation into the shady deals of foreign trade "expert" Schalck-Golodkowski, who has reportedly stashed billions of D-marks in Swiss banks and is now on the run, and other bureaucratic bigwigs who have enriched themselves at the expense of the working people. What's needed, in short, is a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and set up workers soviet rule.

What the East German regime has done instead is to turn anger against the siphoning off of scarce goods into hostility against Poles. Polish travelers in transit to West Berlin can no longer stop in the DDR: a list of consumer goods and food products are now for sale only to DDR citizens; passports are checked at the cash register and border guards at the Berlin Wall single out Poles for spot checks. Meanwhile, *Neues Deutschland* runs articles describing "salami hooks stripped bare by Polish smugglers." Already Polish autos have been trashed. There is much hostility to pro-capitalist Solidarność, which is correctly seen as having brought the Polish economy to ruin. But all too often this is mixed with anti-Polish chauvinism, now openly encouraged by the regime. And behind that chauvinism is dangerous, racist German nationalism which will be used by counterrevolutionary forces against the DDR itself. It is necessary to emphasize that capitalism is the danger, not Poles.

The opening of the Wall will soon make it necessary for the DDR to do something about its currency, which is worthless except as an internal unit of exchange. Western bankers are calling for making the DDR mark fully convertible, as part of a broader assault on the state monopoly of foreign trade. It would be extremely naive to think that the West would set up a fund to stabilize the DDR mark, as East Berlin has requested. To protect against massive exchange rate manipulation, as over the last month, exchange controls could be imposed with some degree of effectiveness. But a stable currency based on a real equivalent of value will be necessary for foreign trade and travel. The early Soviet government had experience with this when at the beginning of 1923 it issued the *chervonetz*, which was

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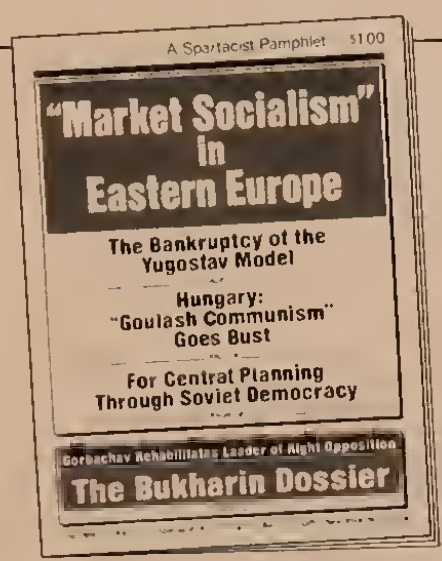

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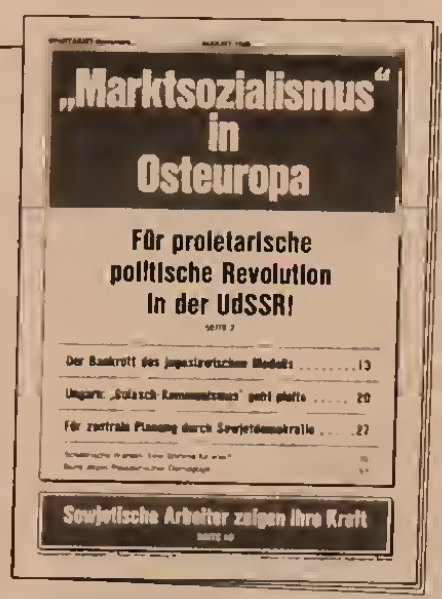

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HOMAGE TO HEINRICH HEINE

As part of a July 22 educational on the bicentennial of the French Revolution (see WV *Nos. 484 and 486, 1 and 29 September), comrade Peter Grün delivered this speech at Heinrich Heine's grave in Montmartre Cemetery in Paris:*

Today, Heinrich Heine is mainly known as a lyric poet. But this German Jew and cosmopolitan was also a revolutionary, a friend of Marx and Engels. He is now known for his phrase, quoted apropos of the Rushdie affair, "first they burn the books, then the people." His own works were banned by the Prussian monarchy in 1833. A hundred years later, on 10 May 1933, the Nazis actually burned his books; tragically, the rest of Heinrich Heine's prophecy also came to pass.

Franz Mehring, Marx's biographer and a comrade-in-arms of Rosa Luxemburg, wrote of Heinrich Heine: "The deadly enemies made during his lifetime are still bleeding from the wounds that his good sword inflicted on them, but it is the Communists who defend his grave against the onslaught of these rabid fools." In 1919, at the height of the revolution, the Spartacists made the effort to republish his works.

Heinrich Heine was born in 1797 in Düsseldorf, in a region of West Germany under Prussian domination but which was profoundly marked by the French Revolution. Heine was later influenced by the 1830 revolution in France and the revolt of the Lyon weavers, the "Canuts." One of his most famous poems was called "The Weavers." Here is a verse:

"Damned be the king, the king of the rich
Who could not lighten our misery
Who squeezed the last penny out of us
And had us shot like dogs."

His most important work is *Germany—A Winter's Tale*, a full-scale denunciation of the Prussian monarchy, of German backwardness, of its national narrowness. At the end of his life he denounced "the party of the so-called representatives of the nationality in Germany, those false patriots whose love of the Fatherland consists of nothing but an idiotic aversion against everything foreign and against neighboring peoples."

Fighting for the bourgeois democratic revolution against the kings, princes and princelings of Germany, he also became aware of the impotence, cowardice and philistinism of the German bourgeoisie, its inability to lead this revolution to its conclusion. A student of Hegel, he wrote in *Germany—A Winter's Tale* that the so-called German revolutionaries could never conquer the "heavenly kingdom of dreams," a favorite phrase of Marx and Engels.

The writings of Marx, Engels and Plekhanov are full of quotes from Heine. Engels noted correctly that "Heine was the only thinker who already in 1833 recognized the revolutionary importance of German philosophy." In a conversation with Hegel, the latter stated that the idea that "all that is real is rational" (in effect, an apology for the status quo) was not the only possible interpretation of his philosophy. Hegel intimated to him that "everything that is rational *must* be real." For his part, Heine declared:

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Heinrich Heine

"Drum the people out of their sleep.
Beat the sound of reveille with youthful vigor,
March ever forward to the drumbeat
That is the whole science
That is Hegelian philosophy."

Forced to flee to Paris after 1831, he there encountered the ideas of Saint-Simon, of Blanqui and Babeuf. He joined the League of the Just, the society of revolutionary German artisans which was the precursor of the Communist League. "Bread is the people's right, said Saint-Just, and that is truly the greatest watchword that the revolution has raised," said Heine.

He collaborated with Marx and Engels on the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Almanacs) between 1843 and 1847, when the historical materialism of Marx and Engels began to take form. He died in 1856 after eight years of an illness which confined him to his bed.

An assimilated Jew, a victim of anti-Semitism, Heine had himself baptized as a Christian. He joked about it later, remarking that "if the laws had permitted stealing silver spoons, then I wouldn't have baptized myself." More a fellow traveler of Marx and Engels (he was not an atheist), he nevertheless admired their communist goals. At the end of his life he said that the communists stand for "the most absolute cosmopolitanism, a generalized love for all peoples, a fraternal community of goods among all people, free citizens of this globe."

Internationalism against nationalism—isn't this still today our program, for us of the International Communist League? It is therefore only right to honor the memory of Heinrich Heine, one of the links in the series of revolutionaries which joins us Marxists to the Great French Revolution.

E. Germany...

(continued from page 9)

partially covered by gold reserves, to eventually replace the paper ruble which had been devalued by hyperinflation to *one millionth* of its 1921 value.

The *chervonetz* was part of the New Economic Policy (NEP) designed to put the economy on its feet again after the ravages of the Civil War. To accomplish this it was centrally necessary to establish exchange relations with the peasantry instead of just requisitioning grain at gunpoint. And as E. Preobrazhensky, later to become the economic expert of the Left Opposition, pointed out at the Bolsheviks' Tenth Party Congress in 1921, it was "impossible to trade with a ruble rate which fluctuates on the market not only in the course of days, but in the course of hours." While others were dreaming of money dying out in short order, he argued for a currency based on silver. The obvious need for a stable currency to conduct internal trade can be seen from the figures published by Trotsky in his 1925 booklet *Toward Capitalism or Socialism?* showing that in 1924-25, private agriculture production (15.4 billion *chervonetz* rubles) was more than double that of large-scale nationalized industry (7.5 billion).

The situation of East Germany today is significantly different. With agriculture more than 90 percent collectivized and a similar proportion of industry and commerce in state hands, it is not internal but external trade that requires a stable currency. And the DDR has a considerable foreign trade, about 30 percent of the entire national income produced. This is roughly the same as West Germany, and *triple* the proportion for the United States. Moreover, foreign trade cannot be appreciably reduced, since the DDR is quite resource-poor, having no oil, bituminous coal, iron ore or cotton, although it is a major producer of chemicals, steel, machines and textiles. As Preobrazhensky noted in his book *The New Economics* (1926), "The state production of consumer goods is further subjected to the law of value in so far as the state obtains its raw material either from private production inside the country or by importing it in large quantities from abroad."

In addition, right in the heart of the DDR is the imperialist outpost of West Berlin, so that as soon as the Wall was open, "foreign travel" consisted of taking a subway trip—which millions did daily, at least until they ran out of their "welcome money." So the DDR uniquely of all the deformed workers states requires a currency based on an equivalent of real value. It may not have large stocks of gold, the universal equivalent, as the Soviet Union does, but it does have substantial reserves of hard currency. And the DDR already has, as a purely accounting unit, a "*valuta* (hard currency) mark." Instead of allowing the D-mark to become the de facto currency of the DDR, the "*valuta* mark" could be legally backed by East Germany's reserves and made available at home and abroad. It could act as a buffer between the world market and the domestic economy, as the government could control the exchange rate between this currency and the internal exchange medium, the East mark.

And for good measure, why not mint some serious coins and impressive bills instead of the present featherweight aluminum pieces and paper scrip which look and feel like play money? Put Karl Marx's picture on the 1,000 *valuta* mark note and then let the Zurich bankers trade it!

DDR Economy: Computers and Lignite

But a stable internationally accepted currency is only a limited measure in defense of East Germany's collectivized economy. Currency reform, exchange controls, rationalizing subsidies—the bottom line for all the technical economic solutions is the political loyalty of the citizenry to the government. And that requires the establishment of a revolutionary workers soviet government. Moreover, as Marx taught, production determines circulation. And the DDR has serious problems in the sphere of production. The common denominator is the central need for socialist international economic planning to replace nationalist bureaucratic commandism.

Despite the tendency in the Western press to denigrate East German products as shoddy, there are many areas of the DDR economy that perform well. Unlike Poland, where 76 percent of the arable land is in tiny plots owned by individual peasants, the East German collective farms manage to feed the country, which leads the world in butter and beer consumption. A number of the 126 huge *Kombinate* (vertically integrated industrial conglomerates grouping together numerous factories) which dominate the DDR's economy are highly competitive on the international market. Meissen sets a world standard in fine porcelain. The October 7 Machine Works is a leading manufacturer of heavy machinery. Polygraph produces precision multicolor printing presses. Siemens would love to get a joint venture with Carl Zeiss optical works of Jena in order to get some of its advanced technology.

Okay, so the smoke-spewing, bone-rattling "Trabi" with its two-stroke engine that sounds like a power lawnmower and runs on a gas-oil mixture is a national disgrace to auto-minded Germans and likely to be voted the "cardboard car of the year" for 1989 (not true—it's made out of fiberglass). The newer Wartburg is a nice-looking car which would be just fine if it had a decent motor and they produced ten times as many so you wouldn't have to wait 15 years to get one. The real problem with consumer goods in the DDR is not poor quality or that there aren't enough of them, but rather that the country produces a huge assortment with small production runs—a so-called "department store economy." And East German factories "now strain to produce 80 percent of the total variety of industrial goods available in the world" (*Washington Post*, 26 November). Some lines will have to be cut back.

Some economic problems are already being creatively solved. Several weeks ago, opposition demonstrators in Leipzig began chanting against the secret police, "Stasi into production." Already the new National Security Office has announced it is laying off some 8,000 of these strong young men, who would do just fine as construction workers rebuilding East Germany's crumbling inner cities. (Pretty good, considering that the secret police previously claimed to have only 5-6,000 employees.) But some prospective employers are saying they don't want to hire "snitches." In response to calls for alternative service instead of the National People's Army, young draftees are being sent to work in the hospitals to replace personnel who have gone to the West. And many of the construction brigades brought in to build showcase projects in East Berlin (for the city's 750th anniversary last year) are being sent back home.

But one area where there have been great complaints is in the computer and electronics industry encompassed by the Robotron *Kombinat*. This was promoted by Erich Honecker as the DDR's crown jewel. Some 14 billion marks have been invested for development of electronics, and much was achieved. Aside from the USSR, East Germany is the only country in the Soviet bloc with a full-range microelectronics production cycle, from silicon chips to mainframe computers. And while DDR industry is generally 15 years behind in technology, in computers the gap is only five to six years. Robotron produces a 32-bit minicomputer and has developed CAM (computer-aided manufacturing) and robotics-based industrial

technology. Last year the first one-megabit chip produced by the Zeiss *Kombinat* was presented to Honecker with great fanfare. The SED chief crowed that this showed the superiority of socialism over capitalism. This has been widely criticized for misapplying resources: how can a country of 16.5 million people produce one-megabit chips when only IBM in the U.S. has the size to do so profitably?

This project may indeed have been an example of Stalinist megalomania, the equivalent of Khrushchev's vow to surpass the U.S. in consumer goods production. Economic planners complain that it was foisted on them by the SED Politburo without discussion. This is exactly the sort of decision that should be the subject of extensive debate in workers councils nationally, for it affects the entire country. There should be a heated fight in the *Volkskammer* and maybe change of government. That way, if a mistake is made, then it's *everybody's* mistake. But there is another important question involved here. Overall the decision to concentrate on "leading technologies" may be correct for a country whose main resource is its skilled labor force. And you can certainly make a case for pouring resources into computers when the choice was made in the late 1970s, *because the DDR was not producing for its own narrow market but for the whole Soviet bloc.* And it was crucial to develop this field to overcome the imperialist technology boycott orchestrated through NATO's "Cocom."

Today, East Germany's microelectronics industry is in trouble not because it isn't state-of-the-art but because the Soviet market is drying up. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) was inaugurated in 1949 as Stalin's answer to the Marshall Plan. It represented a limited beginning of international economic planning, so that not every one of the East European deformed workers states had to produce its own major products. East Germany, for example, produced agricultural machinery, printing presses and a range of consumer durables for the whole bloc; Hungary produced the Ikarus buses, Czechoslovakia built

Ullstein

Berlin, December 1918: Mass workers demonstration demands "All Power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils."

streetcars, Poland constructed ships, the Soviet Union supplied Tupolev aircraft. But today Comecon is falling apart under the impact of Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika policies. This year the USSR is importing 200,000 PCs from Siemens and only 20,000 from Robotron. And even trade within the Soviet bloc (two-thirds of the DDR's total) is rapidly being "dollarized" (or D-markized).

Another prime example of the harm caused by the lack of international economic planning is East Germany's ecology. The whole southern region (including the Thüringer Wald) is suffering from massive industrial pollution worse than anywhere else in Europe. Why? Because the DDR's main source of fuel is...lignite, so-called "brown coal" which is produced by scraping the mossy soil off tens of thousands of hectares and then burning the smoky low-grade fuel in specially designed power plants. This is relatively recent, a decision made in 1982. The reason was that in the wake of the mid-'70s OPEC oil price hikes, the Soviet Union raised its oil prices to the Comecon states. So to cut the import bill, now-ousted SED economics czar Günter Mittag opted for ultra-autarky and filthy air. Today, the policy seems even more insane because the world market oil price has fallen drastically.

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

Thus positions on these economic issues are eminently political. In fact, they directly concern the future of the German Democratic Republic. West German politicians and press have discovered to their dismay that virtually no political force in the DDR wants to take up market reforms. Meetings of SED economists (in Leipzig) and New Forum economists (in Berlin) had a consensus for rejecting Polish/Hungarian-style privatization and keeping state ownership of the means of production. When Prime Minister Modrow presented a plan for a "market-oriented planned economy," what this amounted to was a planned economy that would produce goods that people would buy rather than unsalable schlock items that sit on the store shelves. Partly this is because of East Germany's small and compact size, so there's not much room for two efficient enterprises in one branch. They already experimented with "market socialist" reforms in the mid-'60s under Ulbricht's "New Economic System" and then recentralized the economy after a few years.

But that doesn't mean that either the Stalinists or the petty-bourgeois opposition groups want to be a beacon of socialist planning in a sea of perestroika market competition. Rather, both are orienting toward aligning the DDR with the West German economy. And while they talk of "socialism," they are all encouraging capitalist-restorationist forces. Already, the chemical industry (notably the giant Leuna and Buna works) is largely integrated into the plans of West Germany's chemical giants (Hoechst, Bayer and Schering) through supplies of raw materials. (They were all formerly part of the giant IG Farben trust which produced the Zyklon-B gas for the Nazi death camps.) The economic policy of the caretaker SED government, to the extent that it

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Help Raise the Banner of Trotskyism in Germany

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) has thrown its energies and resources into raising the banner of genuine communism—the communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—in the mass upheaval now taking place in East Germany. Our comrades have distributed well over 200,000 leaflets titled "Workers Soviets to Power!" Many have been passed from hand to hand and factory to factory. At a demonstration in East Berlin of SED party members on Sunday, December 3, our comrades rapidly sold hundreds of pieces of literature, every single item on hand. More than 5,000 pieces of literature, including *Spartakist*, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, and the pamphlet "'Market Socialism' in East Europe" have been sold in the past three weeks.

These materials have become a focus of debate over the urgent issues facing pro-socialist militants: the formation of soviets, the reunification of Germany, the role of the Social Democracy, the building of a new communist party as opposed to the perspective of "reforming" the SED or opposing all parties.

Our campaign to raise funds for this vital work has struck a chord among many—including many of our sympathizers and ex-members galvanized by the felt possibility of workers political revolution in East Germany. This historic opportunity must be seized and carried through to workers' victory—the forces of counterrevolution, notably the Social Democracy, have already begun to mobilize. Banners have appeared at demonstrations calling for capitalist reunification.

The TLD is fighting to forge nuclei of Trotskyist militants in East Germany to lay the basis for a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party throughout Germany. Our comrades have issued a public call to "Form Spartakist Groups" to "distribute revolutionary propaganda, in factories and at other workplaces, working-class meetings and neighborhoods, demonstrations and on campuses."

"The Spartakist Groups will be based on principles that are revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist. That means working-class mobilization to crush fascists and racist terrorists; it means the fight for full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and the fight against Prussian-German nationalism with its anti-Polish chauvinism. For the rebirth of revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Russian proletariats embodied by Rosa Luxemburg!"

Your contribution is urgently needed to carry forward this crucial internationalist work. Make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, P.O. Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Earmark for: "Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund" (or simply "3-L's Fund").

PDC...

(continued from page 2)

charges of "threatening" a cop in the aftermath of a murderous cop assault.

On November 23 British miners **Dean Hancock** and **Russell Shankland** were released on parole after serving five years of an eight-year sentence for defending their union picket line during the bitter 1984-85 coal strike. Following last year's Holiday Appeal Russell wrote: "I think between us we have well over 100 [holiday] cards from the U.S.A. Our cells were covered with some very pretty and colorful cards, which made our 5th Christmas behind bars more tolerable." Abandoned to Thatcher's jails by the pro-capitalist trade-union tops, Hancock and Shankland are heroes of the class struggle to their union brothers and sisters around the world. Celebrate their release by joining the fight to free all the class-war prisoners.

Last year's Holiday Appeal raised more than $7,700. The capitalist class has unlimited financial and legal resources at its disposal. We are armed with justice and faith in working-class power. Help build our program of stipends and holiday gifts. Send your greetings and messages of solidarity. Join our fight for their freedom. You can read more about the class-war prisoners in *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 12. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

On November 25, FMLN commandos again attacked the wealthy Escalón neighborhood, the luxurious lair of the oligarchs and generals, and nearby San Benito, filled with American personnel. The impact was dramatic as rebels seized the homes of a "senior intelligence officer" (as the embassy identified him) and the embassy chief of security, while Ambassador William Walker's mansion was shot up.

The U.S. has been shaken by the boldness of the rebel offensive, not least the bottling up of some dozen Green Berets in their Sheraton Hotel tower suite last month. These "military advisers," the *New York Times* (30 November) now admits, were there in addition to the 55 (who in any case now "average" 125) allowed by Congress. In fact the American counterinsurgency apparatus in Salvador now "includes thousands of people in official and unofficial capacities."

The sight of 280 Americans fleeing the country will not strengthen the U.S. bourgeoisie's resolve to "draw the line against Communism" in El Salvador, as the Reagan administration vowed to do. As for the depraved Salvadoran ruling class, they're not winning, but they are killing. The grisly work of the death squads in Salvador is the bloody face of the "free world." The fascistic ARENA party came to office last spring vowing "total war." Now the National Assembly has imposed a draconian "anti-terrorist" law which bans all strikes and demonstrations, and labels anyone who espouses "anti-government" or "pro-FMLN" views as a "subversive" to be dragged away. The flatbed trucks have begun hauling away people. Every morning mutilated bodies are dropped off around the city. A sign beside one charred body read, "The Atlacatl Brigade [U.S.-trained elite killer corps] was here, in war we don't take prisoners, there is no law which holds us back."

On November 26, San Salvador police arrested a 28-year-old Connecticut woman, Jennifer Jean Casolo, claiming they found an arms cache with thousands of rounds of M-16 and AK-47 rifle ammunition in her backyard. U.S. embassy officials accompanied police on the raid, and declared, "It's a good bust." Casolo is a committed pacifist, whose Christian Educational Seminar provides assistance to visiting U.S. delegations. The arrest of Jennifer Casolo was really a surrogate attack on the U.S. Congress, whose members she frequently took around on their "fact finding" tours.

Now the White House has raised a big outcry over a twin-engine plane shot down in Usulután on November 25, which was supposedly carrying SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles from Nicaragua to the rebels. The army claimed they found the body of a Nicaraguan pilot,

AP

Jennifer Jean Casolo

Mauricio Quiroz Garcia, in the wreckage. Quiroz then held a press conference in Managua to say he was very much alive and flying for Aeronica. If, as reported, a second planeload did get through, bringing these key weapons to the FMLN from their suppliers, we can only greet this and hope they will soon be deployed against the professional killers who have rained down terror from the skies.

Stung by the FMLN offensive, the U.S. is hollering for the Russians to make it stop. Secretary of State James Baker called Soviet behavior in Central America a "cold war relic" and the "biggest obstacle" to U.S.-Soviet relations going into the summit. Gorbachev has certainly shown himself willing to hand over every revolutionary struggle in the world in his drive to appease the U.S. and "extinguish regional hot spots," but the FMLN is not about to roll over and commit suicide. Unfortunately, for the past ten years the Soviet Union, Nicaragua and Cuba have *not* supplied the Salvadoran leftists with SAMs, even though the U.S. was shipping them to its Nicaraguan contras. If the FMLN forces had been receiving these missiles, the bloody history of the Salvadoran civil war would have been very different, because the Salvadoran military's air power is the only thing that keeps it going.

A shudder of horror went around the world when an army death squad murdered six Jesuit priests, their cook and her daughter on November 16. Millions saw on TV how indiscriminate high-altitude bombing devastated poor barrios like Soyapango, pocked with 20-foot bomb craters, where over 900 bodies were found. But Washington and its prostitutes in the American media continue to scream about leftist "terrorism." *New York Times* reporter Lindsey Gruson not only rehashes U.S. ambassador Walker's insinuation that the rebels used the priests' murder "to their advantage," but *blames the rebels for the government's terror bombing* with the twisted logic that the guerrillas knew their offensive would "provoke large-scale retaliation" (*New York Times*, 1 December).

This mouthpiece for rightist terror even denounces the guerrillas for violating "human rights" by hanging four death squad members, one of whom was pinpointing targets for the murderous air attacks, and retails charges first leveled by the "evenhanded" anti-Communist Americas Watch that the FMLN violated human rights by fighting in poor neighborhoods—supposedly using civilians as shields—and by fighting in rich neighborhoods, where residents were "held hostage." In other words, the guerrillas should not fight at all, but stay in the countryside waiting for the army to butcher them! Even the evacuated Americans arriving at Andrews Air Force Base admitted they had been treated well by the guerrillas. One schoolteacher described how a rebel ventured out to bring back fruit juice for her eight-month-old baby while their house was under siege.

U.S. imperialism is crowing about the supposed triumph of the "free world" over "Communist totalitarianism," but the class struggle does not stop simply because Gorbachev and Bush agree it should. From Afghanistan to El Salvador, Washington's anti-Communist killers are beset by difficulties and defeats, and that is a good thing. Military Victory to the FMLN! ■

Bush's CIA...

(continued from page 3)

Reagan's "adviser on terrorism" when he was California governor. Ridgeway detailed the infrastructure of FEMA:

> "As part of its emergency planning, FEMA helped recruit and train 3000 people in the National Defense Executive Reserve to run the country in the event of a national emergency. These unknown (their names are kept secret) and unaccountable people will run the country on orders from FEMA's secret underground White House—the 'Special Facility,' as it is known in FEMA-speak—in the foothills of the Blue Ridge mountains near Berryville, Virginia, at Mount Weather."
>
> —*Village Voice* (14 November)

Over a billion dollars was spent on the Mount Weather complex alone. Moreover, writes *U.S. News & World Report* (7 August), "Specialists from FEMA and the Pentagon have divided the country into 10 different regions, among which there may be as many as 50 different 'fallout resistant' command-post bunkers, each linked with the others by satellite, ground-wave and high-frequency transmissions." In 1982 this so-called Continuity of Government program, ostensibly aimed at "prevailing" in a nuclear war against the Soviet Union, was updated by the creation of a new secret agency called the Defense Mobilization Planning Systems Agency, "and its officials were instructed to report to then Vice President George Bush." So much for Bush being "out of the loop."

There is indeed a message in all this: while Gorbachev sells pipe dreams of peace with imperialism, the world proletariat had better keep its powder dry. ■

E. Germany...

(continued from page 11)

has one, is to concentrate the *Kombinate* into even larger units in order to compete in the international capitalist markets. In the words of finance minister Christa Luft, they would become "socialist multinationals" (*Libération*, 30 November). The danger is that the powerful directors of the *Kombinate* already think very much like Western corporation managers.

Thus for an interim period, while the DDR's phone network and roads are upgraded and capitalist economic penetration proceeds apace, the imperialists' counterrevolutionary plans can proceed without selling one plant to a capitalist owner. They might have a few joint ventures here, oriented toward exports to the rest of East Europe; some nationalized plants producing parts for VW there; big loans from the Deutsche, Dresdner and Commerz banks; "management training seminars," etc. And relentless ideological pressure via the media, on the population and political activists alike. Stepping up the heat, Free Democratic leader Count Lambsdorff told *Handelsblatt* (1 December), "If oppositionists there still dream the dream of a just socialism, 'then they must dream on alone'." Or as Kohl puts it, no market reforms, no D-marks. And from Moscow, Gorbachev is sending the same message.

Today, despite the widespread attachment to socialist values in Germany, East and West, the whole debate is conducted in "democratic" terms. In the Bundestag you have Christian Democrats, Free Democrats, Social Democrats; on the other side of the Wall it's the Democratic Republic, which the opposition wants to make "truly democratic." But in fighting for *workers democracy based on soviets*, what is posed is the question of *class power*. Class differentiation in the DDR is increasing between the technical/artistic intelligentsia and the working class. And as *Kombinate* directors rub elbows with their counterparts in the Federal Republic, while SED "reformer" Modrow visited Daimler-Benz headquarters last September, the attitude of the petty-bourgeois opposition toward the working class was summed up by an East Berlin mathematician, who has joined the Social Democrats and, according to the *Financial Times* (30 November):

> "...voiced the complaints and hopes of the suppressed meritocracy. The complaints were not just directed upwards at his party bosses but also downward at the 'average manual worker' who, he says, receives about the same monthly salary as he does.... Above all he fears the inertia of the half-working class—'those people who do only a couple of hours work each day but take home the same salary as everyone else' and do not want anything else to change."

The East German workers want to change their country from top to bottom, to sweep out the "concrete heads" in the Stalinist bureaucracy and to bar the way to those who want West German capitalism to swallow up the DDR. And that fight must be waged not for socialism in half a country, but throughout Germany and internationally. Because so long as imperialism produces cheaper and better goods, as long as capitalism has a higher labor productivity, it will be a mortal threat to an isolated socialist state. East German writer Rathenow commented, "A perspective oriented just to the DDR will again result in a socialist-minded administration of scarcity, sort of Albania at a higher level." Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels expressed this as a general law in their work on *The German Ideology* (1845-46):

> "This development of productive forces ...is absolutely necessary as a practical premise: firstly, for the reason that without it only *want* is made general, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old crap would necessarily be reproduced; and secondly, because only with this universal development of productive forces is a universal intercourse between men established. Without this...each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism."

This is why the Stalinist pipe dream of "socialism in one country" is a reactionary utopia.

To replace the arbitrary autocratic rule of an all-powerful bureaucracy and purge the DDR of Stalinist excesses, political power must be in the hands of workers councils (soviets) elected from below and defending the gains of this society, which is not yet socialist, against all class enemies, foreign and domestic. To achieve this, what is urgently needed is to forge a new KPD (Communist Party of Germany), an egalitarian Leninist workers party to lead the fight for a proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the capitalist West. For a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe! This is the program of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands. ■

Impoverishment of America...

(continued from page 16)

this decaying capitalist system which must be eradicated if the working people of America are to have a future.

End of the "American Dream"

By every standard the economic prospects of working-class youth today are worse than those of their parents and grandparents. The hallmark of the "American dream"—owning one's own home—is impossible for young working people unless they inherit it from their family. In the late 1940s mortgage payments by a typical 30-year-old homeowner amounted to less than 15 percent of his earnings. Today, a typical young worker has to pay *three times* that rate to finance the purchase of an average-priced home. In the 1950s and '60s young workers generally received the same pay as their older coworkers for the same jobs. But not today. With the "two-tier" wage system now common throughout the American economy, new-hires at GM's Packard Electric Division, for example, receive only 55 percent of the old base rate and are not entitled to parity for ten years!

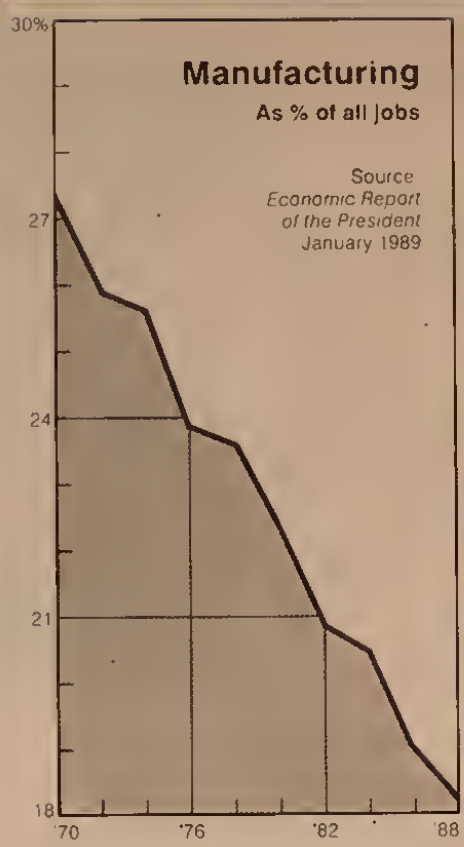
Real wages in this country peaked in 1972 and have been going down ever since. Today, the real weekly earnings of non-supervisory workers are *17 percent* less than they were in the early 1970s. The decline in real wages is even sharper if the age factor is considered. A young man who started working in the early '70s is now earning on average 25 percent less than his father did then. As for young people entering the job market today, "If a kid doesn't have a specific skill, the choices are pretty grim," said San Francisco social worker Ana Horta. "It's working at McDonald's or for a janitorial service or as a sales clerk—jobs without a future" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 10 April 1988).

The future of the working class is being destroyed as the capitalists have wiped out millions of relatively well-paying, unionized industrial jobs. The deindustrialization of America has gone hand in hand with deunionization. From a high of 35 percent unionization of the labor force in the early postwar years, today less than one worker out of six belongs to a trade union. The corrupt, racist and virulently anti-communist bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO have allowed the labor movement to be gutted rather than fight the bosses and their state.

It is not just workers in shrinking rust belt industries like steel and auto that have been subjected to giveback contracts, two-tier labor systems, wage-gouging and union-busting. Even the most elite sections of the white labor aristocracy, such as airline pilots, have been getting it. Writing under the pseudonym of "Captain X" to avoid victimization by management, a senior airline pilot exclaims:

> "...when I pick up a newspaper and I hear about some crash that had a starvation-wage pilot handling it, my face becomes red and I start muttering in my coffee. There is simply no excuse for putting a neophyte in a jetliner cockpit. There are all sorts of businesses that can survive on slim profit margins. They can cheapen their product. They can cut down their labor overhead. But there is no other business in which 3.2 seconds is all that is standing between you and a fatality statistic."
>
> —*Unfriendly Skies* (1989)

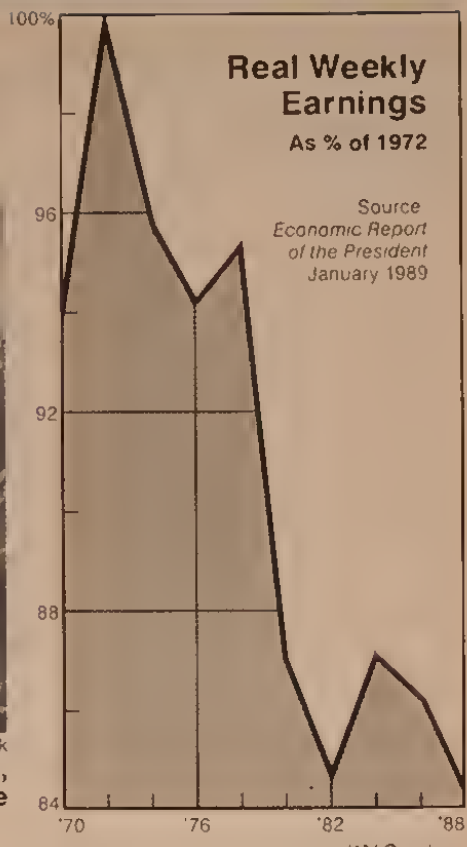
"Captain X" would doubtless be appalled if someone accused him of sounding like a Bolshevik. But he is in fact denouncing the effect of profit-maximizing capitalism, at any rate in the airline industry. And he is absolutely right.



Factory Jobs Decline, Real Wages Drop

McElroy/Newsweek

As one-third of industrial jobs disappeared, real wages have fallen by 16 percent since 1972.



WV Graphics

Der Spiegel

Nadine Markova

American industry shuts down as corporations go elsewhere for higher profits (above, Chrysler plant in Mexico). Sellout labor tops push protectionist poison instead of organizing workers internationally for common class struggle.

The Profits of Parasitism

The root cause of soaring poverty rates and black infant mortality, wage slashing and union-busting, is the decay and parasitism of American capitalism. There are more people working in fast-food restaurants than in any branch of industry. Between 1946 and 1988 employment in manufacturing fell from 35 to 18 percent of the labor force. During the '80s almost a million manufacturing jobs have disappeared. Household-name manufacturers like General Electric, Eastman Kodak and 3M have to a large extent become wholesale distributors in the U.S. selling products made by their overseas operations or foreign companies. Sony chief Akio Morita blasts America's capitalist crybabies, who blame their decline on the Japanese: "Instead of manufacturing things, Americans make money without efforts, just by playing money games" (*Business Week*, 23 October).

But the goal of capitalism is *not* to manufacture things, much less to make things in the quantity and quality needed to satisfy people's needs. The goal of capitalism is to make money, more precisely, to maximize the return on the money invested. A capitalist entrepreneur will gladly close down a factory producing medical supplies at a 6 percent rate of profit to open up a casino where the rate of return is 10 percent. However, periods of rapid investment drive down the rate of return. Opportunities for cheap technological breakthroughs are used up; increased demand for labor drives up wages. Over a century ago Karl Marx called this economic law "the tendency of the falling rate of profit," which he considered the *fundamental barrier* to the expansion of production under the capitalist system:

> "...the expansion or contraction of production is determined...by profit and by the proportion of this profit to the employed capital, by a definite rate of profit, instead of being determined by the relations of production to social wants to the wants of socially developed human beings. The capitalist mode of production, for this reason, meets with barriers at a certain scale of production which would be inadequate under different conditions. It comes to a standstill at a point determined by the production and realisation of profit, not by the satisfaction of social needs."
>
> —*Capital*, Volume III

As the rate of return falls, capitalists cut back their investment, thus triggering financial crises, bankruptcies, plant closures and mass unemployment. The rate of profit can be restored only by the destruction of both the means of production and labor power. The wrecker's ball tearing down auto plants and steel mills in the Midwest is driven by the same capitalist mechanism that is crushing the lives of millions of people.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s American capitalism underwent a major *dis*investment. Many factories were shut down and never reopened; machinery became hopelessly antiquated. The only thing that pulled the U.S. out of the decade-long depression was the onset of World War II, initially through supplying arms to Britain. In fact, World War II marked the greatest period of industrial construction in the entire history of American capitalism. And in the early '50s the U.S. economy got a booster shot from the Korean War. By the mid-1950s, the United States had one of the most modern industrial plants and highest ratios of capital per worker of any country in the world. Additional investment thus yielded relatively smaller returns. In other words, the rate of profit fell. In fact, it fell by 55 percent in the U.S. from 1947 to 1987. As a result investment leveled off, productivity stagnated. The last big steel mill was constructed in this country in 1962.

During the 1960s the U.S. economy—further weakened by the inflation generated by the Vietnam War—lost ground to revived Japanese and West German capitalism. Nixon's so-called New Economic Policy of August 1971 signaled the end of the short-lived "American century." The dollar was devalued and was no longer convertible to gold at a stable rate; measures were taken to protect American industry

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Impoverishment of America...

(continued from page 13)

from foreign competition and to impose wage controls on the working class. Then came the world depression of 1974-75 from which U.S. industry has never really recovered. Hundreds of thousands of workers were laid off and never rehired.

Overall, the after-tax rate of profit for American corporations fell from about 10 percent in 1965 to less than 4 percent in 1980. American capitalists responded with a two-pronged strategy. First, they simply shut down their U.S. plants and transferred manufacturing operations to low-wage countries in Latin America and especially the Far East; in the decade beginning in 1970 the rate of import of manufactures soared from 14 to 40 percent of domestic output. Secondly, they sought to intensify *the rate of exploitation* at home by driving down the living standard of the working class. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy acquiesced with a decade of giveback contracts, while launching a virulently chauvinist campaign of "Buy American" protectionism.

Davis/Washington Post

Working-class youth face prospect of dead-end jobs at minimum wage.

The decay of American capitalism has been sharply accelerated by the massive military buildup against the Soviet Union. The Star Wars boondoggle, Stealth bombers and Trident submarines have starved civilian industry for investment funds and practically monopolized scientific and technological research. The Pentagon's share of federally funded scientific research jumped from 50 percent in the '70s to 75 percent during the past decade. Even the conservative London *Economist* (14 August 1987) expressed concern that "the needs of the military are steadily diverging from those of industry at a time when the military is supporting a larger proportion of America's research effort."

Under Reagan/Bush, U.S. imperialism has attempted to restore military superiority (i.e., first-strike nuclear capability) over the Soviet Union from a *weakened industrial base*. The result is massive and historically unprecedented foreign and budget deficits. In the mid-1980s the United States went from being the world's leading creditor to the world's biggest debtor. About 40 percent of the federal budget deficit is now financed by Japanese moneymen, another 10 to 20 percent by West Europeans.

The domestic side of America's financial parasitism has been the looting of corporate assets via the junk bond/takeover game. The capitalist superstars of the '80s are not pathbreaking entrepreneurs and corporate empire builders but rather corporate raiders (i.e., destroyers) and their Wall Street accomplices—Carl Icahn, Donald Trump, Frank Lorenzo, Michael Milken the junk-bond king. What fueled the stock market boom of the '80s was not an expansion of real wealth but competition between different capitalist groups for the privilege of milking corporate assets.

This speculative frenzy came to an end with the crash of October 1987, when the market value of corporate America fell by *one-third* in just a few days. The party's over, as investors are fleeing junk bonds for supposedly safer financial shores. But the whole financial edifice remains a house of cards which can collapse under the next major shock. Wall Street banker Michael Hirsch describes the junk-bond market as a "time bomb just waiting to go off" (*Wall Street Journal*, 27 October). All signs now point to a sharp economic downturn. Orders for machine tools—the core of industrial investment—have fallen over 20 percent in the last year.

Of Yuppies and the Working Poor

The "American dream" in the '80s was personified by the Charlie Sheen character in the film *Wall Street*, a yuppie stock broker on the make who does the dirty work for the ruthless, big-time raider Gekko. American capitalism has generated a bloated and parasitic corporate bureaucracy with young kids just out of college raking in up to $300,000 a year as high-flying paper pushers and computer nerds. Meanwhile, the assembly-line and industrial jobs working-class kids used to be able to walk into after high school have virtually disappeared, leaving nothing but dead-end jobs at or below the minimum wage. Average weekly earnings in eating and drinking places are less than a third of earnings in manufacturing, in department stores less than half (Department of Labor, *Employment and Earnings*, September 1989).

It is a common perception these days that working people simply have less time—to relax, to go out, to spend with their families. Now it is common for both adults in the family to work—to maintain a lower standard of living than their parents' one-income family had. And the cost of private day care eats up much of the additional income because the public facilities simply do not exist. Even with two incomes, millions of working-class couples maintain their precarious living standard only by getting ever deeper into charge cards, bank overdrafts and other forms of debt. Over the past 15 years consumer debt has more than *tripled* while real wages have been falling sharply. For every dollar in take-home pay, the typical American family owes more than 20 cents in high-interest consumer loans.

If two-income families find it ever harder to make ends meet, the situation facing single parents is truly desperate. Two in five people (13 out of 32 million) living below the official government poverty level are in families with at least one wage earner, one in five are in families in which someone is working on a full-time, year-round basis. But their wages are just too low to support a family. Harvard sociologist David Ellwood explained to a Congressional committee:

Lofin/NY Times

Tennessee television factory. Women work at low wages in sweatshop conditions, in desperate attempt to make ends meet.

> "...even a woman who works full time all year at $5 per hour, who can get day care at a very modest cost, will still not be able to support herself and two children above the poverty line. She will probably have minimal medical benefits. And in a fairly typical state, she will have only slightly more income than she could have gotten from welfare and food stamps."
>
> —House of Representatives, Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, *A Domestic Priority: Overcoming Family Poverty in America* (1988)

In the United States today poverty is increasingly a disease of childhood. As the London *Economist* (7 January) put it in its usual snotty way: "A booby prize goes to America when its child-poverty rates are compared with those in other rich countries." One in five schoolchildren and one in four preschoolers live in poverty. The government's own statistics have become so appalling that the Census Bureau is now proposing to *lower* the standard it uses to calculate the poverty level in order to reduce the number of people "officially" considered to be poor. This arithmetic sleight of hand would cut 3.5 million people off from food stamps, Medicaid and school lunches.

Homelessness: An American Growth Industry

Few of the tens of millions living in poverty, especially those trapped in the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, are visible to most white middle-class Americans. However, the homeless now seen everywhere in the nation's cities are upsetting even many yuppies. A junior advertising executive recounted her experience shopping last winter in Chicago's posh Gold Coast: "I was walking around, admiring how pretty everything looked for Christmas, and there, in the doorway of a church, was a homeless woman, crouching, obviously trying to keep warm." Meanwhile, some New York yuppies piggishly complain that their sensibilities are offended by the sight of people urinating on the sidewalks. What is the reason for this, asks the haughty *New York Times* (25 November), tut-tutting about the "breakdown in public morals." How about the fact that there are almost no public bathrooms and 100,000 people who are forced to live in the city's subways, bus terminals, parks and streets!

To eliminate such depressing sights, the American ruling class is waging war on the homeless. In New York City, the Transit Authority recently initiated "Operation Enforcement." On the first day of this police crackdown on "bad behavior"—like begging or sleeping—TA cops rounded up 60 people in Grand Central Station. One arrogant official cynically declared: "If you're in a three-piece Armani suit having had 'tee many martoonis' and sleeping on a bench, you will be approached just as somebody else less fortunate will be approached." A century ago, Anatole France remarked that rich and poor alike are forbidden to sleep under bridges, as a biting satirical comment about poverty in 1890s France.

The Reaganites turned social programs over to the private sector, which translated into the poor and homeless having to rely on the charity of people in the streets. But now many city governments have outlawed panhandling. In Phoenix, Arizona it's illegal to pick through the city dump; in Los Angeles it's even illegal now to go through dumpsters. What are they going to do next to eliminate the eyesore of poor people living in the streets—organize Latin-American-style death squads? In a sense the homeless have become the North American analogue of the des-

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The HUD Scandal

Robbing the Poor

Former Reaganite Housing and Urban Development (HUD) secretary Samuel Pierce has taken the Fifth Amendment so many times that he has become known as "Silent Sam." Even before the HUD scandal hit the headlines, well over 100 Reagan administration appointees had been implicated in crooked deals of all sorts. But in the case of HUD, it wasn't simply corruption: the Reaganites were ideologically opposed to providing any funding for the homeless. Having cut the budget for federally supported housing from $33 billion to $7 billion over eight years, Reagan blithely claimed that the homeless "prefer this way of life." What the Reaganites didn't cut, they either stole outright or deliberately and maliciously threw away. A recent audit revealed a *$6 billion* loss by HUD.

For example, $230 million was lost as a result of a default by developers in Chicago who were given mortgage assistance to fund eight luxury apartment buildings where rents ranged up to $3,000 a month, one of which housed the city's largest private health club with annual membership costs of $1,600. Meanwhile homeless advocates in Chicago are trying to fight the closure of 465,000 rent-subsidized apartments which are to be sold by developers who are cashing in early on, paying the mortgages at 1 to 3 percent—rates they got from the government to build low-income complexes.

As a *New York Times* op-ed piece noted, "Reagan apostles of deregulation like former Interior Secretary James S. Watt left their Administration jobs only to return to exploit the kinds of programs they had condemned." Watt got $300,000 in "consulting fees" for his influence-peddling on behalf of millionaire developers. Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato got a cool million for a swimming pool in his lily-white hometown of Island Park, Long Island. His cousin Anthony Ciccimarro got a price break to buy homes in Island Park underwritten by HUD. Originally the homes were slated to be sold to black and Hispanic families but they were sold to whites only who bought in at 40 to 60 grand and sold at up to $270,000. The former regional administrator of New York's HUD office had a special hot line on his phone that connected him directly to D'Amato's Washington office.

In Puerto Rico, Delio Rojo, a Cuban *gusano* cum developer who accompanied Bush in Air Force Two to Puerto Rico in 1981, got HUD funding for his $37.8 million "Gran Bahía project" which consists of a dilapidated apartment building and a high-rise casino hotel. Last October the Republican National Committee got a $20,000 campaign contribution from Rojo. Pierce's executive assistant, Deborah Gore Dean, known around the office as the "Duchess of Darkness" and one of the main conduits for handing out the money, held a $200,000 fund-raiser for Bush's election campaign.

Sauro/NY Times

Low-income housing dynamited in Newark, May 1987. Politicians skim billions from housing funds, while working people are thrown onto the streets.

But it doesn't end with robbing the poor in the U.S. of A. According to an article in the San Jose *Mercury News*, Thomas Demery, a senior HUD officer, used his position to raise $290,000 for Renamo, South Africa's gruesome right-wing Mozambican terrorists. Reportedly the money was funneled through an outfit called "Food for Africa" which Demery founded together with South African fundamentalist preacher Peter Pretorius. Demery and Pretorius held various fund-raisers where "many of those who bought seats at the $1,000-a-plate dinners, held in various cities, or made contributions to Food for Africa were later awarded HUD contracts, according to several reports" (*Guardian*, 11 October).

For years the Reaganites and Congressional Democrats have picked the pockets of poor and working people in America to finance terror against poor and working people around the globe. Now we have them stealing money from housing programs to bankroll mercenaries whose sadistic murder of whole villages in Mozambique almost makes the Nicaraguan contras look moderate by comparison.

The $6 billion HUD "loss" could have provided homes for perhaps 600,000 homeless people. But to get that money, you would have to rip it out of the hands of the people who own and control the wealth of this country. To make life even remotely livable for the masses of blacks, Hispanics, unemployed, homeless and impoverished will take a socialist revolution.

perate landless peasants flooding into the slums of Third World capitals. Both are populations unneeded and unwanted by the capitalist system.

Racist reactionaries like Reagan and Ed Koch harped on the image of the homeless as mentally ill or social misfits, to buttress their obscene claim that people live on the streets out of choice. Nobody buys this lie. Robert Hayes of the National Coalition for the Homeless noted:

> "Ten years ago, chronically mentally ill people were the first folks to hit the streets. Then came people who had very bad job skills and poor education. By the mid-1980s, and really since, the homeless have come from the ranks of families...families headed by a single parent, usually a woman, usually with young children—families who are not competitive in the Darwinian struggle for housing."
>
> —*Penthouse* (July 1989)

As the amount of affordable housing dwindles and wages plummet, it's no longer even a question of being unemployed. Even a 27-city survey conducted by the U.S. Conference of Mayors in January 1989 estimates that nearly *one-fourth* of the homeless are people who are pulling in a paycheck but still can't afford a place to live. A third of all homeless are families with children. And Hayes estimates that 40 percent of the homeless nationwide are children.

James Wright, a Tulane University professor who completed a recent study of homelessness, found the evidence destroyed his own prior stereotypes: "I was surprised at the number of people who were homeless for strictly economic reasons" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 13 September). In other words, they can't afford the rent. A tent camp in San Jose, California—capital of the high-tech "Silicon Valley" region—was headed by a machinist who had lost his job of ten years. A study by the San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association found that the majority of homeless in the city had graduated from high school and had previously held clerical, skilled trades and even *professional* jobs. Gladys Lugo, an X-ray technician who graduated from a community college in New York, told a Congressional committee how she and her children came to be living in a Brooklyn shelter:

> "I worked as a film developer and I developed a kidney condition from that, so temporarily, I can't work right now and because of my children, they are too little. So, I am on public assistance and I am allowed to get an apartment for $300, that is it. And I can't find anything that is $300 or under; not even for $400."

According to a report by the Community Service Society of New York, between 1978 and 1987 the number of apartments in the city renting for under $300 (in 1987 dollars) a month decreased by 72 percent while those renting for over $500 a month more than doubled; 50,000 rental units disappeared entirely from the housing market. Nationwide, the poor are paying 30 percent more rent than in the mid-'70s while the Reagan/Bush gang have slashed and looted the federal funds earmarked for low-income housing (see "Robbing the Poor," above). In New York City alone there are some 300,000 "hidden homeless"—people who live doubled up with other families in one apartment.

The millions of men, women and children roaming the streets with nowhere to sleep and nothing to eat are victims of the combined effect of plummeting wages linked to deindustrialization and union-busting; the savage cuts in all social programs begun in the late '70s by the Democrats under Carter and pursued with unparalleled viciousness by the Reaganites in collaboration with the Democrat-controlled Congress; and the "gentrification" of the nation's cities—a polite term for the forcible removal of the working class and poor. In short, low-income housing has gone the way of the American steel industry. Polls show that two-thirds of the American people believe the government should provide homes for the homeless. They feel a deep sense of shame and outrage over America's blind, willful abandonment of millions of people.

WV Photo

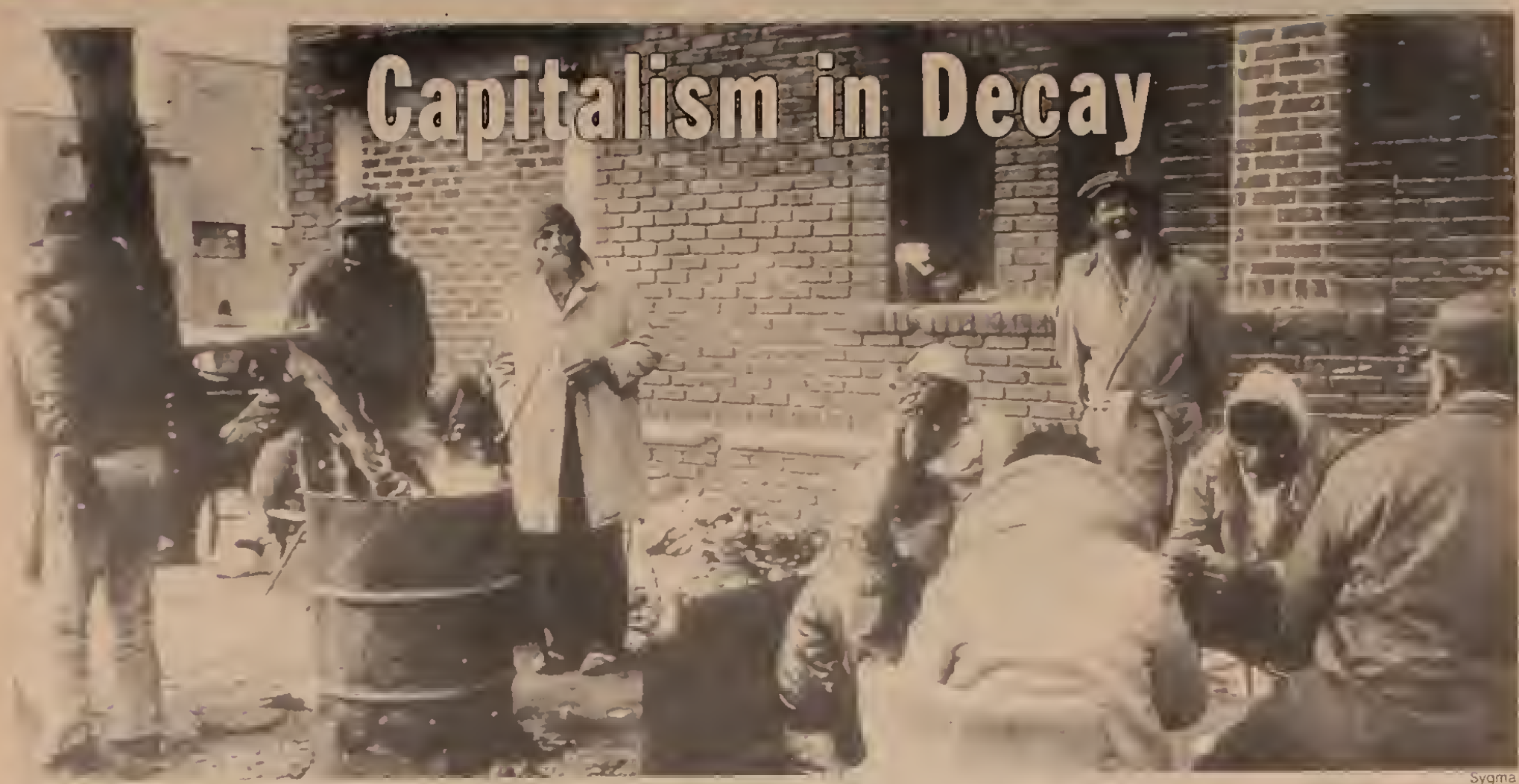
Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Atlanta, January 21. Workers and oppressed need a revolutionary workers party.

On October 7, over 100,000 people—including contingents of Teamsters, auto and steel workers—marched on the nation's capital, calling for government-subsidized affordable housing and "money for housing not war." However, the rally organizers look to electing liberal Democrats to achieve these good things. But it is precisely the Democrats, not least of all the black big-city mayors, who have curbed, sabotaged and diverted labor/black struggle against cutbacks and union-busting.

Homelessness and poverty cannot be solved through bills in Congress or reordering the federal budget. For the immiseration of the working class is inherent in the capitalist system. As Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The modern labourer...instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." This inhuman system condemns millions of people to begging for food and sleeping and dying in the streets, while the black and Hispanic poor live ever shorter and more desperate lives in the "American nightmare." Only a revolutionary workers party committed to destroying capitalism and replacing it with a planned socialist economy can fight the Wall Street sharks, real-estate operators and slumlords responsible for the impoverishment of America.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WORKERS VANGUARD



Sygma

Washington, D.C.: Living the "American nightmare" in the capital of American imperialism. Capitalism condemns millions of people to poverty, hunger, homelessness, death.

The Impoverishment of America

In 1983 Leon Boatner was laid off his job as a crane operator at U.S. Steel's big mill in Gary, Indiana. For the next five years he survived by working two or three unskilled, marginal jobs at a time—midnight-shift janitor in a hotel, laundry assistant in a nursing home. Last year he was rehired as a crane operator by Chicago Steel & Tinplate, an

PART ONE OF TWO

outfit that processes steel produced by what's left of the big mills in Gary. Boatner is being paid *half* of what he earned at U.S. Steel (now USX). All his friends think he's damned lucky to have such a good job.

Reynell and Margaret Tyndall are immigrants from the West Indies living in the Crown Heights ghetto of Brooklyn. He works as a maintenance mechanic, she as a bank teller specializing in foreign exchange. Their combined income is close to $40,000 a year. Yet they and their baby daughter have to share a run-down two-bedroom apartment with relatives. Garbage piles up on the street, uncollected for two weeks at a time, while cops pursuing the "war on drugs" harass residents at all hours.

A middle-aged, white subway motorman in the Bronx remarked bitterly: "When our parents had us, they had the American dream. They said my kids will have more than me. The American dream is gone." Working people in this country no longer believe their children will have it better, because they themselves are having it far worse.

And for black people, for all but a handful the "dream" has never been more than politicians' rhetoric. In this deeply racist society, poverty especially afflicts blacks. Former Black Panther leader Donald Cox laid out the grim statistics of life—and death—in the inner-city ghettos:

> "African-Americans have 25% less to spend than in 1970! In 1989 over *50%* of all black children are poor. 35% of all blacks live under the government defined poverty line (in 1968 it was only 28%), with an astonishing 18% of those living under the poverty line working full time jobs. The infant mortality rate for blacks is on the same level as some third world countries, 23 per 1,000. Maternal mortality is three times that of whites. Life expectancy for blacks has regressed for two consecutive years, while homicide has become the number one cause of mortality of black males....
>
> "The American Dream for millions of people is at the expense of other millions of people that are living the American *Nightmare*."
>
> —*Black America Database* [1989]

Today, everyone is aware of the explosive growth of the numbers of the desperately poor. You can't go shopping in a supermarket without someone coming up to you asking for spare change. You can't go into a bus or train station late at night without seeing people curled up on the floor in ragged blankets and cardboard boxes. And even having a job no longer means that you won't find yourself thrown out onto the street. Homelessness has become a national scandal, evoking a broad current of moral outrage. In October 100,000 demonstrators—many of them trade unionists—marched in Washington demanding "an end to homelessness." But it won't happen by one or another capitalist government shifting "priorities," as liberals argue. The impoverishment of the working people of this country, the shocking rise in homelessness, the pervasive fear among those with jobs and homes that they are only "a paycheck away" from the streets is a product of capitalism itself. And it is

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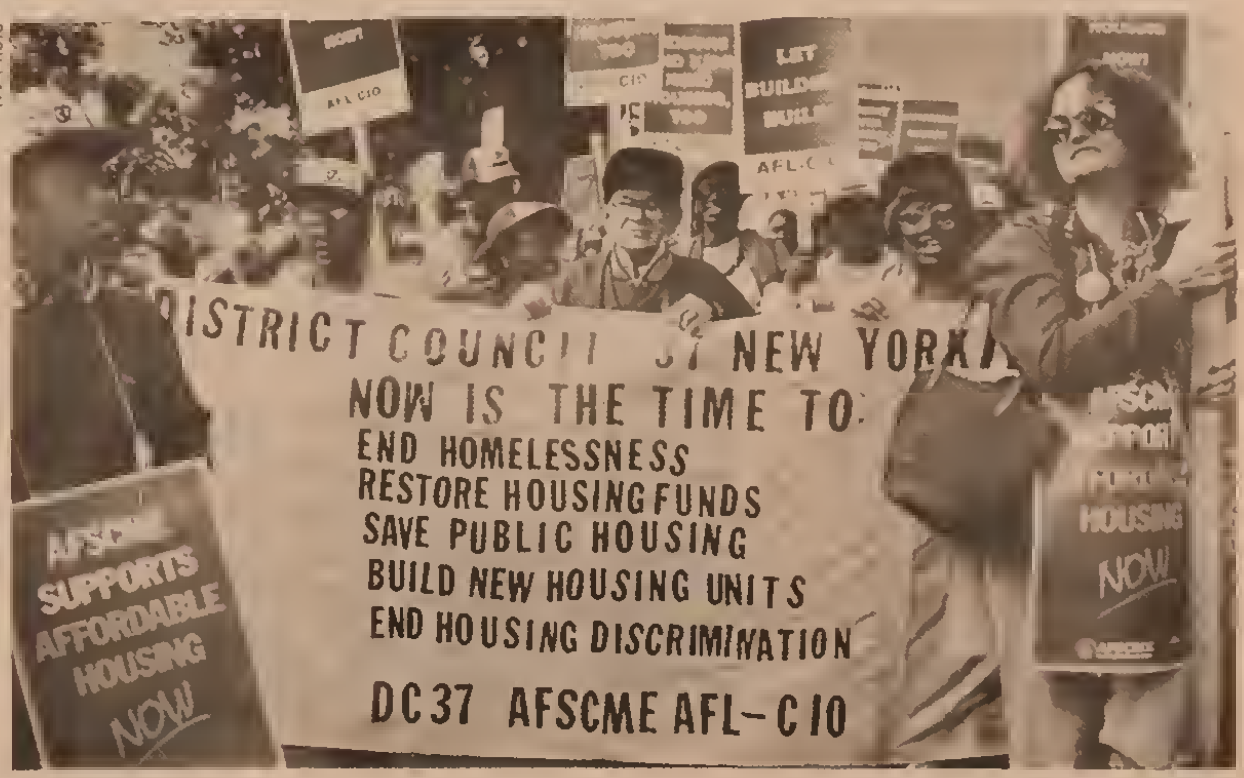
WV Photo



October 7 march in Washington against homelessness draws mass union support. Working people can rebuild America—after taking power away from greedy capitalist class.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 492 29 December 1989

No to Capitalist Reunification!

East Germany: Build Workers Councils, Now!

DECEMBER 19—A political revolution is unfolding in the German Democratic Republic (DDR). The leadership of the ruling Stalinist party is in retreat. Plans are afoot to "dissolve" the Stasi, the hated secret police. Within the army, soldiers councils are beginning to form. Meanwhile, the West German financiers and industrialists are on a hard course toward capitalist reunification of Germany, with the Socialist Party (SPD) acting as their "left" lieutenants, and outright fascists increasingly active in the DDR as the shock troops of capitalist reaction.

An East German workers state under the democratic, internationalist rule of workers councils—*soviets*—could be the springboard for a united red Germany and a Socialist United States of Europe. Reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis under Helmut Kohl's Fourth Reich means bloody counterrevolution, a resurgence of fascism and the danger of a third world war. The stakes are enormous—the choice posed is literally "socialism or barbarism." But while the massive wave of protests has strongly reflected the weight of the working class in the heavily industrialized DDR and has evidenced a widespread sentiment to defend egalitarian pro-socialist values, the working people are not organized to express their class will in the political convulsions shaking society. We call on the workers of East Germany to form

continued on page 3

Spartakist

Mass demonstration outside parliament building in East Berlin, November 4. Workers political revolution is key to defending East Germany against West German bankers' counterrevolutionary designs.

The Crisis of Gorbachev's Russia

Only Workers Political Revolution Can Save the Soviet Union!

While Gorbachev is praised to the skies by the rulers of the capitalist West for his capitulations in the Cold War, the Soviet leader has become ever more unpopular in his own land. Gone are the bold, brash calls for "socialist renewal." Gorbachev himself admits that Soviet working people blame perestroika (restructuring) for empty shops and soaring prices, while Soviet premier Nikolai Ryzhkov has to reassure the American press there is no danger of a military coup in Moscow.

Everyone knows that the Soviet Union cannot go on as it is. Working-class resentment over the effects of perestroika exploded last summer in miners strikes from Siberia to the Ukraine. Independent workers organizations are being formed. At the same time, Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism are on the rise in Leningrad, Moscow and other Russian cities. In the Baltic republics, nationalist forces are ever more aggressive in demanding independence to join the capitalist "free world." Communalist bloodletting between Azerbaijanis and Armenians has taken hundreds of lives, and the restless Georgians have launched pogroms against the northern Caucasus mountain people. And Ukrainian nationalists are stirring behind the revived Eastern Rite (Uniate) Catholic church.

After more than 60 years of Stalinist bureaucratic rule under the banner of "socialism in one country," the Soviet Union has became a seething cauldron of popular and national discontent. Today, it is clearer than ever before that Trotsky was right. Either the Soviet working class sweeps away the parasitic bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution, opening the road to socialism on a world scale, or the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution will be destroyed by bloody counterrevolution and the USSR dismembered by Western and Japanese imperialism.

Perestroika Fuels Reactionary Nationalisms

Soviet workers have been wary, if not hostile, to Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" from the outset. The mass base, so to speak, of the current Kremlin regime is the intelligentsia, the swollen numbers of urbanized, university-degreed, soft-job-possessing children of party and state bureaucrats, who were themselves largely ex-workers and peasants. Indeed, a key part of the program of perestroika is increasing the material privileges of the intelligentsia at the expense of workers and collective farmers.

Given the history of Russia, there is a somewhat larger percentage of Jews in the intelligentsia than in the population as a whole. For fearful workers, insecure managers, trapped collective farmers, embittered veterans of the Afghan war and many others of those who fear for the future of Russia, the Jews once again appear as a scapegoat. In Leningrad and elsewhere, posters have appeared denouncing the "yid-mason mafia" who "control the radio, television, newspapers and magazines." The powerful Writers Union has become a cesspool of anti-Semitism with one of its leading officials, Anatoly Bulyov, declaring, "The Jews appear to be the only nationality that is interested in our ruin" (London *Independent*, 6 December). A century ago the German workers leader August Bebel called anti-Semitism "the socialism of fools." And that is certainly its role in Gorbachev's Russia today.

continued on page 6

Gus Hall's Fort Lauderdale Weekend

For years, Gus Hall's Communist Party (CP) has devoted itself to tailing one capitalist Democratic politician after another and apologizing for sellout after sellout by the trade-union bureaucrats. If most CP members have long since given up any hope of socialist revolution against the American ruling class, if on the face of it they appeared indistinguishable from pacifists and liberals, deep in their hearts during all those years in the reform Democratic club, they could feel they were serving the "socialist motherland" by faithfully parroting every zig and zag emanating from the Kremlin. Life is no longer so simple.

After painting the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states as unblemished "workers paradises" all these years, Hall & Co. are now faced with Gorbachev's own disparagement of the Soviet economy, an explicitly pro-capitalist Solidarność-dominated government in Poland, and mass upheavals from Beijing to Berlin. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 November) captured something when it wrote: "Gus Hall is still with us after all these years, but the world has changed.... Instead of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he has Glasnost Gorbachev, Tienanmen Square and the paroxysms of the East bloc to contend with."

Political Affairs

Gus Hall confesses his "crystal ball is cloudy," as CP press lauds East German party boss Honecker just before he is deposed.

For old-line CPers in the West, East Germany could always be relied on as a bastion of Stalinist order and stability; Hall even sports a wrist watch given him by (now deposed) DDR Stalinist boss Erich Honecker. How then to explain the mass exodus of DDR dropouts last summer, which triggered Honecker's ouster and the current mass upheaval? That's what the faithful wanted to know when Hall gave a talk in New York on September 28 to a virtually all-white, over-60s audience of less than 200. Hall explained, "You know in Florida you have Fort Lauderdale and you have Easter exodus to Fort Lauderdale of young people, for a good reason, excitement and so on. I have a feeling that many of these young have got the same idea about excitement and West Germany."

No wonder younger CP cadre who were looking for some answers seemingly boycotted Hall's talk. At the CP's first-ever "ideological conference" in July—just after the Tienanmen Square massacre and an ensuing "two line" struggle inside the CP—one member complained that he felt as though participants were being watched by "brain police." And the 29 September *People's Daily World* carried a letter by Michael Parenti which ripped into Hall: "It would seem there would be less of the 'frustration' and 'confusion' Gus Hall was talking about if the PDW opened its pages to candid and critical discussion regarding the present-day crises in existing socialist countries." Noting that the paper's line that "Beijing's leaders were defending socialism against allegedly counterrevolutionary students" differed sharply from pro-Gorbachev *PDW* correspondent Carl Bloice's eyewitness reports from Beijing, Parenti said: "Taken together, these pieces do not begin to tell us what is going on with China's socialism—if it can still be called socialism."

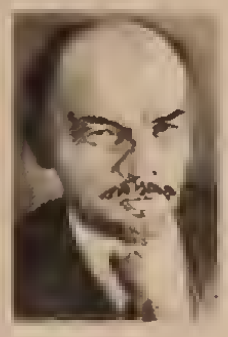
The crisis of Stalinism is also affecting peripheral groups on the American left like veteran Stalinist Irwin Silber's Line of March (LOM) group, who recently abandoned their pretense at "party building" and opted for a new name, Frontline Political Organization (other proposals were "Desperately Seeking Socialism" and "Line of March Line," reported the 8 November *Guardian*). Thankfully, they will be "improving" *Frontline* by coming out less frequently. LOM, which not too long ago wanted to enter Gus Hall's party, is now looking to commit its reformist betrayals directly inside the Democratic Party.

This fall, Hall confessed, "The ideological crystal ball is somewhat cloudy" (*PDW*, 14 September). Poor Gus. Stalinist "ideology" has never been more than a paper-thin apologia for the rule of a nationalist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the revolutionary proletariat in Russia in the early 1920s. And Stalinism without a police-state apparatus is incoherent. Whether under Stalin or Gorbachev, "socialism in one country" has always meant popular-front betrayal abroad. Thus, "hardliner" Hall's idea of a Communist opposition to Bush in the 1988 elections was "in practical terms...electing a Democrat." Today Hall & Co. look around desperately for a new center of Stalinist orthodoxy: the 19 October *PDW* ran a large ad celebrating the 40th anniversary of "the founding of the new Chinese and German states." Well, now the East German bureaucracy is collapsing, and many CPers are going to have a hard time swallowing Deng's China, which has been in a bloody alliance with U.S. imperialism *against the Soviet Union* for almost 20 years. Any bets on Romania?

The bourgeoisie's propaganda barrage about the "death of Communism" is taking its toll on these outfits because, like the imperialists, they equate communism with Stalinism. Well, we Trotskyists know better. We're fighting for proletarian political revolution, which in turn can be the spark for socialist revolution in the imperialist West. Meanwhile, the West Berlin Stalinist SEW just announced its dissolution, and the West German DKP is considering the same. Why wait to find out if the CPUSA is next? There is an alternative to doing donkey work for the Democrats: it's fighting for the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Lenin on the Murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg

TROTSKY



LENIN

Seventy years ago the Social Democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann crushed the Spartacus uprising and had the great revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg murdered in the name of "democracy" (bourgeois parliamentarism). Today, the heirs of Ebert and Scheidemann—the SPD of Brandt/Vogel—are aiming to bring about capitalist restoration in East Germany. At the same time, East German liberal Stalinists like Gregor Gysi are seeking to revive the doctrines of Kautskyan social democracy. Lenin, upon hearing of Liebknecht and Luxemburg's assassination, not only flayed the perpetrators of this crime but also indicted Karl Kautsky, whose doctrine of "pure democracy" served and still serves as an ideological justification for bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

The foregoing lines were written before the brutal and dastardly murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by the Ebert and Scheidemann government. Those butchers, in their servility to the bourgeoisie, allowed the German whiteguards, the watchdogs of sacred capitalist property, to lynch Rosa Luxemburg, to murder Karl Liebknecht by shooting him in the back on the patently false plea that he "attempted to escape",... Let those simpletons, the Kautskyites, talk in their newspaper *Freiheit* about a "court" of representatives of "all" "socialist" parties (those servile souls insist that the Scheidemann executioners are socialists)! Those heroes of philistine stupidity and petty-bourgeois cowardice even fail to understand that the courts are organs of state power, and that the issue in the struggle and civil war now being waged in Germany is precisely one of who is to hold this power—the bourgeoisie, "served" by the Scheidemanns as executioners and instigators of pogroms, and by the Kautskys as glorifiers of "pure democracy", or the proletariat, which will overthrow the capitalist exploiters and crush their resistance.

The blood of the best representatives of the world proletarian International, of the unforgettable leaders of the world socialist revolution, will steel ever new masses of workers for the life-and-death struggle. And this struggle will lead to victory. We in Russia, in the summer of 1917, lived through the "July days", when the Russian Scheidemanns, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, also provided "state" protection for the "victory" of the whiteguards over the Bolsheviks, and when Cossacks shot the worker Voinov in the streets of Petrograd for distributing Bolshevik leaflets. We know from experience how quickly such "victories" of the bourgeoisie and their henchmen cure the people of their illusions about bourgeois democracy, "universal suffrage", and so forth.

—V. I. Lenin, "Letter to Workers of Europe and America" (January 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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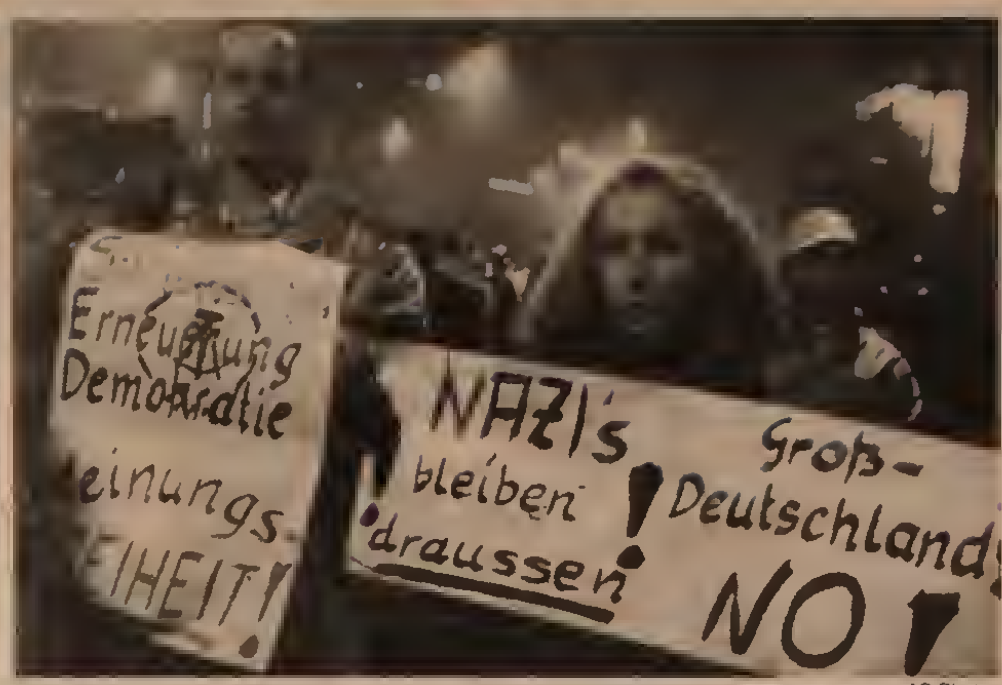


AP Photos

Sharpening class polarization in East Germany: As right-wing nationalists (left) in Leipzig demos carry West German flag with map of Hitler's Third Reich and slogan "Germany my fatherland," pro-socialist demonstrators (right) say "Nazis Stay Out! Greater Germany—No!"

E. Germany...

(continued from page 1)

workers councils, now. Time is of the essence.

Today once again, Germany is the key to Europe and the world. All over East Europe, as millions take to the streets demanding democratic reforms, governments resign and are replaced by unstable new coalitions as leaders scramble to keep pace with the spread of discontent and the demands for change. The whole Stalinist "system" is wracked with conflict and collapse, including in the USSR itself (see article, page one).

Stalinist rule is profoundly conflicted, unstable and brittle. The Stalinist system was constructed in the interests not of a new ruling *class*, but of a bureaucratic *caste* which arose more than 60 years ago in the USSR as a kind of global middleman between, on the one side, hostile world imperialism and the relentless pressures of its international capitalist market, and on the other side the October 1917 workers revolution, whose international advance had by 1923 been halted for the historical moment. Stalinism has been poised on that tightrope ever since.

Thus, its "theories" are nothing more than the perversion of Leninist ideals to justify the privileges and rule of a usurping bureaucracy—backed by massive state terror. Without the monstrous apparatus Stalin created of official lies backed by murder, Stalinism is an empty shell of stultifying slogans, an edifice of lies, clichés and self-contradictions. Only its secret policemen can hold it up, and they are apparently immobilized.

East Europe "Unlocked"

In the deformed workers states today (with the very notable exception of China, where the devastations of "market socialism" have gone very far and where repression took the offensive with the provocative massacre at Tienanmen Square), the apparatus of repression is seemingly in abeyance. A situation that has been effectively locked up for more than four decades has now been unlocked. When the Soviet army smashed Hitler's might and toppled the pro-Nazi capitalist regimes throughout East Europe, the social systems established from above were workers states in the image of the bureaucratic model which it took Stalin more than ten years to misshape in the USSR. Stalinist power functioned as both a block to capitalist reconquest and a roadblock to real workers power. The process of its shattering which we are experiencing today presents an unprecedented opportunity for the working class to take the leadership of society; in the absence of that outcome, it presents very great perils.

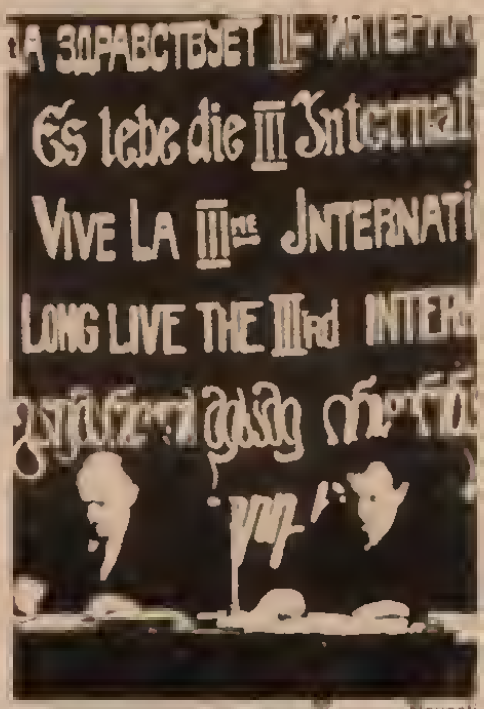
Today the Stalinist parties in East Europe are in a shambles. Last week the Stalinist party in West Berlin (SEW) announced its dissolution while its West German counterpart debates a similar proposal. Has there ever before been such an open confession of utter political bankruptcy? In East Germany today, it is visibly possible for the first time for Trotskyism to win a *mass* hearing among the working class as the revolutionary alternative to bankrupt Stalinism. A mass revolutionary workers party, modeled on Lenin's and Trotsky's party which led the Bolshevik Revolution and ushered in the epoch of international communism, must be constructed in the DDR early on. Already, sinister capitalist forces, from the NATO imperialists externally to indigenous fascist elements, and not forgetting the Social Democracy which is a stalking-horse for capitalist restoration, are moving to take advantage of the vacuum of effective proletarian leadership.

Fascist activity has been on the rise, as indigenous elements are augmented by neo-Nazis from the West. A Jewish cemetery in Weissensee in East Berlin was just defaced for the fourth time this year. Reactionary banners calling for capitalist reunification with the West and even for a return to the borders of the "Greater Germany" of Hitler's Third Reich have begun appearing with ominous regularity at protest demonstrations in Leipzig and elsewhere. At the same time, thousands of other protesters are adamant in opposing a sellout of the DDR to the Deutsche Bank and Daimler Benz.

Trotskyist Press: A "Collective Organizer"

The International Communist League, through its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), is intervening into the prerevolutionary situation in the DDR. The TLD has issued a public call for the formation of Spartakist Groups, to lay the basis for a new Leninist-egalitarian party. On December 7, the TLD launched *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* (Workers Press Correspondence), presently a daily newsletter, to supplement its bimonthly newspaper *Spartakist*, which is now appearing weekly. The first *Arprekorr* front page headlined: "No Sellout of the DDR! Workers and Soldiers Councils, Now!" As we go to press, nine issues of *Arprekorr* have appeared. Each issue includes the short programmatic statement "What the Spartacists Want" (reprinted in this issue of *WV*), centering on the slogans of "Down with Stalinism!" and "No to Capitalist Restoration!"

In taking this step, we recognize, as Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done?*: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this respect *it may be compared to the scaffolding* erected round a building under construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour." *Arprekorr* strives to be the voice of the thousands of socialist militants in the DDR seeking the road to authentic communism, "to create a living connection between the SPARTAKIST Groups and the political direction and leadership in the unfolding political revolution."



Novosti

Lenin (left) presides at the founding congress of the Communist International, March 1919.

Thus far the situation continues to be very open. But the polarizations shift and intensify week by week. Those who prevented the drawing of a massive blood line between the regime and the demonstrators in Leipzig on October 9 (when Honecker ordered troops to open fire) bought valuable time for the possibility of a working-class solution. Subsequently, actions by indignant citizens aimed at keeping the Stasi political police from destroying files have generally achieved their point. When, particularly in such a situation, mouthpieces of the big imperialist bourgeoisie like the *New York Times* start running headlines about "VIOLENCE" in East Germany, you better watch out! "Violence right now smells of fascist provocation," warned the 8 December *Arprekorr*: "Those who want a bloodbath in the DDR are doing the work of the imperialists, ranging from the CIA to the West German Office for the Defense of the Constitution."

Meanwhile, NATO General Secretary Manfred Wörner insists the anti-Soviet military alliance must be ready to intervene in countries experiencing "disorder," while the American and British press seek to paint the DDR as being on the verge of anarchy. *Arprekorr* (15 December) warns of "NATO Threat Against the DDR," adding: "What disturbs the imperialists is not 'disorder' but the possibility of a new proletarian order, a *proletarian political revolution* defending the collectivized property they want to overthrow."

As one way to express concretely the revolutionary internationalist spirit of Leninism, the Spartakist Groups are distributing solidarity statements (in German and in the appropriate languages) to Polish, Cuban and Vietnamese immigrant workers (the text of the Vietnamese appears on page six). These working people have been subjected to official and social discrimination in a DDR ruled by nationalistic

continued on page 4

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
This issue is dated 29 December.
Our next issue will be dated 12 January.
The closing date for news in this issue is December 19.

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Give to the Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund!

Forward to a Leninist-Trotskyist Party in Germany!

With the increasing polarization evident in East Germany, as ultrarightist and pro-capitalist forces raise their heads ever more openly, the efforts of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) to forge an authentic communist vanguard take on added urgency. Thousands of pro-socialist militants in the DDR, including members and former members of the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED), are reading and discussing the revolutionary literature being distributed by our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD).

Over 12,000 pieces of literature were sold to delegates at the SED conference in East Berlin on December 16-17, including 9,000 copies of the daily *Arprekorr*. With the new SED leadership pushing to implement market-oriented economic "reforms," delegates were receptive to the TLD pamphlet, "'Market Socialism' in Eastern Europe," which lays out a program for effective central planning based on soviet democracy. There was also considerable interest in the new issue of the TLD's *Spartakist* featuring "For a Red Germany in a Socialist Europe!" (also published in the last issue of *WV*), which deals in detail with economic problems confronting the DDR today.

Over 14,000 copies of the now weekly *Spartakist* were sold in the ten days up to December 17, in addition to a total of 244,000 copies of the daily *Arprekorr*. Our comrades have also been distributing key writings of Trotsky, including *Lessons of October* and *The Revolution Betrayed*. A new German edition of the quadrilingual organ of our international tendency, *Spartacist*, featuring "Trotskyism: What It Is Not—and What It Is," is now available.

Trotskyist League newspaper, now appearing weekly, calls "For a Red Soviet Germany."

The central task now is laying the foundations for a new communist party based on the internationalist tradition of the three L's—Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The TLD is fighting to forge nuclei of Trotskyist militants in East Germany through the formation of Spartakist Groups. The 18 December *Arprekorr* carried a statement of aims by the recently founded Spartakist Group of East Berlin, and distribution networks for *Arprekorr* and *Spartakist* are active in a number of other cities in the DDR. The Spartakist Groups have also been active in distributing solidarity appeals to Vietnamese, Polish and Cuban immigrant workers and to Soviet soldiers and officers stationed in the DDR. The groups are also participating in demonstrations called to protest the visit of West German chancellor Helmut Kohl and his designs for a reunified capitalist Fourth Reich.

To carry on this vital work entails heavy financial support from all the sections of our small international organization and from the many non-party supporters and friends who have responded to our fund appeal. The sale of these impressive quantities of Trotskyist literature in East Germany is costly not only because of printing costs but because we are charging parity prices in the DDR (a publication priced at 1 DM in the West sells for 1 DDR Mark in the East), in keeping with the low wages and living costs in East Germany (and in contrast with some West German groups who have been demanding DMs for their literature, as if everyone in the DDR has access to Western hard currency!).

Our campaign for funds to help carry forward the vital work of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Germany has been met with a broad response among sympathizers and others, including veterans of the Trotskyist movement, who recognize the historic opportunity for proletarian political revolution posed in the DDR. Two friends from British Columbia, Canada sent a generous contribution and a note: "Not since we were young Spartacists in the early 1930's have we known such hope as we have in you and in the unfolding events in Eastern Europe. Perhaps here is presented the Achilles heel to bring the monster down! Go your best licks—our hearts are with you!"

Your contribution is urgently needed to carry forward this crucial internationalist work. Make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, P.O. Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Earmark for: "Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg Fund" (or simply "3-L's Fund").

E. Germany...

(continued from page 3)

Stalinism. The statement to Polish workers declares:

> "Polish comrades, you have come to work in the DDR, but you have had to endure chauvinist abuse, low wages, miserable housing.... You are working people trying to survive and the German working people must not equate the parasitic, proto-capitalist speculators they see around them with the Polish working people....
>
> "A victory of workers and soldiers soviets in Germany will immediately galvanize the workers of Poland, today faced with starvation austerity measures. Polish comrades: Revive the internationalist heritage of Rosa Luxemburg, link arms in revolutionary solidarity with your German class brothers to help carry forward this workers political revolution. Join the Spartakist Gruppen!"

The Spartakist Groups have also reached out in revolutionary unity to the Soviet soldiers stationed in the DDR as the bulwark against NATO imperialism, with "Internationalist Greetings to our Comrade Soviet Soldiers and Officers!"

Heroic revolutionary Karl Liebknecht, co-leader with Rosa Luxemburg of Spartacusbund, calls for soviet power in the German revolution of 1918-19.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

For a New, Revolutionary Communist Party!

At a December 16 conference the ruling Stalinist party of the DDR, the SED, voted to add to its name, "Party of Democratic Socialism." The SED tops now say: "We need a real socialist party in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bernstein, Kautsky, Pieck, Thälmann, Lasalle and of course Lenin." This ecumenical throwback to a pre-1914 conception of the "party of the whole class," claiming to encompass everything from authentic revolutionaries to arch-reformists like Bernstein and the "Third Period" Stalinism of Thälmann, will certainly not be a real socialist party and is *definitely* not what the workers of the DDR need.

As the TLD says: the class struggle will not "dissolve" itself just because the demoralized Stalinist bureaucrats have decided to give up the ghost! The workers had better get organized, for their enemies are busy. If the mass sentiments for national unity of the German working people are not to be simply handed on a plate to the outright capitalist restorationists (and to the SPD which presently has the allegiance of many of the West German workers), it is not enough to defensively cling to the DDR and work for "socialism in half a country."

The Stalinists dismiss any possibility of socialist revolution in the West and accept the hegemony of the SPD over the West German workers as an irreversible fact. But, as *Arprekorr* No. 2 (8 December) wrote, "Nothing has done more to chain the West German working class to Social Democracy than the crimes of Stalinism, East and West. Today the SPD/SDP is the spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution." As an immediate task, the TLD calls for mobilization of the organized power of the German working class East and West to crush the resurgent menace of fascism. The call for a workers united front against the neo-Nazis evokes a powerful response, including among thoughtful East German workers disturbed by the massive vote totals raked in by Repuhlikaner candidates in West Germany and fascist provocations in the DDR. Such urgently necessary mass actions would be a powerful step toward forging the *revolutionary* unity of the German working class.

In an address "To militant SEDers—For a communist party based on Leninist norms," the 13 December *Arprekorr* writes:

> "The Stalinists' hypertrophy and abuse of 'democratic centralism' perverts the Leninist party organization into a multi-layered suppression of all real discussion—and particularly of that most frightful of all 'dangers,' that this could lead to a faction.
>
> "There must be a democratic right to form factions and their right to express themselves within the organization."

A Leninist party is democratic and disciplined at its base, with a strictly accountable leadership composed of the best, most devoted and self-sacrificing comrades, not a self-perpetuating clique of privileged overlords.

Many thousands of SED party members, not excluding sections of the leadership, and also not excluding many of those who have recently quit the party in protest, genuinely seek to root out Stalinism and defend the collectivized basis of the DDR against capitalist reabsorption. Addressing delegates to the SED conference, *Arprekorr* No. 7 (15 December) said, "Neither Stalin nor Kautsky! For a Bolshevik Party in the Spirit of Lenin and Trotsky!" The key to victory in the 1917 Russian Revolution lay in the preceding years of Lenin's struggle for a revolutionary vanguard party, forged through a *political split* in the Russian workers movement while seeking the greatest unity of all the workers in struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie. The highest organizational form of this unity in struggle was the workers and soldiers soviets, where through free, open and even vituperative debate different parties and tendencies could fight for their policies.

Today the political passion of the East German population must be centered on the formation of freely elected councils of workers and soldiers, including their allies in other sections of the population. These soviets will not be like Gorbachev's pseudo-parliamentary Congress of People's Deputies, many of whose deputies are elected on a territorial basis from the atomized mass, but bodies composed of delegates who are elected from the factories, the barracks, the cooperative farms (with students, the intelligentsia, office workers and pensioners represented in an advisory capacity) and subject at any time to immediate recall. That is the meaning of workers democracy; it is the diametric opposite of the Stalinist conception of sanctifying the "leading role" of the Communist Party in a government constitution.

Trotsky wrote that three conditions are indispensable for proletarian victory: the party, the party and once again the party. The forging of a mass revolutionary workers party based on the internationalist legacy of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg is today the key to revolutionary victory in Germany. As our comrades said in *Arprekorr* No. 3 (11 December): "No sellout to the masters of Mercedes Benz and the Deutsche Bank—not a capitalist reunification in a new Reich, but a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!" ■

SPARTAKIST
ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ
Kein Ausverkauf der DDR!
Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte, jetzt!

SPARTAKIST
ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ
Die SED steht vor dem Untergang
Für eine leninistisch-egalitäre Partei!

Selections from Daily Spartakist
Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz

SPARTAKIST
ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ
Was wir brauchen
Arbeitermobilisierung gegen deutschnationale Gefahr
ARBEITERPRESSEKORRESPONDENZ
SPARTAKIST
Spartakist-Gruppe Berlin gegründet!

Trotskyist Press Reaches East German Militants

What the Spartacists Want

This political statement by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) appears in every issue of the daily Arprekorr.

The Trotskyist League of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stands in the revolutionary Marxist tradition of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht. We fight for the communist program and ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution which have for decades been perverted and betrayed by Stalinism.

From October 1917 on, capitalism has sought to crush the world-historic achievements of the Russian Revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy grew out of and fed upon proletarian defeats, notably of the German revolution. Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" is a nationalist, anti-socialist lie aimed at conciliating imperialism. To this end, the bureaucracy subverts revolutionary struggles internationally and robs the working class of political power at home.

True to the program of the early Communist International, Trotskyism stands for world socialist revolution. We call for proletarian political revolution, the rule of workers soviets, to replace the corrupt parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies who endanger the socialist foundations of the workers states. Defend the historic gains of the working class achieved through the overthrow of capitalism—Defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

The enormous economic and political pressure of Western capitalism, abetted by the Social Democrats—heirs of the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht—aims at bloody counterrevolution in East Europe. We Trotskyists oppose a capitalist reunification of Germany. No to a Deutsche Bank republic! Soviet power in the DDR would inspire the workers of West Germany—For a red soviet Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe!

As proletarian internationalists, we support all anti-imperialist struggles for liberation of workers and the oppressed, from El Salvador to South Africa. We salute the heroic defenders of Jalalabad against the CIA's Afghan cutthroats.

All manifestations of racism and chauvinism must be fought. For workers united fronts to smash the fascists! Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers!

We stand for a planned, socialized economy free of Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism, arbitrariness and national autarky. The basic direction of the economy and society must be decided through soviet democracy. Factory committees must oversee production. Democratically elected consumer cooperatives must oversee the quality and prices of goods.

The issue posed pointblank today is which class shall rule, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The fate of the DDR and every social gain it embodies is at stake. We stand with those members and recent ex-members of the Stalinist SED, as well as numerous others seeking to build a socialist world, who vow that the heirs of Hitler must not expropriate that which, by the workers' toil, has arisen out of the ruins.

The key is forging a Leninist-egalitarian party, regrouping all revolutionary internationalist forces in a German section of a reborn Fourth International. Let us begin: build Spartakist Groups, to assimilate the lessons of past revolutionary struggles, to intervene with revolutionary propaganda, to forge a new KPD—a mass communist vanguard party that will lead the German workers in their struggles on the road to power.

To learn from Lenin and Trotsky is to learn to win! ■

L Y Leonidov

Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Communist International.

Quo Vadis SED?

We reprint below a contribution written for Arprekorr *No. 3 (11 December) by G. Melt, a supporter.*

Yes, the DDR press of 9 and 10 December 1989 is interesting. For example, on pages 3 and 4 of the *Berliner Zeitung* we find a speech by Gregor Gysi, characterized by the RIAS [American radio in West Berlin] as a "reform communist." This is very remarkable in many respects.

First, the SED wants to break completely with the Stalinist system. That is definitely correct. In general, you find a great many anti-Stalinists in the DDR right now.

But now let's see what Mr. Gysi has to say. We read with astonishment that the West European societies, in particular the FRG [West Germany], are not pure capitalist systems like the textbook examples. So what else are they? The twaddle about a "social market economy" in the West was, until now, heard only from the bourgeois parties and their lackeys in the Federal Republic. But now we are witnessing a peculiar transformation of the "Marxist" Gysi. Mr. Gysi, who hasn't ever mastered the basics of Marxism/Leninism, should be urged to look into Lenin's theory of imperialism in depth, right away.

There's more. Mr. Gysi praises the separation of powers in bourgeois democracy, from which, he says, we can especially learn. What outrageous nonsense! Of course we are Marxists, not moralists. Obviously we have a high opinion of the historic achievements of the bourgeoisie in overcoming feudal absolutism, but only in that respect. We give the floor back to Lenin: "Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor" [*The Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky*].

But Gysi, our "Marxist," has also obviously not yet read the book "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"; and he seems equally unfamiliar with history. For the separation of powers in bourgeois democracy, which he praises so highly, was unable to prevent the collapse of the Weimar Republic and Hitler's coming to power (which, as is known, took place in a bourgeois democratic fashion!). Mr. Gysi's logical conclusion ought to be to ally himself with the Liberal Democrat Gerlach who, after all, frequently calls for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" But this slogan of the French bourgeois revolution (1789-1794) which is being mouthed by the acting chairman of our national council means nothing more than: everyone can become a bourgeois. That is just what the "Marxists" of the Gysi stamp want.

The complete break with the Stalinist system may be inscribed on the banner of the "renewed" SED, but first it better be clear what is supposed to be broken with. Stalinism is a program against Marxism/Leninism! It is characterized by a parasitic ruling caste, not just in the party, but also in the state, in the economy, in the planning bodies, in short, in all areas of society. Logically, it also entailed the smashing of the system of soviets (councils). They have not existed in reality in the Soviet Union since 1927. In Germany, we know that the soviet republic was strangled by the Social Democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske ("Somebody has to be the bloodhound"). There has never been a system of soviets in the DDR. So what do they want to break with? The methods of administrative commandism are merely the logical consequence of the destruction—or the non-existence—of the system of soviets! It also logically followed that democratic centralism, as Lenin understood it, had to give way to a bureaucratic centralism.

The consistent break with Stalinism therefore consists in a re-formation of the SED in the spirit of democratic centralism. Nothing whatsoever is gained by superficial acts like getting rid of the Politburo and the CC. When Lenin was alive there was a Politburo and a CC. At that time, the Bolsheviks had not degenerated, and were revolutionary because they were organized on a democratic-centralist basis and had a revolutionary party program! What is Mr. Gysi pushing for instead? A bit of Lasalle, a bit of Kautsky, a bit of Social Democracy from the period of its degeneration, and all of that garnished with "rank-and-file democracy" modeled on the Greens, and of course neither "a class party nor a mass party." What can become of this nonsense?

Only one option remains for all honest communists: founding a party in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. ■

Selections from Daily Spartakist
Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz

Internationalist Greetings to Our Vietnamese Comrades

The following statement of internationalist greetings is being distributed to Vietnamese workers in the DDR and was also printed in Arprekorr *No. 6 (14 December).*

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution welcomed revolutionary fighters of all lands as equal citizens in the new soviet republic. So too the German workers political revolution holds out to you, our class brothers, the hand of internationalist solidarity.

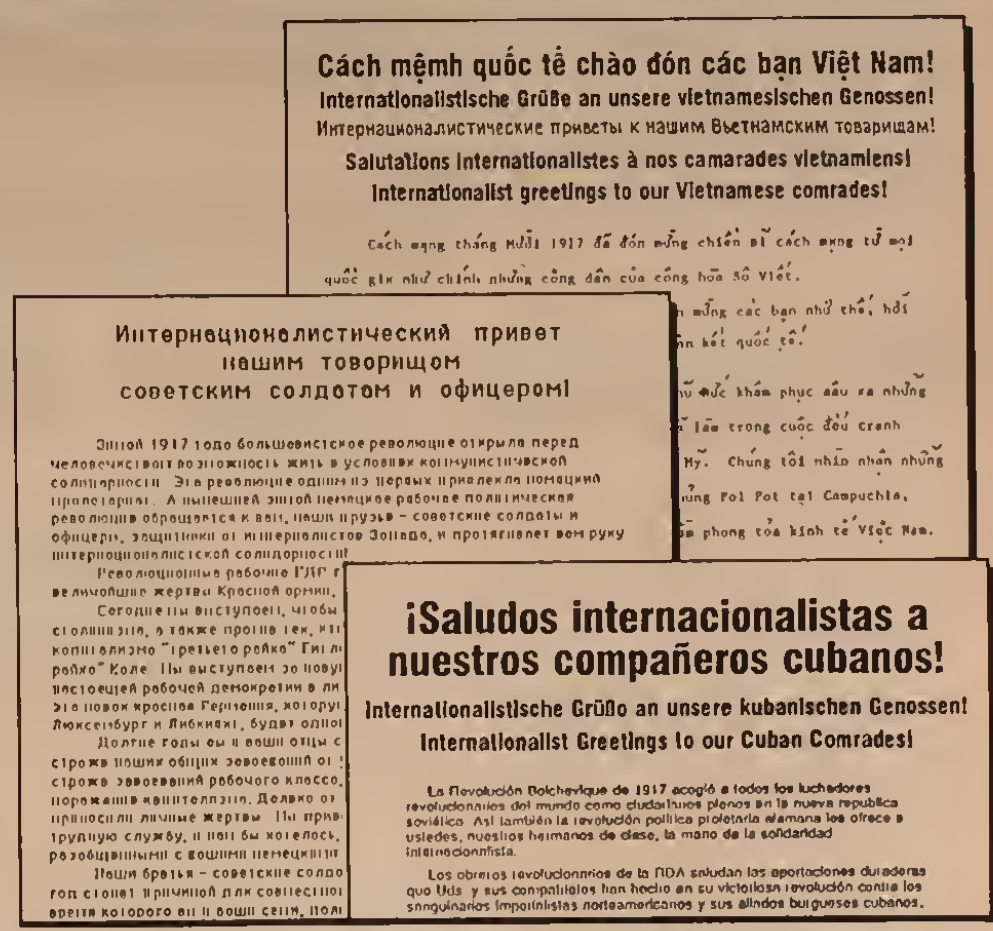
Revolutionary workers of the DDR respect deeply the lasting contributions you and your countrymen have made in your victorious struggle against the bloody French and U.S. imperialists. We recognize the bitter sacrifices you have made to hold off the genocidal forces of Pol Pot in Cambodia, in the face of vengeful imperialism's drive to starve the Vietnamese people.

You have lived and worked in this country, suffering low wages, abuse, miserable housing. A new Germany ruled by the genuine workers soviet democracy of workers and soldiers councils—a red Germany which Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht would recognize as their own—will extend to you what you have earned: decent pay and housing, social equality, dignity, freedom and honor.

Join with us to help rid the DDR of abusive Stalinism and to help defeat those who would bring back the capitalism of Hitler's Third Reich and its successor, Kohl's Fourth Reich. Together we can fight the Western imperialists who are starving your families and comrades back home. Together we can fight the desperate poverty and Stalinist practices which threaten your homeland.

Form solidarity committees to help carry forward this workers revolution in Germany—together we can point the way forward to a future of socialist abundance for all mankind.

—Spartakist Gruppen
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
Postfach 21 07 50
1000 Westberlin 21
Tel: (0 30) 8 82 39 64


Cách mệnh quốc tế chào đón các bạn Việt Nam!
Internationalistische Grüße an unsere vietnamesischen Genossen!
Интернационалистические приветы к нашим Вьетнамским товарищам!
Salutations internationalistes à nos camarades vietnamiens!
Internationalist greetings to our Vietnamese comrades!

Интернационалистический привет
нашим товарищам
советским солдатам и офицерам!

¡Saludos internacionalistas a
nuestros compañeros cubanos!
Internationalistische Grüße an unsere kubanischen Genossen!
Internationalist Greetings to our Cuban Comrades!

La Revolución Bolchevique de 1917 acogió a todos los luchadores revolucionarios del mundo como ciudadanos plenos en la nueva república soviética. Así también la revolución política proletaria alemana les ofrece a ustedes, nuestros hermanos de clase, la mano de la solidaridad internacionalista.

Los obreros revolucionarios de la RDA saludan las aportaciones duraderas que Uds. y sus compatriotas han hecho en su victoriosa revolución contra los sanguinarios imperialistas norteamericanos y sus aliados burgueses cubanos.

Statements of revolutionary solidarity, distributed by Spartakist Groups to Soviet soldiers and Vietnamese and Cuban immigrant workers in East Germany.

Down With Decomposing Stalinist National Autarky!
For an Effective Planned Economy Through Workers Democracy

The following statement on the East German economy by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League was directed to the special congress of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) held December 16-17 and was published in Arprekorr *No. 9 (19 December).*

17 December 1989

Comrades,

The economic situation of the DDR is above all harsh and deteriorating. There are no stable short-run solutions dependent upon the nationalized economy of the DDR participating in the politically highly manipulated "capitalist" world market. By turning to the East and intervening against the perestroika campaign of the Soviet Union, some stability can be obtained through complementary economic exchanges of product and material, based on world market prices and of good quality and ample supply, so that the economic strengths that the DDR and the Soviet Union do possess can be added together. Forces in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are seeking reduction to the status of Israel. The working peoples of the three aforementioned lands could learn much through class struggle from the increasing impoverishment of the Israeli masses now that Israel is no longer a "front line" state in the war against Communism.

The "right to strike" of this summer's Soviet coal miners strike was overwhelmingly justified. Any strike, not least in the DDR, must be overwhelmingly justified by its effect on the whole people and the workers. Should the workers of a factory leave their enterprise without production for a day in order to smash a revanchist neo-fascist mobilization or a pogromist assault upon foreign workers, or should there be struggle to defend against the liquidation of the DDR, these would be not merely justified but vitally necessary. These are a few of the kinds of decisions that workers councils in the DDR should make.

The leading role of any party must be proved through vigorous debate in such workers councils, and must be highly reversible through further debate and immediate recall of workers delegates who have lost the confidence of their supporters. V.I. Lenin wrote very well of this mechanism of workers power in his *State and Revolution*. We believe that much of the membership of the SED, who only wanted socialism, must combine together with many of their previous victimized critics into a new party dedicated to the maintenance of an international planned economy and state monopoly of foreign trade; maintaining the subsidization of housing, health, education, basic foodstuffs and the like; resisting absorption into the oligarchy of the West; tearing out Stalinism root and branch; and as proof of this, vigorously defending and upgrading the social conditions of foreign labor in the DDR. After 40 years of Ulbricht and Honecker's SED, that means a new party, e.g., a KPD as it was founded as a fusion of the revolutionary left.

All these aims must be combined with a vigorous offensive for a comparable proletarian political renewal in the Soviet Union so that a far larger combined economy in transition from capitalism to socialism may defend itself against the fifth column of social democrats, restorers of capitalism and large masses of the intelligentsia who imagine, sometimes foolishly, that they will acquire the soft lives of the new capitalist masters. In the short run, *look not to the West but to the East!*

In the first issue of *Spartacist* published in America two and a half decades ago, we declared:

> "We chose the title, SPARTACIST, after the name, Spartakusbund, taken by the German revolutionary left wing led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the First World War. The German Spartacists waged a brave struggle against their imperialist rulers in wartime and, moreover, had to fight every step of the way in opposition to the degenerate, patriotic Majority social democrats of their time.
>
> "In the United States the Trotskyist youth in the early 1930's called their paper *Young Spartacus*. It was an outstanding journalistic fusion of an advocate of revolutionary ideas with a guide to action. We aspire to do no more today than serve as well in honor of the name we have chosen for our endeavor to express the viewpoint of consistent *Trotskyism*, the authentic revolutionary Marxism of our epoch." ■

Gorbachev's Russia...

(continued from page 1)

When the nativist Russian fascist Pamyat (Memory) first raised its head two and a half years ago, we called on Soviet workers to smash this dangerous organization in the egg. Since then Pamyat has grown and other Russian chauvinist outfits have been spawned. Most recently, Pamyat staged a brazen demonstration right in Red Square, flaunting its fascist insignia and spouting anti-Semitic filth. When liberal poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko was spotted watching the demonstration, a Pamyat demagogue Jew-baited the author of "Babi Yar": "You'd better be off to the synagogue" (*Ogonyok*, 2 December). This October the Popular Front of the Russian Federation was formed, with tsarist flags flying. The so-called United Front of Russian Workers is being actively built by old-line Stalinist apparatchiks, especially trade-union functionaries. Its program combines populist economic demands—suppressing petty capitalist enterprises and freezing prices—with Slavophile bigotry and attacks on Western-oriented intellectuals.

Class-conscious workers and internationalist intellectuals must smash the Pamyat fascists in the streets and root out all manifestations of Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Only by combatting the chauvinists among the dominant Russian nationality will patriotic Soviet workers gain the moral and political authority to counter the other reactionary nationalisms which now threaten to rip apart the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The violent outbursts among the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia are directly tied to economic discontent and deprivation. Kazakh and Uzbek youth have been driven into the cities looking for jobs by the mechanization of the collective farms. But there are few jobs to be had, as new industrial investment has been stagnant in the USSR for over a decade. Adding to Uzbek grievances has been a big drop in the price the state is willing to pay for cotton. Gorbachev's perestroika, geared to maximizing profitability, necessarily favors the advanced regions of European Russia over the more backward Turkic-speaking republics. Equality among the diverse peoples of the Soviet Union is possible only in a planned, socialized economy under the democratic control of the workers and collective farmers.

Competition for economic resources also underlies the fratricidal bloodletting in the Caucasus between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, originally triggered over which republic would have authority over the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. According to a Kremlin official, Valery Sidorov: "At present not a day nor night passes without shooting, mine explosions, acts of arson, cars set on fire, hostages being taken and roads and railways cut off by blockades" (*Daily Challenge* [New York], 3 October).

How can Gorbachev possibly get out of this situation? An internationalist

leadership, which would be capable of securing the trust of all the different nationalities of the Soviet Union, could work out an amicable arrangement over a small piece of mountainous real estate like Nagorno-Karabakh. But if nationalism triumphs, this and other national conflicts will probably be "solved" in the traditional nationalist manner—by a *forced transfer of population* which will make the borders correspond 100 percent to the ethnic composition of their inhabitants. The history of forced population transfers is a history of massive bloodshed: during the partition of Muslim and Hindu India in 1947, railroad cars filled with corpses ran in both directions for months. To his credit, Gorbachev has sought to avoid bloodshed in both the USSR and East Europe. However, his appeals for unity and friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union are fatally undermined by his "liberal" Stalinist program glorifying economic self-interest and degrading proletarian internationalism.

Nowhere is the link between perestroika, resurgent anti-Soviet nationalism and the danger of capitalist restoration clearer than in the Baltic republics. Nationalists in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia believe they will prosper under the aegis of Western capitalism. Meanwhile, these self-styled "democrats" enact legislation restricting the citizenship rights of Russian-speaking residents and in some cases even insist that shoppers show their internal passports (indicating nationality) before they are allowed to purchase scarce goods. Gorbachev has recently attempted to appease the pro-capitalist nationalists by granting these republics almost total economic autonomy. But the Baltic nationalists are not satisfied by greater advantages within the Soviet Union. They want to join the Common Market of NATO Europe. "We want support, especially in Western Europe, for our independence next year," declared a spokesman for the Latvian People's Front in the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies (*New York Times*, 10 December).

It is common for the Western media to lump together the three Baltic republics. However, Lithuania is in critical respects different from its two northern neighbors. Lithuania has long historic ties to Poland and its population is traditionally Roman Catholic. Latvia and Estonia were conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great in the early 18th century and, except for the 20-year interwar period, have been part of the Russian polity ever since. The northern Baltic peoples are either Protestant or secular-minded.

Since Gorbachev seems intent on giving away the store to the imperialists, it's just conceivable he could decide to let Lithuania go while holding on to Latvia and Estonia. Eighty percent of the Lithuanian republic consists of ethnic Lithuanians. The several hundred thousand Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, ethnic Siberians, etc. now living there would be forced to emigrate elsewhere in the USSR. But in Latvia and Estonia, roughly half the population consists of other Soviet peoples. And that half is heavily proletarian. These Russian-speaking workers have organized themselves in the "Internationalist Movement" to combat Baltic nationalism and defend their democratic rights. Thus the stage is set for a full-scale civil war, which would very much accord with the bloodlust of the imperialists, and with their dreams of reconquering all the deformed workers states for capitalist plunder.

Painting by I I Brodsky

Massacre of 26 Bolshevik leaders of the Baku Soviet in 1918 by British troops and White counterrevolutionaries.

On the scale of the USSR, the three Baltic republics are Lilliputian. At the time of Stalin's annexation of the Baltic states in 1940, Trotsky argued that while the region had some strategic military value, the Red Army occupation would do more harm than good in the long run. However, an eruption of anti-Communist nationalism in the Ukraine—with its enormous military, industrial and agricultural resources—would threaten the very existence of the Soviet Union. The eastern Ukraine, with its large Russian-speaking proletariat, is well integrated into the USSR. Significantly, the recently formed independent miners organization in the Donbass *rejected* an invitation to join the Ukrainian Popular Front precisely because of the Front's nationalist program. However, the western Ukraine was annexed by Pilsudski's Poland after the Russian Civil War. This region became a hotbed for reactionary Ukrainian nationalists, many of whom initially *welcomed* Hitler's Wehrmacht as liberators.

Today, the Ukrainian Popular Front, unlike its Baltic counterparts, remains a movement limited to the intelligentsia. A more potent vehicle for resurgent Ukrainian nationalism is the Eastern Rite Catholic church, which Gorbachev legalized early this month. (Stalin banned it in 1946.) As Marxists, inheritors of the tradition of Enlightenment humanism, we stand for freedom to practice religion as well as freedom to conduct anti-religious propaganda. However, the Ukrainian Uniate church, like the Roman Catholic church in Poland, can serve as an organizing center for anti-Communist nationalism linked to Western imperialism. Indeed, Pope John Paul Wojtyla of Cracow has proclaimed himself the new godfather of Ukrainian Uniates.

An opinion poll taken a few months ago by Moscow's leading social research institute showed that only 20 percent of the respondents in the Ukraine said their top priority was national self-determination, "not excluding secession from the Soviet Union" (London *Independent*, 23 October). However, if nationalists were to succeed in ripping the Ukraine away from the USSR, it could only become a colony of a new Fourth Reich which Hitler's heirs are seeking to build through a takeover of East Germany.

Ogonyok

Russian fascists of Pamyat giving the Nazi salute. Soviet workers must smash Pamyat!

For Lenin's Internationalism!

In a 7 December speech, Cuban leader Fidel Castro said maybe some of the East European states will have to re-experience capitalism to recall how exploitative and inhumane it was, particularly the dictatorial capitalist regimes of prewar East Europe. The Cuban working people have relatively fresh memories of the brutal conditions they suffered before the revolution, and the U.S. imperialist colossus only 90 miles away is a continuing and palpable reminder of the danger of bloody counterrevolution. But this seemingly militant statement by Castro in fact expresses a defeatism reminiscent of the German Communists' "After Hitler, us" in the early 1930s. The workers of East Europe must be mobilized to oppose any attempt at capitalist restoration *before* it triumphs; in this, we Trotskyists will fight alongside them.

The corruption of the Stalinist bureaucrats rightly affronts the egalitarian values of the working people in the deformed/degenerated workers states. While the privileged bureaucrats skim off what luxuries there are, the masses lead lives of privation and drabness, queuing up for endless hours in the struggle for daily necessities. Meanwhile countless numbers of threatening snoops like the East German Stasi spy on and jail people for things that they mainly should be doing, like expressing their opinions. But disgruntled East Europeans should look at life in the West before they decide capitalism is better. Compared to the ostentatious wealth of the Western capitalists, the villas and saunas of the Honeckers truly pale in comparison. In capitalist America, tens of thousands of people, mainly dark-skinned, freeze in the streets and are not allowed into the hospitals which might save them. Meanwhile, the propagandists for the rich like Jeane Kirkpatrick and George Bush, the inspirers of the death squads in El Salvador, proclaim that to be rich is good and if you don't like it—you're dead.

Lenin was able to accomplish an enormous amount in the consolidation of the USSR because, despite the overwhelming destruction of the Civil War, he stood in a position of great trust at the head of the Soviet state which had just won that war. Key to the Bolsheviks' victory was their proletarian internationalist outlook embodied in the party's program and practice and in the values of its leading cadre. Among the Bolshevik leaders of the 1918 Baku Soviet in the Caucasus were the Armenian Stepan Shaumyan, the Azeri Meshadi Azizbekov, the Georgian Alexei Dzhaparidze and the Russian Ivan Fioletov. These Communists were later executed by British imperialists in league with local nationalists. The leader of the Soviet government in the Ukraine during the Civil War was the veteran Balkan revolutionary Christian Rakovsky, who later became, after Trotsky, the principal figure in the Left Opposition to Stalinism.

We truly need a communist party such as that led by Shaumyan in the Caucasus and Rakovsky in the Ukraine. Then if it is necessary to shed blood in combatting reactionary nationalist forces, this will be accompanied by a profound political revolution against the Stalinist usurpers so that such blood will never be spilled again. ■

Turnley/Newsweek

Lithuanian demonstration displays flag of interwar anti-Communist bourgeois state. Baltic nationalists push for capitalist restoration under the guise of "self-determination."

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For Labor/Black Struggle Against Wall Street Bloodsuckers

The Impoverishment of America

WV Photo

New York's Lower East Side: Capitalist decay has transformed black and Hispanic inner-city areas into wastelands.

Black and poor. In this deeply racist society the two go together, especially these days. One out of every three black people in the United States lives below the official government poverty level. A black teenage male is six times as likely to be shot and killed as a white high school kid. Almost 30 percent of all

PART TWO OF TWO

AIDS victims are black. Blacks have twice the infant mortality, twice the unemployment rate, one-tenth the average household wealth. Every statistic underlines the same basic point: life for black people in this country is miserable, and getting more so.

Poverty among American blacks is so massive and so evident that even right-wing spokesmen and ideologues do not deny it. Rather they try to blame the victim for the crime. Blacks are poor, so the argument goes, because they're habituated to the "culture of poverty." Black children don't make it in this supposedly bountiful capitalist society, these people claim, because they are not encouraged to study at school or compete for economic success, because they are raised in families headed by single women, because they lack positive role models, and so on.

All these arguments have one common theme: the capitalist system is held blameless. For example, Reaganite State Department "theoretician" Francis Fukuyama, whose highly publicized article, "The End of History?" (*National Interest*, Summer 1989), proclaimed the triumph of "the American way of life" everywhere and forever, maintains that "black poverty in the United States is not the inherent product of [economic] liberalism, but is rather the 'legacy of slavery and racism' which persisted long after the formal abolition of slavery." And black liberal superstar Jesse Jackson echoes the same theme, preaching moral uplift—"down with dope, up with hope"—as the solution to the nightmarish conditions of ghetto life.

In reality, the ghetto poor are the victims of capitalist decay. But black people in the United States are *not* powerless before their oppressors and exploiters. As *a strategic component of the American working class*, blacks can liberate themselves by destroying this brutal, exploitative and racist system. It will take a third American revolution to complete the task of black emancipation begun by the Civil War, a socialist revolution to sweep away the Wall Street bloodsuckers and liberate the productive resources of America to create a genuinely egalitarian and bountiful society.

Behind Black Poverty: Family Structure or Capitalist Decay?

There is a widespread notion that government money for the poor increased greatly from Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs in the mid-1960s until the cutbacks under Reagan. This fiction is perpetuated because it serves the political interests of *both* liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans. Liberals can blame the appalling misery of black people on Reaganomics. Rightists can argue that ghetto youth would rather live off the "welfare state" than go out and get a job. In reality, real welfare benefits per family, including food stamps, *have been falling ever since 1972*. By 1985 real benefits under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) had been cut by *one-third* from the level of the early 1970s. But the welfare rolls have continued to soar. Half of all black families with children are now headed by single women, and two-thirds of these live below the poverty line. Since the notorious 1965 Moynihan report black poverty has been blamed on the matriarchal black family: the "feminization of poverty" has now become a sociological cliché. But the rising number of single mothers on welfare is *the effect not the cause* of black impoverishment.

WV Photo

Detroit auto workers in the 1970s (above); line outside Washington, D.C. homeless shelter in the '80s. Deindustrialization of America means economic catastrophe for black people.

Michael Hoyt

In 1950 only 18 percent of black families were headed by single women, and a large number of these were elderly widows. During the '50s the overwhelming majority of black children were raised in two-parent families. Moreover, in this period many black women, like their white counterparts, were full-time housewives supported on the husband's income. As Marxists, we certainly do not hold up the traditional patriarchal family as our model for the future. Rather we are pointing out that the enormous growth of desperately poor black families headed by single women is a *recent* product of American capitalist decay.

The massive deindustrialization, union-busting and wage-slashing over the past 15 years has made it *economically impossible* for millions of young black men to raise a family. Almost *40 percent* of black men in their early 20s are unemployed. In New York City it is harder for a black high school graduate to get a job than it is for a white high school dropout. The black sociologist William Julius Wilson calculated what he calls "the shrinking male marriageable pool" for young black women (*The Truly Disadvantaged* [1987]). (Wilson recognizes that intermarriage in this poisonously racist culture is so rare as to be of little economic import.) In 1960 there were almost 70 employed black men in their early 20s for every 100 black women in the same age group; by 1982 there were less than 50. And these figures do not take into account the sharp decline in real wages available to young black men who are employed. Thirty years ago, it was normal for a black teenager getting out of high school in Detroit or Chicago's South Side to go into an auto

plant or steel mill. Today, if he gets any job at all it'll be working at McDonald's or as a supermarket checker at minimum or subminimum wages.

The black ghetto poor are no longer, in Marx's term, a reserve army of the unemployed used by capitalism to hold down wages in periods of rapid capitalist expansion. For American capitalism, the black poor have become, simply, a *surplus* population, and welfare programs aimed simply at keeping them from dying, a waste of money. The logic of capitalism points to the willful elimination of a whole layer of the black poor. That is the intent of the so-called "workfare" act, crafted by Democrat Moynihan and passed last year with an unusual degree of bipartisan unity (see "Genocide, U.S.A.," *WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988). The core of this measure is to cut off AFDC benefits for any woman who does not accept *any* job or training program offer. Of course there are no jobs for the millions of black and Hispanic welfare mothers, and the few that exist are at poverty-level wages with no provisions for childcare.

Kevin Cohen/NY Post

Capitalist state wages war on the homeless: cops invade New York's Tompkins Square Park last July.

Contradictions of the Civil Rights Movement

Opinion polls show most whites believe that since the civil rights movement blacks are no longer subject to oppression and discrimination. After all, Martin Luther King's birthday is a national holiday. Many of the largest U.S. cities now have black mayors. Yet by every standard, economic conditions for the mass of black people are *worse* than before the civil rights movement. Why?

Before World War II the majority of blacks lived in the rural South as a deeply exploited American peasantry. In the early '40s millions were drawn into the Northern cities to work in the shipyards, munitions factories and other booming war industries. Until the early '60s the U.S. economy was expanding enough to employ most blacks who migrated to the cities. During this period the black industrial proletariat formed the core of Northern black communities and also in many cases of the local trade unions, especially in the Midwest. However, by the mid-1960s American capitalism had ceased growing fast enough to absorb the children of these black workers into industry: year after year, the seniority lists in the auto plants remained unchanged. Thus the momentous struggle for black equality known as the civil rights movement erupted at a time when the underlying economic position of blacks in American society was *weakening*, particularly in the North.

It is standard fare for Democratic BEOs and also many black nationalists to glorify the militancy of the '60s. In the first part of this article we quoted former Panther leader Donald Cox, who summed up the grim statistics that make America today a nightmare for most blacks. Yet Cox, too, contrasts the degradation and misery of the '80s with the high-water mark of black struggle in the '60s:

> "In the 50's & 60's, with the push for civil rights, evolving into national liberation struggle, it was felt that there was something to be gained. And during that epoch of heroic resistance to injustice, blacks scored more impressive, unprecedented gains than at any time since the emancipation proclamations of the 1860's."
>
> —*Black America Database* (1989)

But these "unprecedented gains" were primarily legal and tokenistic, improving the social condition of a relative handful of black petty bourgeois while the ghetto masses continued to live in desperation.

The civil rights movement originated as a mass struggle against institutionalized Jim Crow segregation in the South. The main goals of the freedom marches, freedom rides, sit-ins and boycotts were equal access to public facilities, school integration and voting rights. That is, the movement of King and the early SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) aimed to achieve the same bourgeois-democratic rights in the South as existed in the North.

However, the civil rights movement by its very nature—a movement of liberal democratic reform—could not confront the underlying oppression and exploitation of blacks as a "last hired, first fired" color-caste at the bottom of American capitalist society. The social conditions imprisoning the impoverished black masses in ghettos—with their mean streets, lousy schools, rat-infested housing and rampant police terror—could not be solved by a new civil rights act. Thus all attempts to extend the civil rights movement to the North foundered. At the same time, the Southern movement splintered and disintegrated when the struggle against Jim Crow laws appeared to have been won. The contrast between the hopes raised by the civil rights movement and the continuing, indeed worsening, poverty and oppression led to a series of spontaneous rebellions in the Northern ghettos in the mid-1960s.

In 1967 the Spartacist League, which had been deeply involved in the struggle for black equality, wrote:

> "The militancy of the Negro people and the tempo of their struggle increased enormously in the fifties and early sixties, but the achievements have been minimal—limited entirely to token advancement of democratic rights. In fact, the fundamental conditions of life for the vast majority of Black people, particularly in the key areas of employment, wages, housing and education, have *worsened*. The Civil Rights movement, geared to the aspirations of the small Negro middle class, though professing to speak for all Negroes, has been stopped dead in its tracks in dealing with these fundamental needs, and in fact has functioned partly as a brake on the unorganized and leaderless pressures from below."
>
> —"Black and Red," *Spartacist* No. 10 (May-June 1967)

Young black militants recognized that the rebellious ghetto masses were increasingly alienated from the politics of King, Abernathy & Co. Thus in 1966 the new SNCC leadership raised the call of "black power" in opposition to the official civil rights leaders. Recognizing the genuine leftward motion behind this bold slogan, we argued that "black power" had to be linked to working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. If "black power" was viewed in essentially nationalist terms, as it was tending to be, it would either lead to a sectarian dead end or be co-opted by black Democratic politicos mouthing radical rhetoric.

The bourgeoisie was in fact deeply worried about the radicalization of the black masses and sought to counter it. The Lyndon Johnson administration, in league with King, Abernathy & Co., moved to pacify the ghettos by promising a "war on poverty" to build a Great Society. Of course, some of the poverty money did trickle down to the poor. However, the main intent and effect of these programs was to *buy off* a layer of young black activists, who became known as "poverty pimps." This development was personified by former SNCC chairman Marion Barry, who became head of the federally funded PRIDE, Inc. in Washington, D.C. on his way to becoming Democratic mayor of that city. Those, like many Black Panthers, who could not simply be bought off with "war on poverty" money were murdered, jailed and terrorized through the FBI's COINTELPRO.

But for the black petty bourgeoisie, the civil rights movement did open up new opportunities. During the '60s the proportion of blacks in white-collar occupations—mainly in the government bureaucracy—doubled from 13 to 26 percent. Today, a majority of black professionals are government employees. Black yuppies were able to escape from the inner-city ghettos and move into previously all-white suburbs. Thus the post-civil rights era has seen a widening social and economic *polarization* within the black population. In the mid-'60s the top 20 percent of black families—the "talented fifth," to paraphrase W.E.B. Du Bois—earned 8.5 times that of the bottom 20 percent. By 1980, the "talented fifth" were earning 11 times more than their poor inner-city brothers and sisters.

The rise of black yuppies has gone hand in hand with the rise of black Democratic big-city mayors. In 1967 Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana became the first black man to head a major city government in this country since Reconstruction. In the spring of 1988 the National Conference of Black Mayors hosted 300 members including the chief city officials of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Atlanta, Detroit and Los Angeles. These BEOs serve as the ghetto overseers for their white capitalist slave masters. It is the black Democratic mayors who have administered the savage, racist cutbacks designed by the Reagan White House, suppressing resistance with a combination of political demagogy and savage police terror. Remember the 1985 firebombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia, ordered by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode in close collaboration with the Reagan/Meese gang.

Oliphant

The "War on Drugs" Means Terrorizing Black People

Now, police terror in the black ghettos is being intensified in the name of "the war on drugs." In one sense this is not new. In the late 1960s Richard Nixon and Dixiecrat George Wallace campaigned on a get-tough policy toward "crime in the streets." At that time everybody understood this was a code word for suppressing the rebellious ghetto masses and jailing and killing black militants. While the black ghetto poor were themselves the main victims of street crime, they saw through the ruling class' call for a "war against crime" as a *pretext* for greater racist repression.

But this time around it's different. It is Jesse Jackson, not some Dixiecrat racist, who is acting as the ruling class' point man in pushing a "war on drugs." And there is widespread black support to eliminate the drug trade "by any means necessary." Black parents live in constant dread that their children will fall prey to drugs, being forced to rob or prostitute themselves, becoming pushers killing or

continued on page 10

Franco/NY Times

Epidemic of drug addiction sweeping the ghettos and barrios is a product of poverty and despair.

NY Transit Militants Say:

"No to Drug Testing!"

The "war on drugs" is hitting the labor movement with a vengeance. Beginning December 21, drug testing will be imposed on *four million* transportation workers across the country. In Chicago, the transit bosses will test for even trace amounts of alcohol—and expect 20 to 40 percent of the workforce to "flunk." In New York City the Transit Authority (TA) is instituting "random" testing of 40,000 transit workers. And in a parting shot at New York labor, racist pig and defeated mayor Ed Koch announced that he will test *140,000* city workers, from bridge painters to park rangers.

NYC working people will soon be hit with another fare hike (above the dollar they already have to shell out) to ride in the decrepit, dangerous subways. Track "accidents" have already killed another five transit workers this year. And the "war on drugs" is the TA's way to hang workers for the decaying infrastructure and deadly working conditions. Other unions, from the Teamsters to AFSCME to postal unions, at least made a legal challenge to drug testing, but the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucracy, led by President Sonny Hall, is running point for the TA in implementing the testing.

Class-struggle militants in Local 100, members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, are mobilizing against this attempt to scapegoat transit workers and discipline the unions. We print below excerpts from a 17 November leaflet by the Committee.

* * *

James Byrne was the fifth brother to die on the system this year. Byrne and his partner were working on the J Line and were *never told* trains were running both ways on the eastbound track. He was killed as he desperately tried to scramble out of the way. *This was no "accident"—death on the tracks is TA policy.* When our union brothers Melsinker and Davis were killed on the tracks at Astor Place last spring, the *first* thing the TA did was force the shaken train operator to piss in the dixie cup. He tested clean, so the TA hanged the dead men instead. When five track workers were critically burned in two explosions caused by the TA's policy of leaving the juice on while track work is under way—you can bet their bodily fluids were tested for evidence of "substance abuse."

The TA *always* finds a scapegoat for the "accidents" that kill and maim workers and passengers on this 80-year-old rattletrap railroad run by union-busting liars and thieves. Now Sonny Hall, who acts more and more like a beakie [TA company cop] every day, has agreed to shake out the last drops of piss of every TWU brother and sister as he submits us to "random" drug screening.

The rotten secret deal to test *half* of us each year was signed September 12 and ratified by the Local 100 executive board in October. The deal says *one positive test and you're off the job with no pay.* And it contains a provision that gags the union from even opposing drug testing. Hall calls this a "victory." It's a victory for the bosses, the hypocritical labor-hating drug-runners in the White House and the "friend-of-labor" Democrats, who are out front pushing this witchhunt! By leaping out ahead of the Bush Administration on drug testing, Sonny and his cronies are *leading* the attack against us.

Without us to run the subways and buses, the city doesn't move! *We shouldn't have to piss on demand for anybody!* What this union needs is a fighting class-struggle leadership, not no-strike finks who run to Albany to beg and do the TA's dirty work! A leadership not afraid to use the union's muscle in defiance of the bosses' laws, including the Taylor Law. And that means a leadership that will fight for a workers party, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties of capital.

Drug testing is a union-busting weapon in the arsenal of the hypocritical "war on drugs" pushed by the Democrats and directed by "Poppy" Bush. At home it helps them regiment the population. Abroad they want to use the drug issue to make the U.S. "cops of the world." Reagan's favorite drug-runner Ollie North walked, but the man who really ran the Iran-Contra drugs-for-arms scheme has moved upstairs to the Oval Office.

Transport workers—not just us, but four million workers from seamen to airline pilots to Teamsters—are first in the drug testing cross hairs because the kind of work we do makes us easy scapegoats. The vicious few who own and rule this country have run the industrial plant into the ground, and that includes the rickety transportation system. Now they want to shift the blame to the people who keep it moving at all.

Any weapon they come up with to use against labor in this bitterly racist country is going to hit blacks, Hispanics and foreign-born workers hardest. Drug testing is no exception. The urine screens that will be used on TA workers can't tell the difference between the skin pigment melanin and the residue from marijuana smoke! *The darker your skin, the greater the chance that you'll fall victim to drug test terrorism.* What happens in the TA is a reflection of what's happening in the streets, where the "drug war" is aimed foremost against blacks, too. Something can be done to put a stop to the drug crime and street violence that ravage inner city neighborhoods: decriminalize drugs and *remove the super-profit incentive* to the pushers, drug-runners and cops. Instead, the racist rulers unleash their "TNT" narc squads on the ghettos and barrios to terrorize and kill. One "drug-bust" on Edgecombe Avenue ended with the "suspect" the cops were chasing thrown from the roof to his death. Meanwhile every capitalist politician, from Bush to David Dinkins, calls for more cops.

Mass urine screens can have a staggering 10 percent or more false positive rate, and a positive reading can be triggered by *everything from poppy seed bagels to ginseng tea.* The follow-up tests that confirm which drug or food caused the initial positive are very expensive and *often not done.*

It's none of the government's or the TA's business what transit workers or anybody else wants to do in private, and they should butt out!

We could strike a real blow in defense of labor, minorities and the right to privacy by *stopping* the bosses' sinister plans to drug-test everyone. That can only be done if New York City transit workers link with other transport workers to lead the rest of labor in a real class-struggle fight. The hardhall leadership needed for that kind of fight isn't going to come from company cop Sonny Hall. And it's not going to come from the New Directions/Hell on Wheels [reformist fake opposition] lash-up, who've done nothing to fight drug testing because, like Hall, they're in the hip pocket of the Democrats who are pushing it.

Let's start by *tearing up Hall's drug-testing agreement with the TA!* ■

Impoverishment of America...

(continued from page 9)

being killed to support their habit. Every ghetto resident lives in fear of being shot in the dealers' turf wars. Black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan and Brooklyn's Sonny Carson have set up anti-drug vigilante squads supposedly to go after the dealers. These political gangs are dangerous, capable of intimidating and extorting money from the black communities.

The epidemic of drug addiction, especially cheap crack, is a symptom of the squalor, desperation and despair into which the black masses have been plunged by decaying American capitalism. And for young black men, pushing dope is the only alternative they see to sleeping in homeless shelters and eating in soup kitchens. "What's open to me?" exclaimed an allegedly reformed crack dealer in Omaha, Nebraska. "McDonald's, and Burger King? I can't deal with that."

Danny Lyon

Stewart/Bethel

Civil rights activists protest outside Danville, Virginia city hall, 1963 (left); young black militants looked to the Black Panthers (right) as the symbol of defiance of the racist status quo.

The Wall Street financiers and Fortune 500 CEOs, who can snort cocaine in perfect safety and comfort in their penthouses, push the "war on drugs" to further terrorize the black inner cities whose nightmarish conditions the capitalists have created. Across the country, families "suspected" of drug dealing are being routinely evicted from public housing. Under "Operation Clean Sweep," Chicago Housing Authority inspectors raided the city's low-income projects, ransacking people's homes and throwing anyone who was not a registered tenant into the streets. In Berkeley, California city officials are cutting off rent subsidies. In Lawrence, Massachusetts the cops have been confiscating Medicaid and food stamp identification from people arrested but not convicted on drug charges. In Washington, D.C. the cops now want authority to cordon off streets and arrest people who gather in groups of two or more.

It will take a socialist revolution to eradicate drug addiction along with other scourges of poverty from the black communities. But it is possible even now to take the profit—and much of the violent crime—out of dealing, by decriminalizing drugs and providing free treatment for addicts as part of a general program of providing free, quality medical care for all. One of the few black officials opposed to the "war on drugs," Baltimore mayor Kurt Schmoke, points out that "a law enforcement approach to drugs simply raises the black-market price of drugs, making drug trafficking a more attractive business for criminals" (*In These Times*, 27 September). And he concludes: "If we destroy the profits and not make the dealer the big-money hero, we'll be doing ourselves a favor."

But destroying profits violates the most sacred principle of capitalist society. And the drug trade is a massive illegal *capitalist* enterprise. The *Wall Street Journal* (8 September) observes that the drug-dealing gangs "are siphoning off some of the smartest and most ambitious teenagers in the ghetto by offering them entrepreneurial opportunities they simply see nowhere else."

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But L.A. gangs like the Crips and the Bloods, or even the Medellín cartel, are small-change operators compared to the biggest drug dealer of all. Among the streetwise pushers in California the initials CIA are said to stand for Cocaine Importing Agency. It's common knowledge that Washington's favorite "freedom fighters"—the Nicaraguan contras and Afghan *mujahedin*—finance their "war against Communism" by running drugs. The American ruling class and Medellín mafia share a common interest in keeping drugs illegal and immensely profitable. At the same time, the U.S. rulers are using the "war on drugs" to strengthen their repressive state apparatus against the working class and poor at home and as a ready-made cover for possible military intervention in Latin America.

Promiscuous violence, murder, rape, prostitution, alcoholism and other addictions have always been endemic to poor communities, from the Irish ghettos of the 19th century to the black ghettos of the 20th century. Malcolm X's autobiography depicts the violent, drug-crazed world he inhabited as a Harlem hustler in the late 1930s and '40s. However, in periods of massive social struggle, when there is *a prospect for radical change*, the ghetto poor instinctively target the *root cause* of their oppression, not just the symptoms. In the 1930s the most perceptive and assertive black youth joined the Communist Party and other leftist groups; in the '60s they joined the Black Panthers. It was the failure of the movements of the '60s to liberate black people which politically conditioned the present climate of despair in which drug addiction has reached epidemic proportions.

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization brought out 5,000 to stop the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

WV Photo

New York City hospital workers demonstrate last summer. Black workers can be the strategic link bringing together the ghetto poor and organized labor in struggle.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Radical journalist Ellen Willis has compared the current "war on drugs" to the McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria of the early 1950s, used as a justification for stepped-up police repression at home and military adventures abroad. Here it is important to recall that it was the eruption of black struggle in the '50s which shattered the stifling political climate of the Cold War red scare. America's posture as leader of the "free world" was brutally exposed as peaceful demonstrators were set upon by police dogs, tear gas and cattle prods for demanding the right to vote and use public facilities. A new generation of young radicals—black and white—was forged in the freedom rides, lunch counter sit-ins and voter registration drives.

Yet the radicals of this period did not link the fight for black equality and freedom to the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. In part the young civil rights militants were reacting against the Meany/Reuther-led AFL-CIO unions which were, if anything, more committed to the racist status quo than were many liberal Democratic and even Republican politicians. George Meany—a product of the lily-white building trades—was a rabid redbaiter whose social values were indistinguishable from FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover. The liberal face of the union bureaucracy, UAW head Walter Reuther, acted as hatchet man for the Kennedy/Johnson White House against the growing left wing of the civil rights movement.

The New Left radicals did not consider trying to set the base of the labor movement against the Meany/Reuther tops because they shared the conventional notion that most white workers had been bought off by the "American dream." The poor were thought to consist of marginal groups outside the mainstream of American society—Appalachian dirt farmers, black ghetto lumpens, Chicano agricultural laborers. The celebrated book on poverty of the early '60s was *The Other America* by JFK social-democrat Michael Harrington. The very title implied a vast gulf separating the poor from the mass of American workers.

During the late '60s white New Leftists and black nationalists—many of them veterans of the civil rights movement—tended to set the black ghetto poor against the organized labor movement (e.g., in the 1968 New York City teachers strike). At the same time, the Meany/Reuther labor bureaucracy made common cause with Richard Nixon, George Wallace and J. Edgar Hoover in their campaign to exterminate black radicals. The net result was the crushing of all militant struggle for black rights *and the weakening and political isolation of the trade-union movement*. Thus were set the political preconditions for the past decade of union-busting, giveback contracts, two-tier wage systems, mass homelessness and savage cutbacks in every social program for the poor. If the past 30 years has proven anything, it is that the fate of the American working class and the ghetto poor are integrally *linked* economically and politically.

While many industrial unions have been gutted during the past two decades, black workers remain important in such basic services as hospital care, urban transit and longshore. These black proletarians can serve as a bridge between the ghetto poor and the organized labor movement. Conditions are now ripe—indeed overripe—for a massive social explosion extending from white skilled workers, many of them one paycheck away from bankruptcy, to the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios. In the first nine months of 1989, the number of workdays lost as a result of strike action was almost *three times* greater than the *total* figure for 1988. And strikes are increasingly popular among the population at large. Pittston coal miners in Virginia regularly draw caravans of union supporters from as far away as Detroit. In New York City this summer, unionists demonstrated in the thousands in support of striking phone and hospital workers.

The potential for broad class struggle was demonstrated particularly at the outset of the Eastern Airlines strike. Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo is a notorious corporate raider who a few years back smashed all unions at Continental Airlines. As he slashed and hacked at the Eastern unions, the Machinists—predominantly white skilled workers—walked out last February. The strike was effective due to solid support from the pilots, the most elite section of the labor aristocracy, many of them former military officers. Strike rallies showed an enormous reservoir of popular support extending far beyond airline workers or even unionized labor. Like the pro-Nazi Henry Ford in the 1930s, Frank Lorenzo has come to personify everything brutal and inhuman about American capitalism in the '80s, from the murder of strikers on the picket line to the cutbacks in school lunches for poor black children.

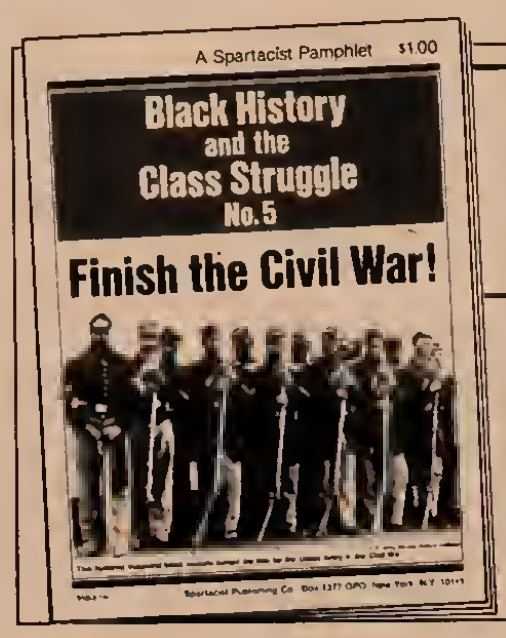
While the Eastern strike itself was both solid and popular, the airline workers could *not* win within these narrow confines. For Eastern was just one part of Lorenzo's airline empire. Key to winning this strike and bringing Lorenzo to his knees was *shutting down the airports* through mass picketing. Such a raw display of workers power would have electrified the entire union movement and buoyed all the oppressed and downtrodden in American society. But the cowardly Machinists bureaucracy, headed by social-democrat William Winpisinger, let the strike bleed to death as it implored the courts and Congress to do something about Lorenzo's union-busting.

The impulse toward labor/black struggle against capitalist reaction has been channeled by the labor bureaucracy into support for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Thus Jesse Jackson has become the featured speaker at strike rallies across the country. And when black liberal Democrat David Dinkins was recently elected mayor of New York, black, Hispanic and white unionists were the lifeblood of his campaign. But the aspirations of these workers can never be realized within the confines of electoral politics in this racist capitalist system. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats and "friend of labor" Democratic politicians stand as the *main obstacles* to uniting the working class and poor in the struggle against Wall Street bloodsuckers like Lorenzo and Donald Trump.

What is needed is a multiracial revolutionary workers party capable of leading all the exploited and oppressed against the capitalist bosses and their state. In a small but significant way the Spartacist League has pointed the way to uniting organized labor and the ghetto poor in common *struggle*. Despite the general climate of reaction during the Reagan years, labor/black mobilizations of as many as 5,000 people came out to fight Klan/Nazi/skinhead incursions into major cities like Detroit, Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia and Atlanta. As we wrote after a labor/black mobilization forced the Klan and skinheads to cancel a scheduled rally at Philadelphia's Independence Mall in November 1988:

> "The SL, although a relatively small communist organization, provided the leadership and our revolutionary program expressed the felt desire of thousands who came out to *stop the Klan*. In each case, the mass mobilizations were built *against* the Democratic Party mayors and the so-called leftists who tailed after them. In each case, it was *black and red* together, getting a taste of the social power that the struggle for socialist revolution will unleash....
>
> "The integrated union marshals who stood shoulder to shoulder in defense against the KKK represent the promise of the workers party which must be built in this country—a multiracial workers party to lead the fight for a workers revolution."

Forge a workers party—Forward to a workers America! ■



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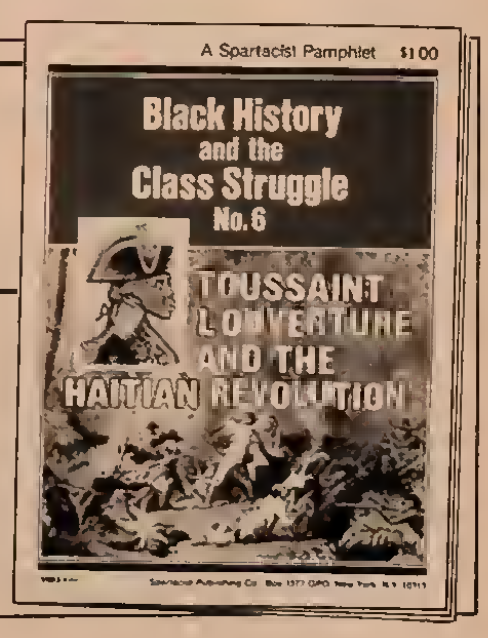

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1989 SUBJECT INDEX

6 January to 29 December 1989 (Issues Nos. 468-492)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1989, from issue No 468 (6 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No 492 (29 December) During this time, *WV* was published biweekly
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically Entries are listed chronologically with one exception all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series
- Entries are listed under subject heads In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Murder in San Salvador, #489, 10 Nov. (16, 15)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 489, 10 November, beginning on page 16 and continuing on page 15.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types, those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head, those following the words "see also" are related articles Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus.

  CIVIL RIGHTS—See **Abu-Jamal; Civil Liberties: General, Pratt Case.**

  means that additional articles on civil rights can be found by going to the subject head **ABU-JAMAL** and by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Pratt Case.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Entries relating to foreign countries are listed mainly under national headings, occasionally under regional ones, as appropriate
- Abbreviations used in entries are

L.	Letter	Sup:	Supplement
R	Review	YSp:	*Young Spartacus* article
S	Series		

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